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Restorative Justice: Promoting Peace and Wellbeing

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The scope of threats to human security at the dawn of the 21st century is daunting. Terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, nuclear proliferation, failed states, ideological struggles, growing resource scarcities, disparities in wealth and health, globalizing trends, violations of human rights, and the continued use of force to advance individual, group and national interests, are all complex problems. At the same time, we are witnessing countervailing trends in the growing recognition and endorsement of nonviolent means of resolving differences, the importance of reconciliation processes in human relations, the promotion of cultures of peace, and the building of societal structures and global institutions that promote peace, human rights and environmental sustainability. During the past 20 years, peace psychology has emerged as a specialty in psychology with its own knowledge base, perspectives, concepts, and preferred methodologies to grapple with threats to human security and seize opportunities to promote human well-being. In regard to the problem of violence, peace psychology scholars and activists place human psychology and its links to other disciplines at the center of their efforts to prevent and mitigate episodes of violence and structural forms of violence. In addition to reducing violence, peace psychologists seek to develop theory and practices that promote relational harmony across levels (from interpersonal relations to global networks) and equitable human well-being. The Peace Psychology Book Series recognizes that the emerging and multi-faceted problems of human security challenge us as scholars and activists to develop psychologically-informed theory that will deepen our understanding of the major threats to human security, and create practices that will help us address some of the most urgent and profound issues that bear on human well being and survival in the 21st century.

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To Ian and Lucas—inspiring me to work toward a more just, peaceful, and sustainable world (G.V.)

Preface

The Book's Impetus

There can be no doubt that over the last half century the field of restorative justice has made an incredible progress. Since its broader (re)emergence in the 1970s (Gavrielides, 2011), the restorative justice notion has been the subject of volumes of writings and countless hours of programming, as well as the focus of billions of investments by governments, international bodies, and individuals (Gavrielides, 2013). At the international level, restorative justice is well recognized by policy-makers and researchers working in the justice field. This is also the case at the national level, although the picture here is not as consistent (Gavrielides, 2018a). At the local level, the picture is rather different, and to some scholars, this is where restorative justice truly matters. From this perspective, it is in the individual circumstances and personal injustices that restorative justice finds its true meaning of delivering equity and healing for the individual and the community (Braithwaite, 2003; Gavrielides, 2021a).

Combined, the we have over 25 years of working in the restorative justice field, and across this time, we have experienced numerous and bold claims of restorative justice being applied widely and successfully (Gavrielides, 2021b; Velez, 2021b). We have always tried to approach these with a sense of hope and openness as we try to find alternative, bottom-up, community-based forms of justice and peacebuilding. Our goal is to support the development of a consensual form of justice where the traditional criminal justice system co-exists and indeed respects unstructured and fluid models of delivering peace. And yet, only a handful of such cases would come to light, as much of the discourse around restorative justice and peace would remain top-down. While the international research and policy world would talk extensively about restorative justice, the local communities would see very little of it. Specifically, those we call victims and offenders often know very little about restorative justice, and it has not been explicitly woven into many local efforts to build peaceful and harmonious communities.

There are many further obstacles to linking peace and the practice and ethos of restorative justice. Theorists, practitioners, and researchers may be too quick to make unsubstantiated claims and assumptions. What is the power of restorative justice in the face of structural racism, socioeconomic inequity, conflictual intergroup attitudes, and intractable conflict? And while most of the time the claims made about the potential of restorative justice to heal are well intended and naïve, some are not as benign, especially when aiming to generate attention for financial or other power gains. Furthermore, across the literature it is clear that restorative justice is not easy to implement. The reasons behind this claim vary and have been the basis for much discussion (e.g., Anfara, Evans, & Lester, 2013; Gavrielides, 2021b; Lemley, 2001). The main reason can be found behind the goals and processes of restorative justice, which are rooted in relations, emotions, and shared values.

These challenges are why as researchers, we grapple with the value-based identity of restorative justice as "relational" and as an "ethos" as serving goals related to peace. An ethos that aims to achieve values consensus, accountability, and restore broken relationships is much closer to a vision of justice as a grassroots-based virtue serving the pursuit of peace. This perspective offers confidence and hope. At the same time, however, restorative justice entails an intense, emotionally driven methodology of justice that requires a deeper understanding of its dynamics and applications. To this end, the potential of restorative justice must be further explored in relation to what it looks like, how people respond to it, and its value across diverse settings where it can be applied with a lens toward promoting peace.

These diverse and conflicting perspectives have led us to look for work to explore the humanity and frailty of the restorative justice ethos including the power structures of its movement. In the rich restorative justice literature, we have searched for empirical and theoretical papers that would unravel the very psychology, motivations, and emotions of the practitioners who implement it as well as the drivers of its theoreticians and researchers. We have also searched for and considered theories to help understand how peace at the personal and community level can be achieved through organic forms of justice. Through this process, we asked ourselves: If restorative justice is so relational in nature, then surely also relevant are psychology and interpersonal dynamics especially for delivering peace to the individual and its communities.

This search produced scant results and indicated to us that more knowledge and attention to the intersection of peace and restorative justice was warranted. Considering the role of emotions, interpersonal dynamics, and meaning making in these areas, we felt compelled to bring forward more work that established connections between peace, psychology, and restorative justice. We also felt that the marrying of these three concepts should be grounded in practice and research.

As scholars of restorative justice, we approach this pursuit from different angles. For Theo, his limited knowledge about psychology and legal background as to how he views conflict resolution and peace rendered him skeptical about his approach to addressing the objective, but also laid a rich foundation in understanding the ethos, theory, and practice of restorative justice. Gabriel's attention to peace, youth, and

psychosocial development offered a complementary lens, which in turn benefitted from the broader and international perspectives in Theo's work and network of researchers and practitioners.

Together, we worked through our questions about restorative justice and peace, developing a framework for thinking about how this work can be understood as relating to Galtung's framework of positive and negative peace in relation to direct, cultural, and structural violence. Our balancing perspectives also helped us articulate a gap that we both felt we needed to bridge for our respective fields. On the one hand, Theo wanted to help the restorative justice movement to connect its work with science, psychology, and peace. On the other, Gabriel hoped to progress peace psychology through the lenses and contributions of restorative justice. And thus, we embarked on a joint journey that would lead to this volume.

The Current Volume

To this end, we called for papers that would unravel the dynamics, powers, weaknesses, and peculiarities of restorative justice from the perspectives of peace psychology and vice versa. As a result, this volume brought together some unique contributions that are multidisciplinary and not bound by geography. A key objective of this preface is to prepare the reader for what is to follow.

Our endeavor with this volume was rooted in two motivations. First, the research and practical gap that exists in connecting restorative justice and peace, with a particular focus on its interpretation (theoretical and practical) by psychologists. Second, the potential for peace psychology to connect its narrative and practices with the ethos and values of restorative justice as a relational form of conflict resolution (negative peace) and community cohesion (positive peace).

Based on our diverse experiences, own research, and expertise, we both strongly agree in the value of exploring how, why, and under what conditions restorative justice can lead to peace, whether this relates to inter-personal, inter-community, or inter-state disturbances of the status quo. Processes to achieve these ends are based in mutual respect, use of dialogue, commitment to building relationships, and inclusion of multiple perspectives (Macready, 2009). These elements of restorative justice are integrally tied to psychosocial processes related to peace, such as empathy, forgiveness, humanizing processes, and cooperation. To this end, restorative justice has already been argued to be useful as a peacebuilding and reparative framework in contexts of historical and current societal divisions and conflicts, systems of oppression, and where extreme power imbalances create inequality between people (e.g., Gavrielides, 2015, 2021a; Lyubansky & Shpungin, 2015).

Our initial research for this volume suggested that in line with the broadening implementation of restorative justice, scholars across disciplines have begun to build a rich theoretical and empirical foundation for understandings the effects of this work on individuals, communities, and societies. Psychologists have played a role in this development. For example, they have drawn on social psychology for

understandings of how people relate and respond to collective dynamics (Gavrielides, 2015), studied impacts of restorative practices in schools on young people's psychosocial development and values systems (Braithwaite, 2000), and demonstrated improvement in victims and offenders' emotional states, senses of fairness and accountability, and other psychological outcomes (Poulson, 2003).

Still, despite the clear connections between psychology, restorative justice, and peace across national and institutional contexts, there has been little direct engagement between the field of peace psychology and the growing theory, implementation, and research of restorative justice. Therefore, it is with much excitement that we set off on the journey that led to this book.

Organization of the Volume

This volume presents an array of work situated at the interconnection of peace psychology and restorative justice. Galtung's (e.g., 1969) conceptualization of negative and positive peace in relation to various forms of violence is helpful in understanding the context of the volume's contributions. This is particularly useful in deepening our understanding of how restorative justice involves and feeds into peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding.

We have split the volume into two main sections. The first focuses on the use of restorative justice and psychology for achieving peace in educational settings let that be a school (primary or secondary), college, university, or a youth center in the community. Educational settings can also refer to homeschooling or adult and vocational centers. Some of the contributions are based on new empirical studies that were recently carried out in these settings. Others use secondary analysis and normative thinking to make some unique contributions. This heavy emphasis on a developmental lens speaks both to the increasing integration of restorative justice in Western educational systems (Gregory et al., 2020; Wong & Gavrielides, 2019)and growing interest in peace psychology in developmental frameworks and thinking to recognize and conceptualize young people's work in building cultures of peace (Berents & McEvoy-Levy, 2015; Taylor, 2020; Velez, 2019, 2021a). The second part looks at the justice and criminal justice field and the use of psychology and restorative justice with specific cases such as sexual violence, female prisoners, and the impact that colonization can have on communities.

Both parts attend to how restorative justice can feed into psychosocial dynamics related to peace, spanning from within individuals to across borders and institutions. This framework draws on understanding individuals and collectives as embedded within ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), which is increasingly invoked in understanding the ways that cultures of peace cut across internal, collective, and institutional contexts (e.g., López & Taylor, 2021; Velez & Dedios, 2019). Each chapter integrates restorative justice with psychology (through theory, practice, and evaluation) and centers its contribution within one of these levels.

Overall, these chapters present an array of different ways that peace, psychology, and restorative justice intersect. They paint a picture of how restorative justice and its impact on psychosocial processes can be understood both to prevent violence and restore peaceful relations after it has been committed, including through the pursuit of equity and the construction of horizontal, inclusive, and just dynamics between individuals, groups, and societies.

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Introduction

Abstract The introductory chapter has a dual aim. First, it puts the notions of peace and peace psychology within the context and objectives of this volume. We unpack these two concepts using findings from the extant literature, while identifying gaps in research, policy, and practice. Second, the chapter articulates how restorative justice is used throughout the book, opening up the debate on what its theory and practices are (or aren't). We present Gavrielides' consensual model of structured and unstructured restorative justice to demonstrate its value and role for achieving peace at inter-personal, inter-community, and inter-state levels. The overall purpose of the chapter is to set the scene and prepare the environment for the volume's contributions, while attempting for the first time to put the three concepts of peace, psychology, and restorative justice under the same microscope for scrutiny and learning.

Contextualizing Restorative Justice and Psychology for Peace

The academic study of peace has pushed conceptualization of this topic and understandings of how it intersects with human psychology and social life beyond a simplistic framing. Driven by theorists like Johan Galtung, Michael Wessells, Morton Deutsch, Ervin Staub, Daniel Christie, and others, there has been a growing movement over the last 50 years to frame peace as multifaceted, nuanced, psychosocial and developmental, and across levels. Peace involves, but is also more than, the absence of violence and is deeply connected to how we think, feel, and act as individually, collectively, and as societies.

The predominant conceptual framework in peace studies is that of Galtung (1969, 1990). As shown in Table 1, Galtung divides peace into the cessation or absence of violence (negative peace) and the processes and structures needed to support peace (positive peace). In other words, peace entails both the need to end or stop violence and efforts to create the conditions, motivations, and systems to prevent it and promote positive cultures of peace (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). In turn,

Table 1 Galtung's conceptualization of peace

	Direct violence	Structural violence	Cultural violence
Negative peace	Absence of harm	Absence of oppression, exploitation, and inequity	Absence of norms and rationales for violence
Positive peace	Presence of harmony and cooperation	Presence of institutions, laws, and systems promoting equity and social justice	Presence of cultural of peace

each of these two forms can be understood as operating in response to violence as direct, structural, and cultural. Direct violence involves actions or behaviors that harm others (e.g., physical violence, emotional manipulation). Structural violence encompasses systematic exploitation and marginalization that harms certain groups (e.g., limited access to clean water or education). Cultural violence entails social norms that naturalize and justify structural violence (e.g., racism, sexism; Galtung, 1990). Psychosocial dynamics are involved in every one of the subsequent six sections of the conceptualization (Christie et al., 2008), such as how and why youth engage in armed conflict or gangs, the mental health impacts of being denied basic rights, and how outgroup attitudes develop and are passed on over time.

An added layer is considering the different goals that peace efforts can involve. Peacemaking and peacekeeping are more centered on responsive efforts: the former focuses on the process of ending violence or conflict through resolutions and agreement, while the latter involves targeted intervention in a heightened case of violence. Peacebuilding, in contrast, tends toward more proactive strategies, engaging in creating cultures of peace, equitable systems, and just norms that lay the groundwork for peaceful relations over time (Christie et al., 2008).

The Field of Peace Psychology

As theory and research in peace psychology have developed, it is clear that factors across contexts and ecosystems influence both positive and negative peace. A holistic conception of building a culture of peace, for example, entails attention to inner personal dynamics (e.g., mental health), interpersonal dynamics (e.g., conflict resolution), intergroup relations (such as between racial/ethnic groups), and systemic concerns (like injustice and inequity; Christie, 2006; Christie et al. 2008). These dynamics are rooted in individual and collective psychologies; how we experience, think, feel, and respond to ourselves and our sociocultural contexts is clearly connected to conditions of peace across levels. As argued by Christie and colleagues (2008), "Psychology should be at the forefront of efforts to promote a peaceful world because peace and violence involve human behaviours that arise from human emotions, habits, thoughts, and assumptions" (p. 548). To this end, the field of peace

psychology has provided much insight into multiple areas of everyday modern life and the personal, interpersonal, and collective dynamics that are connected to positive and negative peace. These include—just to name a few—inner peace (Nelson, 2021), inter-group contact (Hewstone et al., 2014), the psychological impacts of children who experience armed conflict (Wessells, 2017), peace education (Christie & Wagner, 2010; Velez, 2021a), intervention evaluation in contexts of intractable conflict (Hammack, 2009), and processes of forgiveness and reconciliation (Hamber, 2007).

The field of peace psychology is still developing, including defining the spaces, conversations, and work that fit within its scope. Areas for growth include attention to nuanced perspectives on violence, systems views, and integration of geohistorical context (Christie, 2011). It is also important to consider the evolution of peace psychology in line with changing contexts locally and internationally. In other words, as the field develops, it must also attend to the ways that emerging developments that will impact humans and their social relations, such as artificial intelligence and climate change, intersect with geohistorical and psychosocial processes. Peace psychology must be extended and applied to new areas, both given the dynamic flux of human existence and constant presence of conflict and violence within it.

One example of building on foundations in the field is in the area of child development. Much work has focused on preventing recruitment into armed groups, addressing mental health impacts of war or exposure to violence (e.g., Wessells, 2017), and the intergenerational transfer of conflictual intergroup attitudes and subsequent interventions in these processes (e.g., Merrilees et al., 2014). There has been increasing attention to how children and individuals develop attitudes, orientations, worldviews, and identities related to peace (e.g., Taylor, 2020; Velez, 2021b). This movement has included building models of child development and identifying individual-level determinants of peacefulness (Nelson, 2021; Taylor, 2020), coinciding with psychologists engagement in peace education across the world (Velez & Gerstein, 2021). In continuing this growth of peace psychology, it is important to consider the range of tools and their implementation in fostering individual and collective engagement.

To this end, an underexplored extension in the field of peace psychology is the connection between peace across levels, the development of individual and collective orientations toward peace, and restorative justice. The growth of restorative justice touches on varied aspects of modern life: schooling and child development; armed conflict, demobilization, and peace processes; healing and reparations after mass atrocities, human rights abuses, or systemic inequities and oppression; and justice systems. These domains inherently engage with questions of peace—within and across the six conceptual spaces of positive and negative peace depicted in Table 1—and individual and collective psychosocial processes related to it. And yet, to date, there has been minimal work in peace psychology bringing together the frameworks of Galtung, psychology, and restorative justice.

Not Defining Restorative Justice

Similar to other disciplines, restorative justice is faced with a number of disagreements relating to definition, normative and empirical promises (e.g., Gavrielides, 2008; Johnstone & van Ness, 2011). Of course, agreements are not necessary for every single aspect of restorative justice theory and practice. In fact, occasional confusion should be expected with relatively untested concepts that are trying to find their place within our complex, modern societies (Gavrielides, 2007; Gavrielides & Artinopoulou, 2013). Disagreements are also part of creative thinking. Without friction there is no fire, and without fire there is no creation.

Restorative justice is more than just a practice or a theory guiding implementation. It is an ethos that can guide people's way of living and can play a critical role in forming relationships—not just managing or addressing conflict within them. As we read the chapters in this volume it is important to keep an open mind when it comes to understanding the breadth and depth of restorative justice. Limited or expansive definitions are unnecessary and in fact counterproductive (Gavrielides, 2020, 2021). They can hamper the process of understanding what restorative justice is all about. Just like water, when defined as H_2O, restorative justice misses out on its power drawn from its organic roots that transcend time and places. A chemistry formula like H_2O simply cannot contextualize the power of water to give and take life; it merely outlines its ingredients in a way that distracts from the actual substance behind them. Furthermore, restorative justice is fluid in nature, as it gains its individualized meaning through the suffering and healing of local communities (Gavrielides & Artinopoulou, 2013).

For the purposes of this volume, we will avoid further philosophical and normative interpretations of restorative justice to focus on our main aim of considering the study restorative justice through the lenses of psychology. Our goal is not to compare restorative justice with what is not (Gavrielides, 2008), but rather to bring together the fields of peace psychology and restorative justice to demonstrate its potential for promoting peace and to support the development of its processes and principles (Gavrielides 2007; 2008).

It is not a stretch to say that how to do restorative justice well is still a bit of a mystery and a constantly evolving area of inquiry. The expansion of the field has been relatively rapid. Systematic empirical work is just emerging in some areas, like educational settings (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020). Nuanced research projects are needed especially in relation to complex areas of practice such as domestic violence, hate crimes, and other complex cases. Other areas are more developed, like what restorative justice can and cannot do for victims, perpetrators, and community members in rehabilitation and the criminal justice system (Latimer et al., 2005). Moreover, the many policies that governments and international bodies have introduced to mainstream restorative justice have helped illuminate the true drivers behind social policy and criminal justice reform, as well as identify where the true origins and strengths of restorative justice lie (Gavrielides 2021). For the two of us in particular, research with practitioners, victims, and offenders has also given us a true flavor of what this "magic of restorative justice" really is.

The process of compiling this volume required us to reach into our own psyches and emotions to understand our viewpoints on the advancement of restorative justice through psychology. To this end, the volume has been a reflective and applied process of more deeply understanding the role of restorative justice for achieving peace. Our two vantage points and experiences of this journey are different but complementary. Theo Gavrielides brings a wealth of applied experience and a philosophical interpretation of the world, its beauty, pain, and meanings. Gabriel Velez is a former secondary school teacher and a developmental and peace psychologist. Our hope is that our combined research backgrounds and complementary analysis create a fertile ground for the reader's exploration of peace psychology and restorative justice.

Restorative Justice and Peace

Peace is the ultimate objective of the restorative justice ethos and practice. After introducing restorative practices and our approach to integrating it into this volume, we now take the next step in presenting Gavrielides' consensual model of restorative justice (2021) as a guiding framework for its role in promoting peace at interpersonal, inter-community, and inter-state levels.

The pursuit of restorative justice must begin with a shared recognition of a disturbance of peace—an injustice or a "conflict." This can be between individuals, communities, states, or even within ourselves. The opposite, of course, is negative peace. Scholarly work in history, but also philosophy and empirical studies, have shown that the pursuit of justice and peace can be achieved through multiple methods. The evidence suggests there are two ways to build such peace: the creation and pursuit of the law (e.g., through state mechanisms) or through respecting and upholding notions of fairness among individuals and groups (Gavrielides, 2021). While the former is created through human institutions (e.g., the legislative) and implemented by state agents (e.g., the judiciary or the executive), the latter exists as a virtue that can be attached to our morals, way of living, religion, or psychosocial processes. Both forms of justice (lawful and fair) are desirable and can co-exist. However, whereas the lawful requires a structure and a system of regulation, the fair is value-based and can be attained through loose and bottom-up methods including community action, socialization, and other processes related to building cultures of peace. Restorative justice exists in both forms; the structured and unstructured, or in others words the lawful and the fair.

Structured Restorative Justice for Peace

To deliver structured restorative justice formally, first there needs to be an injustice done to society or embedded within societal systems. This needs to be identified and publicly condemned. It also needs to be backed up by a pattern of unjust behavior.

Through this, the need for regulation arises. This requires a mixture of skills and professions including politicians, the media, academia, market research, economics, campaigners, and so on. Once a law has been produced to regulate this pattern of injustice and conflict, a further series of actors come into play to represent and deliver justice, including lawyers, courts, judges, administrators, prosecutors, and prison and probation staff. Once this law is delivered, a further chain of maintenance is observed encompassing educational institutions, the media, campaigners, politicians, and others. All these agents and institutions are engaged to contribute to the formal justice system. Structured restorative justice is placed within *this* machinery and its sub-systems of pursuing, delivering, and maintaining justice after a conflict has occurred and peace has been disturbed (independently of level).

These institutions are not equal and that the agents delivering or representing justice occupy various positions of power depending on their roles and place in society (Gavrielides, 2021). This creates power imbalances, which may be rooted in structural or cultural violence and are additional to those that may lead to conflict and the disturbance of peace in the first place.

To counterbalance this distortion of power, legal standards can guide justice toward restorative aims. These standards include rights or human rights and operate within international or localized contexts. They are based on shared values and informed by the lived experiences of those they aim to protect; in other words, they are rooted in people's psychological experience and processing of their social worlds. But they do not have any significance until they take the form, or have the protection, of the law. Thus, they must be introduced into the machinery of the

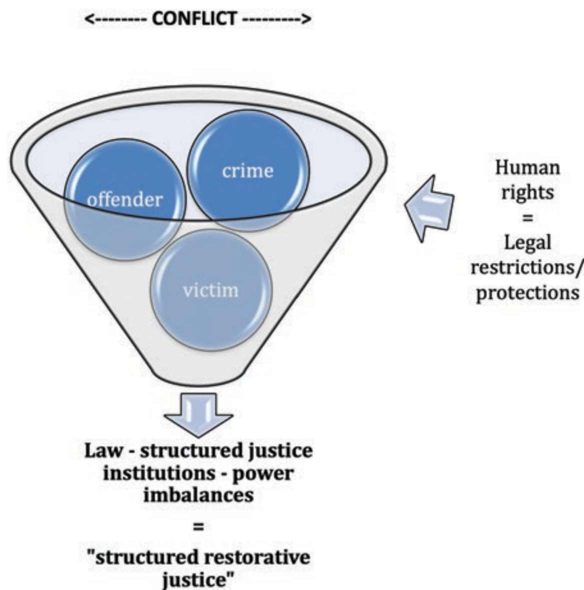

Fig. 1 Structured restorative justice

structured systems and sub-systems that are set up to address injustice, conflict, and violence.

Figure 1 illustrates how this structured way of delivering justice and restorative justice works. Conflict creates crime (i.e., harm), offenders, and victims. All three are placed within a funnel. Emptying the funnel of crime, offenders and victims will bring peace. This can be achieved through a legalized and structured justice system that is served by institutions employing restorative frameworks. The power imbalance that this structure creates is meant to be contained by the outside layer of the funnel which is made of human rights as these are materialized through the law. Structured restorative justice is one way of emptying the funnel as part of other structured forms of delivering and maintaining justice and bringing peace including criminal justice.

Unstructured Restorative Justice for Peace

Unstructured restorative justice focuses on the informal delivery of justice in response to conflict and the disturbance of peace (our common starting point), or in other words, within the context of *harm doing* as opposed to the breaking the law. Conflict in the form of harm causes a broken relationship between individuals, communities, the individual and the community, the individual and the state, or even between states. It does not lead to crimes, but creates harmed parties independently of whether these are labelled by the media, state actors or the public as victims or offenders. Under this model, it does not matter who did what to whom, but rather that the conflict has caused harm. A broken liaison in the preexistent relationship of the harmed parties can undermine positive peace, feed into cultural violence, or motivate direct violence.

Going back to the model, this time the funnel is filled with different ingredients (i.e., harm, broken social liaison, and harmed parties). Again, to achieve peace, the funnel must be emptied of these ingredients. Only this time, the intervention of the law will not work. There is no crime, victims, or offender. There is only harm and a broken liaison between harmed parties. The community must intervene, and various emotions must be employed to achieve peace. This intervention can take various shapes and forms, but ultimately must engage with psychosocial processes both internally (e.g., individual's interpretations of the events) and externally (e.g., conflict resolution measures). Restorative justice practice may offer one such form. Unlike the previous funnel, here loose and bottom-up mechanisms that aim to restore harm and the broken social liaison are used but are not dependent on formalized subsystems. They use localized and informal projects to build cultures of peace and prevent violent cycles from escalating (Fig. 2).

This does not mean that this system is not subject to occasional power abuse. In fact, a common feature of both funnels is the power structures that are created through the mechanisms of emptying them to achieve peace. Only in unstructured restorative justice, these powers are not observed within and between institutions.

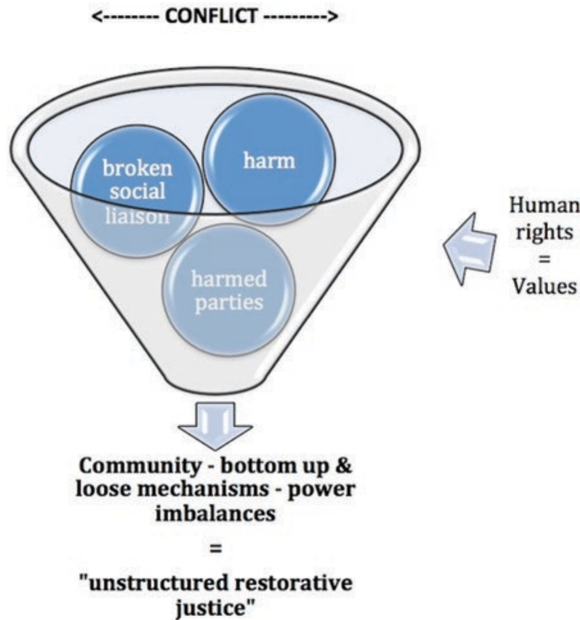

Fig. 2 Unstructured restorative justice

They are created among those community representatives delivering justice and pursuing peace. They can also be created between the harmed and harming parties, as their labels and roles as victims and offenders are removed.

Another shared denominator between the two funnels is the role of human rights as restraining standards. In the unstructured version of restorative justice, human rights are not enforced as legal restrictions, but as a value-based code of behavior and practice. Whether they are justiciable or not is irrelevant to the community-led and bottom-up structures that are called to achieve peace by emptying the funnel from harm and restoring the broken social liaison between the parties involved. What these justice projects need, including unstructured restorative justice, is the manifestation of value-based guidelines.

In summary, in achieving peace, restorative justice can work in parallel—not in opposition—to other forms of justice. In doing so, it can take two forms that are complementary. While structured restorative justice can work alongside top-down and formalized systems of achieving peace, unstructured restorative justice supports the community-based and organic reactions to disturbances of peace. Both forms of restorative justice can be subject to power abuse. While abuse in the structured restorative justice model is constrained through legal entities articulated in the form of human rights, in the unstructured version values and moral principles guide behavior and action. The reader will be able to identify both forms of restorative justice in the diverse contributions of this volume. While all share the same ultimate

objective of describing methods, theories, and practices for achieving peace at different levels, the deliberation between the two forms of restorative justice helps us place the details of their arguments within the right context facing different challenges and experiencing different opportunities.

Organization of the Volume

This volume presents an array of work situated at the interconnection of peace psychology and restorative justice. As noted above, the underlying foundation is Galtung's conceptualization of peace in relation to various forms of violence, with attention to how restorative justice involves and feeds into peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. The work presented in this volume is organized by topical area, beginning with contributions focused on educational settings and then moving to work addressing criminal justice and mental health. Underlying this framework is consideration of the ways that restorative justice can feed into psychosocial dynamics related to peace spanning from within individuals to across borders and institutions. This use of ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) is increasingly invoked in understanding the ways that cultures of peace cut across internal, collective, and institutional contexts (e.g., López & Taylor, 2021; Velez & Dedios, 2019).

Overall, these chapters paint a picture of how restorative justice and its impact on psychosocial processes can be understood both to prevent violence and promote peaceful relations, including through the pursuit of equity and the construction of horizontal, inclusive, and just dynamics between individuals, groups, and societies. Restorative justice can promote positive peace through fostering dialogue, empathy, forgiveness, prosocial development in children, and other key psychological elements of peace. Many of these contributions specifically address this potential through a focus on children and youth, and their engagement in school-based restorative justice. This overweighting of a developmental lens speaks both to the increasing integration of restorative justice in Western educational systems (Gregory et al., 2020; Wong & Gavrielides, 2019), as well as increasing interest in peace psychology in developmental frameworks and thinking to recognize and conceptualize young people's work in building cultures of peace (Berents & McEvoy-Levy, 2015; Taylor, 2020; Velez, 2019, 2021).

The first part of the volume involves chapters addressing the intersection and mutual connections between peace psychology and restorative justice in diverse educational contexts from primary school through post-secondary. First, Carroll and colleagues offer a vision, empirical evidence, and lessons about the potential of school-based restorative justice (within the K-12 setting) for promoting peaceful relations and educational environments. They explore three branches of work with educators and schools, detailing applicable insights and lessons for implementation and evaluation of the psychological impact of using restorative justice to promote

peaceful educational communities. Next is Recchia and colleagues' chapter on a developmental perspective to school-based restorative justice. Their work explores the ways that developmental psychology can contribute to understanding the experience and impacts of restorative justice, with a focus on morals, values, and children's perspectives on the world. This chapter is then complemented by Velez and Butler's contribution focusing on thinking about how experiencing restorative justice in school can have ripple effects on how young people understand themselves and the adult members of society they become. Moving outward to an institutional level, Payne and Welch detail the potential of restorative justice to transform K-12 school systems. The authors focus on evidence indicating that issues related to school climates and racial/ethnic inequities in disciplinary systems can be partially addressed through restorative justice. Positive peace can thus be built by addressing the structural and cultural violence perpetuated through K-12 schools and educational systems. The following chapter by Lyubansky and his student co-authors moves the focus to post-secondary contexts. These authors present a reflective articulation of core restorative justice principles to consider in university instruction. Their chapter offers insights from theory and research, as well as the lived classroom experiences of teachers and students within the context of an effort to build an authentic culture of peace within higher education in the United States. Finally, Alexander and colleagues articulate a vision for restorative justice as a pedagogy of transcendence. They base their chapter in the work of critical peace education and the pursuit of peace-centered teaching that aims to address the modern-day influence of colonization and oppression in educational settings.

The second section considers intersections between peace psychology and restorative justice in relation to criminal justice and its reverberations, including on mental health, coping, and resilience. The contributions focus on how peaceful relations can be built through restorative justice promoting internal harmony and disrupting interpersonal cycles of violence through healing, growth, and self-actualization. The section opens with the chapter by Nolan and Monaco-Wilcox detailing a story-telling-focused, restorative justice initiative with sexual assault survivors. They argue that the foundation of restorative justice and interpersonal connections of this intervention can help build inner peace, greater interpersonal and community connections, empathy, and support networks. Next, Walker and colleagues' contribution describes a restorative justice educational program for imprisoned women in Hawai'i. They explore the potential of restorative justice within the incarceration system to result in peaceful individual outcomes as well as mitigation of the structural violence inherent to this institution. The section then moves to a broader theoretical focus as Toscano's chapter makes links between psychological theory on human needs and self-actualization and coping and resilience through restorative frameworks. Finally, the section ends by moving to the international arena with Gabagambi's chapter detailing the ways that punitive approaches to justice and current norms in Tanzania create psychologically harmful conditions for victims and their families. Gabagambi argues that greater attention and integration of restorative justice across the institutions involved in the Tanzanian justice system would promote positive peace within victims and across society.

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Contents

Part I Restorative Justice and Peace Psychology in Relation to Educational Settings

1 Diverse Approaches for Implementing Restorative Practices in Schools in the US . . . 3
Jamee S. Carroll, Astrida Kaugars, and John Grych

2 Taking a Developmental Perspective on Restorative Justice in Schools . . . 23
Holly Recchia, Cecilia Wainryb, and Laura Pareja Conto

3 Developing Youth Peacebuilders: The Potential of School-Based Restorative Justice in the USA . . . 45
Gabriel Velez and Antonio Butler

4 Transforming School Climate and Student Discipline: The Restorative Justice Promise for Peace . . . 61
Allison Ann Payne and Kelly Welch

5 Developing a More Restorative Pedagogy: Aligning Restorative Justice Teaching with Restorative Justice Principles . . . 79
Mikhail Lyubansky, Giovana Mete, Gillian Ho, Emily Shin, and Yamenah Ambreen

6 Pedagogy of Transcendence: A Framework for Positive Peace and Restorative Justice in Education . . . 107
Gwynn Alexander, Antonio Jimenez-Luque, and David Karp

Part II Restorative Justice and Peace Psychology in Relation to Criminal Justice

7 Peace Building and Systemic Change for Survivors of Sexual Violence and Exploitation: LOTUS's Untold Stories . . . 131
Rachel K. Monaco and Emily Goldstein Nolan

8 Creating Peace by Restoring Relationships for Hawai‘i’s Imprisoned Women with Cooperative Learning and Restorative Justice 157
Lorenn Walker and Leela Bilmes Goldstein

9 Coping and Resilience Through Peace Psychology and Restorative Justice 175
Thomas Toscano

10 The Untreated Wounds of Crime Victims in Tanzania: A Psychological Consideration 193
Julena Jumbe Gabagambi

Epilogue 213

Index 223

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Part I
Restorative Justice and Peace Psychology in Relation to Educational Settings

Chapter 1
Diverse Approaches for Implementing Restorative Practices in Schools in the US

Jamee S. Carroll, Astrida Kaugars, and John Grych

Introduction

The use of restorative practices in schools emerged from the concept of restorative justice, which has a long history, but contemporarily was seen initially in the youth justice system as an alternative to punitive responses to criminal behavior (Coates et al., 2003; Gavrielides, 2011). Similarly, restorative practices were introduced to schools as an alternative to punitive methods of discipline and as a foundation for creating a culture of peace (Wong & Gavrielides, 2019). By the 1990s, many schools in the United States (US) had adopted zero-tolerance policies for perceived misbehavior that increased the use of suspensions and other exclusionary discipline practices. These practices had a particularly harmful effect on Black students, who tend to receive harsher penalties for misbehavior than White students (Hoffman, 2014; Skiba et al., 2002). Moreover, exclusionary discipline has significant long-term adverse effects on children; school suspensions have been found to contribute to an increased likelihood of students being retained, dropping out of school, and being arrested, and these effects have been borne disproportionately in the US by Black youths (Gregory et al., 2015).

Rather than suspending or expelling students who violate rules, restorative practices focus on keeping the offender in the school community and repairing relationships that were damaged by the misbehavior. For example, when a conflict occurs between students, restorative responses include victim-offender mediation and restorative circles involving the person who caused the harm and those affected by it (e.g., Cremin et al., 2012; Fronius et al., 2019). The use of restorative practices

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also can reduce racial disparities in discipline. Teachers who implement restorative practices fully rarely use exclusionary discipline for incidents of misconduct and defiance and have a narrower gap in discipline referrals between White/Asian American and African American/Latino students than teachers who have low restorative practice implementation (Gregory et al., 2015).

Restorative practices go beyond offering a different approach to discipline, however. They have the potential to transform the school climate by building more supportive relationships among students and between teachers and students. The philosophy and goals of restorative justice thus parallel those of peace psychology. Like restorative practices, peace psychology seeks to reduce conflict and violence, help communities heal from its effects, and foster more just and peaceful relationships among people. Peace psychology theorists distinguish between negative and positive peace (Christie, et al., 2008; Galtung, 1975). Negative peace, or peacemaking, seeks to resolve conflict and violence and ameliorate harm that it has caused and is consistent with the restorative practices focused on discipline and conflict management. Positive peace, or peacebuilding, involves creating equitable and harmonious communities and is consonant with restorative practices focused on improving relationships, such as community-building circles. Cultures of peace also serve to proactively prevent violence because they address the underlying causes of much conflict and violence. Similarly, creating a restorative community in schools can reduce conflict by providing constructive avenues for resolving ruptures in relationships and fostering the development of a supportive, just, and nurturing school climate.

Despite these parallels, connections rarely have been made between restorative practices in schools and peace psychology. In this chapter, we describe three approaches for integrating restorative practices in middle and high schools in a large urban school district and consider the implications of these types of efforts for establishing negative and positive peace in schools, globally. This district has struggled to address racial equity, school climate, academic achievement, and effective discipline practices, and restorative practices were introduced to create more empathic and positive relationships among students and between students and teachers.

The first section of the chapter explores a teacher-targeted approach in which high school teachers were trained in restorative practice principles. The second section discusses the development of a formal class to teach high school students about restorative practices. The final section describes a whole-school implementation in which restorative practice principles were central to the mission and operations of the school, and both students and teachers learned about restorative practices. For each approach, we describe the implementation procedure, present select findings using mixed-method data collection strategies, and discuss potential benefits and challenges. Lessons and implications for the utility of restorative practice integration on peace work in schools are provided.

Restorative Practices in Schools

The introduction of restorative justice in US schools has grown rapidly over the past decade and led to a wide variety of approaches (e.g., Fronius, et al., 2019; Lodi et al., 2022). Restorative practice implementation can vary in its scope and structure: it can be narrowly focused on conflict resolution or discipline, or it can seek to transform the whole school community. The practices used can be fairly informal (e.g., restorative dialogues between teachers and students) or formally structured into school operations (e.g., restorative conferencing that involves students, staff, and often community members, including families). Some of the most common types of restorative practices in schools include proactive circles, restorative conferences, and shame management (Costello et al., 2010).

Proactive circles can develop relationships and build community among students and staff. In sequential circles, participants speak one at a time. A talking piece (i.e., a small object that can be held and passed from person to person) may be used to indicate when it is someone's turn to speak, and others are not allowed to interrupt. A circle facilitator may pose a question for participants to answer with the goal of encouraging the participants to listen more and talk less. Restorative conferences are organized in response to harm or wrongdoing to determine how best to repair the harm. The structured meetings include the offender(s) and victim(s), and they may include community members (i.e., friends, family, witnesses). The conferences allow for victims and others to confront the offender to share their feelings and ask questions. Offenders may begin to repair the caused harm by making amends, apologizing, and agreeing to personal or community service work or financial restitution. Engaging in restorative practices also provides an opportunity to express emotions and reduce their intensity. Of particular focus may be shame, which may be expressed through withdrawal, attacking oneself, avoidance, and attacking others (Nathanson, 1997; Wachtel, 2016).

The school district described in this chapter developed three distinct approaches for integrating restorative practice into schools: teacher-targeted instruction, a formal class on restorative justice, and whole-school integration. We describe each of these in turn and present some of the results of our evaluation of the approach.

Approach #1: Teacher-Targeted Instruction

In urban school districts, many challenges impact staff and students, such as poverty, overpopulation, and more frequent rates of staff and student mobility (Kincheloe, 2004). Further, there is a growing demographic divide between teachers and students in urban school districts. Minority educators make up fewer than 20% of teachers in this country, and the rate of minority students is rising in urban public school districts (Cherng & Halpin, 2016). These unique factors of high community member turnaround and teacher-student racial incongruency increase the need for

specific interventions, such as restorative practices, that facilitate connectivity and harmony.

Within this district, until the 2017–2018 academic year, restorative practices were only being implemented in seven district high schools through a grant that offered support for mental health services. District leaders considered how to most efficiently expand restorative practices across multiple high schools. Administrators at each high school could decide whether to invite their staff to receive specialized training in restorative practices.

The training, developed by restorative practice staff in the district's Office of Violence Prevention, drew on established restorative practice research (Boyes-Watson & Pranis, 2015; *International Institute for Restorative Practices*©). It consisted of viewing a video that highlighted the several benefits of and the mechanisms for introducing restorative practices into their schools. The learning goals of the training module were to define and review the principles of restorative practices; to understand how discipline practices are shifted within a restorative practice framework; and to understand the formal and informal processes that facilitate these relationships. Six principles for creating a restorative school climate were introduced in the training: (1) relationships are central to creating healthy communities, (2) strong relationships are fostered by focusing on repairing harm rather than focusing on rule infractions; (3) shift focus from behavior to an individual's needs; (4) everyone is heard, and all voices are valued; (5) promote collaborative problem solving; and (6) emphasize "with" versus "to" and "for." This shift in language and behavior supports youth autonomy and collaboration as it highlights the significant and active role students also play in the environment, rather than being passive participants.

A key point of the training was to highlight restorative practices as a framework or lens through which teachers can engage with their students. This approach emphasizes relationships, high levels of accountability, and support. The goals of promoting a safe and equitable environment for all students were also discussed. With this training, the district attempted to focus on structural peacebuilding (Christie, 2006). This broad implementation, which served to redefine a positive learning environment, endeavored to yield a new, socially just system for students and teachers. This was particularly critical, given the predominantly racial and ethnic minority student body in this district.

The restorative practice framework was introduced to teachers as a continuum of practices that aid in community building and relationship reparation when harm has occurred between teachers and students or among students. The continuum of informal and formal practices ranged from using restorative language, such as affective statements and questions, to holding small conferences, proactive circling, repairing harm, and facilitating reentry circles. Affective statements reflect how an individual's specific action has affected the other person and offer a preferred alternative action to mitigate judgmental and conflictual language. Small conferences, where only involved parties and a facilitator are present, are employed to provide an opportunity for open discussion regarding the harm caused and the desired outcomes.

When school members participate in proactive circling, they cultivate an environment of transparency and collaboration to check in with each other. These circles are typically focused on a specific topic and are process oriented (Gregory et al., 2015). The repairing harm and reentry circles center on addressing conflict more broadly within the affected community (i.e., class or group). All tools serve to address conflict and reduce confrontation.

Dramatized examples of each were shown in the video. For example, in demonstrating a small impromptu conference, a teacher speaks with a student outside of the classroom. The student had been disengaged in class, with her head down and headphones on. The teacher calmly described how he had been impacted by her disengagement (i.e., "I felt like you did not care about the lesson, and I put a lot of effort into making it engaging…"). He then asked her what led to her behavior, and she described that she had been overwhelmed. He responded empathically, sharing that he also feels overwhelmed at times, but asked if she understood how others may have also been impacted by her actions. The student was able to acknowledge that her classmates may have been negatively impacted, given their lesson had been interrupted because he took that time to conference with her. The teacher met this acknowledgment with warmth and understanding. He then asked the student what he could do in the future if she was feeling overwhelmed that would limit the disruption to his other students and ensure her needs were met. They concluded that she could leave a note on his desk, and he would follow up with her later in the day for a check-in. They both rejoined the class.

The training video also described the benefits that teachers could expect from employing restorative practices in their classrooms and schools more broadly. They included declines in discipline referrals, classroom disruptions, and racial disproportionality in discipline practices and increases in graduation rates, attendance, academic achievement, and school climate. Another potential benefit discussed was increased conflict resolution skills among the students. Teachers in the video discussed how their ability to manage their classrooms had improved when introducing the restorative practice framework. Students in the video described increased trust and respect in their relationships with teachers and their peers. A common theme throughout the training video was the development of stronger interpersonal relationships in the classroom and school due to restorative practice implementation. The video highlighted the cultural and climatic shifts experienced when broad restorative practice and structural peacebuilding are centered (Christie, 2006; Gibbons, 2010).

In addition to watching the video, participating teachers engaged in group discussions to discuss the material they had learned. Teachers were challenged with identifying at least one way in which they could immediately begin implementing restorative practices in their classrooms. Teachers received suggestions and support from restorative practice leadership staff on potential strategies.

Assessment Method and Outcomes

Given that RP was a relatively new concept for most teachers in the district, it was important to understand how receptive teachers were to restorative practices and how open they perceived their school leaders to be toward restorative practice implementation. In collaboration with school district personnel who were overseeing restorative practice implementation, researchers developed a brief self-report measure of readiness to implement restorative practices and related beliefs. While participating in the video training was mandated by the school district, completion of the assessment questionnaire was voluntary.

The 22-item questionnaire was created by selecting items from several existing measures (see Table 1.1). Five subscales assessed teachers' beliefs and attitudes about themselves and their schools across domains, such as commitment to restorative practices, addressing student mental health needs, school climate, school leadership, and teacher growth mindset. The questionnaire was administered directly after high school teachers and staff members completed the district training session.

In total, 592 teachers from 15 high schools in the district answered the questionnaire. To preserve teacher anonymity, no information about teachers' demographic characteristics was collected, yet it was known at which schoolteachers worked. Teachers were categorized into one of two groups based on the duration of restorative practice implementation in their schools: seven schools had been implementing restorative practices for up to one year (Group 1; $n = 288$), and eight schools had been implementing restorative practices for more than one year (Group 2; $n = 304$).

Among all respondents, there were positive associations ($r = 0.22–0.70$) among scores representing greater commitment to restorative practices, more positive school climate, greater school leadership support, and greater endorsement of a growth mindset. The strongest correlation was between positive school climate and school leadership support ($r = 0.70$, $p < 0.01$).

A MANOVA was conducted to assess group differences across subscales. It was hypothesized that teachers from schools with longer restorative practice implementation would hold more positive beliefs regarding students' mental health, their commitment to restorative practices, their school's climate and leadership, and operating from a growth mindset. There was a statistically significant difference in the subscale scores for schools that had implemented restorative practices for up to 1 year versus those implementing restorative practices for more than 1 year, $F(5,586) = 5.59$, $p < 0.001$. The mean scores for commitment to RP implementation, $F(1,590) = 25.94$, $p < 0.001$; school climate, $F(1,590) = 7.88$, $p = 0.005$; and school leadership $F(1,590) = 4.06$, $p = 0.04$, were significantly different for the two groups. That is, teachers at schools with a longer duration of restorative practice implementation consistently reported greater commitment to restorative practices, a more positive school climate, and more support from leadership. There were no statistically significant group differences for the scores assessing the importance of addressing student mental health needs and teacher growth mindset.

Table 1.1 Multiple methods for assessing three different approaches to RP implementation

Approach	Assessment method	Constructs	Measures
Teacher-targeted instruction	Teacher questionnaire	Commitment to RP implementation (4 items)	Social emotional learning (American Institutes for Research [AIR], 2014)
		Addressing student mental health needs (5 items)	ED School Climate Surveys (EDSCLS; National Center for Education Statistics, 2015)
		School climate (4 items)	Panorama Teacher Survey (Panorama Education, 2015b)
		School leadership (5 items)	Panorama Teacher Survey (Panorama Education, 2015b)
		Teacher growth mindset (4 items)	Panorama Teacher Survey (Panorama Education, 2015b)
High school RP course	Student questionnaire	Teacher-student relationships (6 items)	Phillipo et al. (2017)
		Classroom climate (6 items)	Panorama Student Survey (Panorama Education, 2015a)
		Diversity-related experiences (5 items)	Kurlaender and Yun (2001)
		Emotion regulation (5 items)	Difficulties in Emotion Regulation Scale (Gratz & Roemer, 2004)
		Empathy (5 items)	Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (Spreng et al., 2009)
	Classroom observations	Emotional support	Classroom Assessment Scoring System™- Secondary version (CLASS-S; Allen et al., 2013)
		Classroom organization	CLASS-S (Allen et al., 2013)
		Instructional support	CLASS-S (Allen et al., 2013)
		Student engagement	CLASS-S (Allen et al., 2013)
	Student and teacher focus groups		
Whole-school approach	Student questionnaires	Teacher-student relationships (6 items)	Phillipo et al. (2017)
		Purpose (3 items)	Hamby et al. (2013)
		Emotion regulation (5 items)	Difficulties in Emotion Regulation Scale (Gratz & Roemer, 2004)
		Panorama Student Survey (Panorama Education, 2015a)	Panorama Student Survey (Panorama Education, 2015a)
		Empathy (5 items)	Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (Spreng et al., 2009)
		Hope (6 items)	Children's Hope Scale (Snyder et al., 1997)

(continued)

Table 1.1 (continued)

Approach	Assessment method	Constructs	Measures
	Teacher questionnaire	Commitment to RP implementation (3 items)	Social emotional learning (American Institutes for Research [AIR], 2014)
		School climate (4 items)	Panorama Teacher Survey (Panorama Education, 2015b)
		Teacher growth mindset (4 items)	Panorama Teacher Survey (Panorama Education, 2015b)
		Empathy (16 items)	Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (Spreng et al., 2009)

Benefits and Challenges

For many of the teachers in this district, the training video was the first exposure they had to restorative practices. The training highlighted a novel approach to addressing conflict and misbehavior with their students in a respectful and collaborative manner and presented alternative ideas for addressing student behavior. It also provided an opportunity for teachers to discuss new practices with their peers and brainstorm effective strategies to shift their classroom and school environments. The training videos and subsequent conversations served as a starting point for deeper exploration into restorative practices. As evidenced by the data, teachers who had previous experience with restorative practices expressed more positive beliefs about their abilities, roles, and schools. They also indicated more commitment to restorative practice implementation.

The structural peacebuilding and broad restorative practice implementation approach underscores the importance of tangible investment from leadership staff when redeveloping a just and equitable system. Providing teachers with the tools to introduce restorative practices in their own classrooms can be beneficial in jump-starting cultural shifts. Teachers may feel more comfortable and equipped to respond to student misbehaviors and classroom management in more restorative manners to increase positive peace in their school communities. However, this approach requires explicit buy-in and practice from leadership staff to produce and sustain the intended changes.

Approach #2: A Restorative Practices Course

Several years before creating the teacher training, the school district developed an innovative course for high school students designed to introduce them to the core principles and fundamental values inherent in a restorative community while simultaneously creating such a community in the classroom. The Restorative Practices course was developed by district teachers well versed in restorative practices and

designed to be taught as a year-long, one-credit English or Social Studies elective. However, in some schools, it was offered for a single semester. The semi-structured curriculum was divided into 13 topics (see Table 1.2) and consisted of several major components that integrated social-emotional learning and restorative practice principles: building and centering trust and relationships in the classroom, understanding and expressing emotions, restorative justice, and social justice. Aligned with key aspects of peace work, restorative practices focus on the intrapersonal development of positive traits and positive experiences that build healthy and harmonious communities (Anderson, 2004). For example, the course sought to promote the development of key internal assets, such as a sense of responsibility, problem-solving skills, and social and emotional competency (Macready, 2009). The attention to emotion regulation and problem-solving skills also was intended to give students tools for resolving conflicts in their lives and thus helps promote negative peace or peacemaking. By focusing on the development of strong, trusting relationships between teachers and students and a healthy, caring community, the course's ultimate goal was the promotion of positive peace in the classroom, or peace building.

The first several weeks of the course focused on community building in the class. This was facilitated by the use of games and activities that enabled students to become acquainted with each other and be more comfortable talking in class. They were introduced to the process of circling, learned the guidelines for speaking and listening in the circle, and chose or created talking pieces for their group. They also learned about reflective listening and empathy and were given opportunities to practice them in the circles. Teachers later allowed students to introduce their own circle topics in order to promote engagement and shared responsibility. Students watched videos and documentaries on trust and values and participated in group discussions and circles following each activity to allow for reflection. As the classroom community grew more trusting and supportive, the goal was to transition the circle work

Table 1.2 Foundations of restorative practice topics

Days	Topics
Days 1–17	Classroom community building
Days 18–27	Developing a circle practice
Days 28–32	Diversity
Days 33–37	Values
Days 38–42	Student facilitation
Days 43–46	The philosophy of restorative practices
Days 47–50	Discipline and punishment
Days 51–53	Harm
Days 54–56	Emotions and trauma
Days 57–62	Repairing harm
Days 63–69	Reconciliation and forgiveness
Days 70–71	Criminal justice and restorative justice
Days 72–80	Social justice

from the classroom to the school. The final exam for the first semester required students to facilitate community-building circles with a group of teachers in the building.

Throughout this year-long course, students utilized the circle process to discuss topics such as understanding emotions, the impact of trauma, the definition of harm, leadership, and family. The aim of this process was to foster empathic listening and responding while simultaneously promoting academic engagement. Students learned about the continuum of restorative practices and their use to build community, address community problems, and repair relationships. Although not framed explicitly as peacemaking or peacebuilding, these topics engaged students in thinking about how to create and maintain cultures of peace in their own schools, neighborhoods, and communities.

Another innovative aspect of the course is its attention to social justice. This component of the curriculum revolved around a collection of essays and articles that highlighted systemic inequities globally and locally. For example, students read an article and participated in a guided circle about their city's long history of racial and ethnic segregation. By learning about structural sources of inequality and their impact on the community in which they lived, students were encouraged to broaden their focus from interpersonal relationships within the school to larger social forces.

Assessment Method and Outcomes

The restorative practice courses in seven district high schools were evaluated for a full school year utilizing a mixed-method approach (see Table 1.1). Students completed questionnaires, students and teachers participated in focus groups, and trained evaluators completed classroom observations. The questionnaires were completed at the beginning and end of each semester and assessed students' perceptions of teacher-student relationships, classroom climate, diversity, emotion regulation, and empathy. Trained research assistants observed classrooms twice each semester using the standardized Classroom Assessment Scoring System™-Secondary version (CLASS-S; Allen et al., 2013), which has four subscales: emotional support, classroom organization, instructional support, and student engagement. Focus groups were held with teachers early and late in the fall semester, while focus groups were conducted with students at the end of the spring semester. The enrollment of the restorative practice classes varied considerably across schools, and due to the relatively small sample sizes within each school, we did not have sufficient power for statistical tests to demonstrate significant differences over the course of a semester or school year for the student-report questionnaires. Consequently, we focus on describing the pattern of scores across schools below.

For the three schools with full-year classes, mean scores on most of the questionnaires generally showed improvement across the first three assessments (i.e., early and late fall and early spring) but then declined at the final assessment in spring (although there was variability across schools). The semester-long classes taught at

the other three schools exhibited two patterns. The first mirrored the year-long classes, with two classes showing improving scores from early to late fall, whereas the third class demonstrated generally decreasing scores from the first to the second assessment.

Data from the class observations similarly showed variability across schools. Much like the questionnaires, some classrooms exhibited an increasingly positive climate over the course of the semester or year, others exhibited variation across scales over the year, and some demonstrated declines over the semester or year.

Finally, restorative practice course teachers and students were each invited to focus groups to gather information about their experiences with the restorative practice curriculum. Their comments offer some insights into the variability observed on the surveys and class observations across schools. One teacher highlighted the importance of being truly committed to restorative practice principles:

> This isn't a thing you do; this is who you should be as a teacher. This is what we would expect from good teachers, that you build relationships with students, that you listen to them, and that you treat them with dignity.

Additionally, teachers commented on the course's ability to foster meaningful relationships between students:

> There was nothing before this that taught our kids character development, or even gave them the space to talk about what it's like to be a person. So there have been all of these things that we've tried, and we could never get all staff to agree on an approach. So, I think now allowing some of the kids to have a space to just process some of these things and talk about these things is really important. The application of knowing each other, I agree with that being key, because they really don't get the opportunity to build relationships with each other outside of the course, so hopefully they are seeing new ways to do that and can take it out of the [restorative practices] classroom.

However, teachers also noted some struggles with buy-in more broadly:

> I know that people [teachers] aren't doing it, and that happens, it's tough to get buy-in from staff who are told "you have to do this, you have to try this now, it's new and it's not really rolled out but you're going to do it anyway." I totally get it.

The focus groups conducted with students at the end of the school year further explored their perspectives about their experiences in restorative practice classes. These comments indicated that in some classes, the primary goals of the restorative practices course were met. For example, one student commented:

> I express how I feel a lot more than I used to. I used to keep everything like bottled up and now I feel more comfortable expressing how I feel about certain situations and making improvements and stuff like that. I'm more open-minded now instead of being, you know, having my one perspective and moving on with it.

When discussing how comfortable they felt in the space, one student commented:

> Basically, I feel like since the beginning [of the year] we built a bond with our teacher; we did a lot of stuff that built the trust up that we have with him. Which is why a lot of are so comfortable with talking about so much stuff with him and each other. …It wasn't just us sharing stuff either, he was a part of our circle, too.

Though the bonding and relationships were important in the restorative practice course, some students noted that the way the students were added to the class may have led to some tension:

> Sometimes it felt really divided, because some of us already knew each other, like we're all from different grade levels and in different places and I just think that made it kind of divided. It made me feel like I still don't really know people in here because that divide was already there.

Overall, quotes from teachers and students describing their experiences of the classroom climate, teacher-student relationships, and their engagement in the class supported the potential for the restorative practice class to create cultures of peace in the classroom. Student comments in particular showed how effective the class can be in creating a supportive, respectful class climate that encourages and engages students. However, there are factors that can prevent the class from meeting its potential. If teachers are not fully committed to utilizing restorative practices in the classroom or students are added to (or dropped from) the class as the year goes on, it is difficult to create the kind of trusting relationships that provide a foundation for student learning and development.

Benefits and Challenges

There are several characteristics of the restorative practice course model that suggest it might be useful for disseminating restorative practice principles. The restorative practice classroom offered a supportive and secure haven for students to open up and engage with each other in a manner uncharacteristic of other courses and high school experiences. Given the increased number of interactions adolescents have in a day in a typical high school setting, the restorative practice course provided a stable refuge for students who benefitted from belonging to a smaller community. Research emphasizes the importance of adolescents having at least one positive, caring relationship with a competent adult to promote healthy development (Aldridge et al., 2015; Yeung & Leadbeater, 2010), and the restorative practice course directly facilitated strong bonds between teachers and students, fostering a meaningful connection with an adult in their community. Thus, the goal of the RP class expanded to include not only a focus on negative peace (i.e., resolving conflict) but also a focus on positive peace (i.e., fostering supportive and caring relationships). Overall, the course cultivates a positive environment for relationships to thrive and for students to gain deeper and applicable social, emotional, and critical learning skills.

The degree of variability in students' perceptions and classroom observations of the course highlighted the importance of teacher training and student continuity in creating the kind of classroom climate that the restorative practice course can offer. The restorative practice classes that most successfully met the goals of the curriculum were led by teachers who were well trained in restorative practices and took

place in schools where there was continuity in student enrollment. This finding speaks to the importance of institutional support. The restorative practice class has the potential to create a climate of support, respect, and trust, but it cannot flourish in isolation without the support of school and district administrators. It also has limited power to promote positive peace if that class is the only place where restorative practices are found. To truly establish a culture of peace, the entire school must be guided by restorative principles.

Approach #3: Whole-School Approach

In whole-school models of restorative practice implementation, a focus on relationships impacts pedagogy, practice, and discipline. Whole-school models have multiple goals, including strengthening relationships among students, teachers, and staff; improving school climate; strengthening equity and culturally sensitive practices; and supporting social-emotional learning (see González et al., 2019). Effective whole-school implementation requires commitment from school leadership as well as the entire school community to build new and strengthen existing relational capacities among school community members (González et al., 2019).

During the 2019–2020 school year, the district had an existing school transition to a charter school with a new vision rooted in restorative justice. The goal was for the school culture to emphasize high expectations for students and staff as well as the development of a growth mindset among students and educators. Moreover, seven skills for success were identified (e.g., effective communication, collaborative problem-solving, and cultural competency). Students would demonstrate mastery of the skills through materials assembled in a portfolio. In the reopening, the governing board wanted to incorporate restorative practice principles in multiple ways. Firstly, the vision was to hire leadership, teachers, and staff who desired to work in a school founded on restorative practice principles. Secondly, at the beginning of the school year, teachers participated in 3 days of preservice training dedicated to understanding restorative practice principles and implementation. Thirdly, throughout the school year, school staff participated in weekly circles to enhance their understanding of restorative practices and to offer support to one another in the implementation of such practices. It was expected that by experiencing circles themselves, teachers would be better prepared to facilitate circles with their students. Fourthly, students were assigned a homeroom teacher for the year, and they started each day with a community-building circle. The goal was for students to be able to develop strong relationships with at least their homeroom teacher and peers for continued support and to become comfortable using circles to communicate openly with them. Finally, the school's approach to discipline was intended to follow restorative practice principles. That is, in addition to trying to prevent behavior infractions and conflict, when they did occur, rather than suspending or expelling students, restorative circles would be held to address the harm done to individuals and/or the larger community. Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic forced the

school to discontinue in-person learning in March 2020. Thus, this section will only describe the assessment of the implementation of this approach for the first 6 months of the school year (i.e., August–February).

Assessment Method and Outcomes

Multimethod data similar to those described above were collected to evaluate this approach to restorative practice implementation (see Table 1.1). Teachers and students completed questionnaires and engaged in focus groups to describe their experiences in the school. The questionnaires assessed the same constructs as described for the other approaches. Students completed the 31-item surveys at three time points (i.e., in August, November, and January), which assessed teacher-student relationships, purpose, emotion regulation, belonging, empathy, and hope. Teachers answered 27 questions twice (i.e., in August and January); the questions were about commitment to RP, school climate, growth mindset, and empathy.

Due to data collection limitations, it was not possible to evaluate student data longitudinally. However, it was possible to compare scale means for two time points at a time. Students rated their relationships with teachers as less positive as the school year progressed; students' ratings of their relationships with their teachers in November and January were statistically significantly lower than their ratings in August ($d = 0.33$ and 0.55, respectively). Students' ratings of their sense of belonging at school were statistically significantly lower in November and January than in August ($d = 0.40$ and 0.74, respectively), and ratings in January were statistically significantly lower than ratings in November ($d = 0.31$). Students' scores on the empathy scale in January were lower than scores in August and November ($d = 0.30$ and 0.48, respectively). There were no statistically significant differences between the time points in students' ratings of purpose and hope (d's = 0.00–0.21). Scores for emotion regulation were not calculated due to the measure's poor reliability.

The number of teachers completing the surveys was twice as large in August ($n = 24$) as it was in January ($n = 12$). Similar to the student data, the data for teachers could not be matched across time points, but comparisons for the group means were conducted. There were no statistically significant differences between the two time points for all four assessed constructs. Yet there were small to medium effect sizes for the relatively lower scores in January as compared to August for commitment to RP ($d = 0.33$), school climate ($d = 0.64$), and growth mindset ($d = 0.56$). Teachers had higher scores for empathy in January than they did in August ($d = 0.39$).

Students in the sixth to eighth grades participated in focus groups 3 months after the school year started (i.e., November), and teachers participated in interviews 4 months into the school year (i.e., December). Sixth-grade students were the most positive about the community-building circles, seventh-grade students expressed mostly negative opinions about the circles, and eighth-grade students had both positive and negative opinions. Generally, the students described liking to participate in them because it helped them feel better: "they're fun and help get your mind off

stress" and "Because it's a good thing to talk in circles because sometimes you might solve it and stuff." Students reported that the circles helped students communicate and discuss their feelings:

> I'm saying like we can be angry but other people won't know it cause we don't show it, and like, and then like we can say the wrong thing and they can get something started. But by the circle, you know. By them asking us in the circle in front of everybody, it helps people get along better.

Some stated that it was nice to do them at the beginning of the day so that they can transition into a "school mindset." Students reported that as they grew more comfortable with each other, the circles became more "interactive." A student described a positive aspect of the circles: "Yeah, you can get stuff off your mind. And like it makes you feel better because somebody might.... somebody might have the same thing that you do." Students noted that when they perceived their teachers as truly invested, it had an impact on them: "It got me motivated to do work in class. It makes me feel like the teachers actually care about how the students feel."

Students also described negative aspects of the community-building circles. They said that sometimes the questions were repetitive: "First, it was okay. But then they kept asking the same questions every week." One student discounted the purpose of the circles: "I only like to do it when I don't feel like going to class, and I like killing time, it's good for that." They suggested making sure that teachers pick new topics to discuss each week. In some of the advisory periods with certain teachers, students reported that they did not have input into the questions that were discussed. These students wanted to "be part of the equation" and wanted to be able to lead circles themselves. They want to talk more about "everyday things" they experience, not just general icebreakers.

Both students and teachers identified the value of conferencing with peers. A student explained how the conferencing approach differed from responses to resolving student conflict that had been used in the past:

> I think it will vary because like, since we're all students, we know each other, and we're very close with each other. So like, we can talk to them about it. It helped them instead of just being go through principal's office straightaway. Stuff like that.

A teacher described how conferencing may have impacted student relationships:

> Sometimes it is better because they get another chance to do what's right instead of fighting and solving their problems. And say like sorry and handshake and do all that. Because some fights, when a fight happens and they're friends, they just get back friends again. And then they fight again and get back friends, and fight again, and get back friends.

However, despite the attempts to apply restorative practice principles, students and teachers described that punitive discipline strategies continued to be used. A student shared the following: "We either have a circle or [principal]; if you go to [principal], she just suspend you."

Benefits and Challenges

Despite the relatively short period of whole-school restorative practice implementation and evaluation, there are several observations that can inform about future program development. First, the leadership team dedicated 3 days of restorative practice training prior to the start of school, and 1 day a week, students were released early so that the staff could have time for training and planning. The first 3 weeks of the school year, this time was spent meeting in circles with a restorative practice trainer. Such devoted time to staff training is consistent with step 2 in a tiered model of teacher professional development in restorative practices (Mayworm et al., 2016). Second, the ability to collect both quantitative and qualitative data multiple times during the early months of implementation enabled the school leadership team to understand students' and staff's existing beliefs and attitudes and whether those changed. Contrary to expectations, student ratings of teacher-student relationships and sense of belonging were lower after the first 4 months of the school year, but there was no statistically significant difference in students' rating of purpose or hope. There were no statistically significant differences in teachers' ratings of the assessed constructs.

There were several notable limitations that hindered the school from maximizing the investment in whole-school implementation and may explain why students reported poorer relationships with their teachers and less sense of belonging over the course of the first 6 months of the school. First, a senior administrator, who played a critical role in hiring and training teachers receptive to restorative practices, left for another assignment shortly before the school year started. Thus, one of the administrators most knowledgeable about and committed to restorative practices was not available to support and guide the teachers. Second, there was a decrease in the frequency and utility of daily circles throughout the first half of the school year. Per students' reports, there was great variability in teacher buy-in and genuine mindset shift from previously held beliefs in restorative practice principles. For example, teachers often engaged in behaviors that aligned with restorative practices, but students felt the behaviors were incongruent with teachers' perceived negative attitudes about restorative practices. Finally, suspension was still a primary response to perceived misbehavior; thus, the plan to replace punitive disciplinary practices with restorative methods – a cornerstone of restorative justice – was not achieved. This may have undermined both students' and teachers' trust that student conflicts and rule violations would be handled in a new and restorative way.

Conclusion

This chapter describes three approaches, which a large urban school district took, to introducing restorative practices in middle and high schools: one focused on training teachers, one on teaching restorative practices to students, and one on

whole-school implementation. These approaches illustrate the variety of ways that principles of restorative justice can be integrated into schools. The ultimate goal of each was peacebuilding, or fostering positive peace, by creating harmonious and equitable communities; in the first and third approaches, the community in question was the school, and in the second, it was a classroom. As described above, these approaches demonstrated some promising initial results, but they also highlight some of the implementation obstacles that can limit the potential benefits of restorative practices.

The restorative practice class showed that when well-trained teachers are committed to enacting and consistently enact restorative principles and are supported by senior administrators, they can create classroom cultures based on trust, fairness, and equity. Examining the strategy of training teachers in restorative practices also highlighted the importance of top-down leadership by showing a strong correlation between administrator support and a positive school climate.

However, when teachers lack sufficient training and motivation to relate to their students in a new way or find that their efforts are not supported by their administrators, the promise of restorative practices may not be realized. This was particularly prominent in the whole-school implementation, which demonstrated the difficulty of fostering a restorative climate when exclusionary discipline practices were still being used. For restorative practices to take root and become a sustained part of the school culture, there must be buy-in from teachers, administrators, families, and the children themselves. Lodi and colleagues (2022) noted that not all schools are prepared to change their disciplinary policies or enact broader changes that would alter the ways that students, teachers, and administrators relate to each other. Creating a culture of peace requires significant training and a philosophical shift in the way students, teachers, and administrators relate to each other. In the focus group for teachers of the Restorative Practices course, some expressed initial concerns about participating fully in the circle process with their students. They were concerned that they would lose their authority but found instead that they had gained humanity in the eyes of their students.

It also takes patience to change the norms and practices of a school: sustained changes in teacher and administrator attitudes toward discipline may take up to 3 years (Karp & Breslin, 2001), and implementing school-wide changes in culture could take 3–5 years (Evans & Lester, 2013). Consequently, it is too early to know if the whole-school implementation described in the third approach will be successful. It also is important to consider that teachers' and staff's beliefs may precede an actual change in practice. It may be that the work in the district over the recent years primarily serves to lay the foundation for restorative practice work that will foster true cultural shifts in the school climate.

This chapter highlights the promise of restorative practices in striving for equitable and peaceful schools. Understanding how these environments and cultures are created and effectively maintained, or stunted, can be important for schools introducing restorative practices in their communities. Moreover, the chapter underscores key components of effective restorative practice programming and the benefits and drawbacks of implementing varied approaches.

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Chapter 2
Taking a Developmental Perspective on Restorative Justice in Schools

Holly Recchia, Cecilia Wainryb, and Laura Pareja Conto

Introduction

Educational contexts modelled after the principles of restorative justice are aligned with a cultural shift that moves away from behavioural models of social control towards prioritizing social engagement and responsibility (Reimer, 2019). Restorative models go beyond addressing specific incidents of harm to promote a culture of positive peace aimed at improving the school environment through dialogue and relationship building (Cremin & Bevington, 2017; Galtung & Fischer, 2013). In this sense, restorative justice can be understood both as a philosophical framework and as a set of practices to address harms (Anfara et al., 2013). This framework is well aligned with the key goals of peace education: not only to prevent violence but also to promote relational harmony and equitable practices that aim to meet all children's needs (Christie et al., 2008; Taylor & Christie, 2015). Indeed, a key feature of restorative practices in schools is that these disciplinary approaches involve authority figures and students working together to overcome harms and injustices in ways that support healthy relationships and children's well-being (Morrison et al., 2005). Because from this viewpoint children are crucial actors and agents in school communities, it is important to consider the developmental capacities that inform their engagement with restorative initiatives, such as social-cognitive abilities and moral understandings. Yet studies of restorative

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justice in schools have rarely examined how children themselves experience and evaluate these approaches. While there is a rich body of psychological scholarship documenting children's evolving thinking about harm, justice, and repair, this research has rarely been directly linked to children's experiences of restorative justice in schools. Drawing these links can also inform scholarship on peace education, inasmuch as it can elucidate intrapersonal processes such as conflict interpretations that bear upon peacemaking initiatives, as well as transformative peace-building efforts that require reflections on how to overcome inequities and power imbalances within schools (Christie et al., 2008).

The goal of this chapter is to encourage a rapprochement between scholarship on children's socio-moral development and the implementation of restorative initiatives in schools. To this end, we first outline how children's and adolescents' evolving understandings of harms and accountability may inform their orientations towards restoring harms and resolving conflicts with others. We describe how children's socio-emotional capacities and moral understandings may support their willingness and ability to engage in restorative initiatives starting in early childhood and also suggest how their participation may need to be scaffolded in age-appropriate ways. We then elaborate on theory and research concerning children's constructions of meanings via narratives and conversations to speak to possible developmental consequences of children's participation in dialogically based restorative practices. Finally, we suggest areas for future research based on the view that building bridges between psychological research, restorative justice, and peace education initiatives can enrich both scholarship and practice. It is important to note from the outset that most scholarship in these areas is based on samples of North American children and adolescents, and thus not all of these patterns may generalize across different sociocultural milieus.

How Socio-moral Development May Inform Children's Participation in Restorative Initiatives

Children's developing capacities to engage with restorative initiatives in schools can be organized around the three foundational pillars of restorative justice (Zehr, 2002): (a) harm and needs, with respect to how children of different ages understand and evaluate them; (b) obligations, in relation to how children make sense of accountability for harm; and (c) engagement, in terms of how children view their own agentic roles (as well as the roles of adults) in the justice process. These capacities, in turn, bear on how restorative justice initiatives can most effectively support developmentally sensitive peace education efforts that aim for *just peace* via complementary concerns with justice and support for healthy relationships (Taylor & Christie, 2015).

Children's Developing Perspectives on Harm and Needs

At the most basic level, a restorative orientation to justice requires demonstrating concern with the ways in which people are impacted by others' hurtful actions. Thus, if children fail to notice or fully comprehend the impact of actions on others or if they do not evaluate those impacts as problematic, then they are unlikely to be oriented towards restoring harms. Constructivist theories of moral development posit that children learn about harm through experience and that they gradually develop such understandings through their social interactions with others (Dahl, 2018). For example, around their first birthday, toddlers regularly engage in unprovoked acts of force against others without signs of being distressed or provoked (Dahl, 2016). However, by late in the second year, the frequency of these unprovoked acts tends to decrease, ostensibly as children learn through experience about the hurtful effects of physical force on others (although toddlers and older children continue to harm others when provoked).

Research reliably indicates that later in preschool years, children consistently judge hurting others as wrong and do so on the basis of moral concerns with others' welfare (Smetana et al., 2014). Across varied cultural milieus, preschool-aged children also differentiate these sorts of moral transgressions that involve harming others (e.g. physically, psychologically, or by behaving unjustly) from transgressions of conventional rules that do not carry intrinsic harm to others (e.g. not sitting in one's designated place in a classroom, not raising one's hand to speak, not wearing the prescribed school uniform). Whereas preschoolers make universalizable and prescriptive judgments about rules bearing on harm or unfairness, they recognize that conventional norms vary by context (e.g. it is okay to speak without asking permission during recess) and are rule contingent (e.g. it would be okay to speak without raising one's hand in the classroom if there was no rule against it).

These findings concerning the consistent distinctions that even preschoolers draw among different kinds of rule breaking are relevant to the context-sensitive implementation of restorative initiatives in schools, in that it is crucial to address children's violations of rules in ways that do not inappropriately equate harms and injustices with rule breaking of other kinds. Research has shown that children are attuned to whether educators' disciplinary interventions are sensitive to these distinctions. For example, when educators display sensitivity to the nature of children's transgressions (e.g. underscoring the intrinsic harm of some behaviours vs. referring to explicit rules regulating other behaviours), third to ninth graders tend to rate teachers' responses more positively (Nucci, 1984). Yet disciplinary policies in schools often conflate these different types of issues (e.g. Goodman, 2006), with teachers treating varied infractions as equivalent and administrations generating myriad rules that are not thoughtfully implemented. The psychological data underscore that much could be gained by implementing restorative approaches in ways that account for the types of transgressions they mean to address. In fact, dialogues between students and adults in schools oriented to restorative justice are used not only to address harms but also in response to conventional infractions, such as dress code violations or being noisy and disruptive (Dubin, 2016), as well as prudential

infractions, such as truancy (Winn, 2018). While, overall, restorative practices are likely preferable to zero tolerance or punitive responses for all types of infractions, the research on children's sensitivity to the nature of transgressions suggests that it may be important to nevertheless tailor restorative interventions to the types of rule violations being addressed.

Furthermore, in relation to harm specifically, developmental research suggests that young children's sensitivity to harm is not contingent on – and even defies – authority mandates or punitive approaches. Indeed, children as young as 4 years old judge that it is wrong to hit or mistreat someone even if a parent or teacher directs them to do so (Laupa, 1994; Smetana et al., 2021). These findings stand in contrast to common assumptions that children require rules or punishments to recognize that these behaviours are wrong. Rather, by the late preschool years, children recognize and care about harms and injustices in their own right, which is an important building block for meaningfully involving them in restorative approaches.

Of course, this is not to say that preschoolers can fully grasp all forms of harm. Research on young children's moral judgments has centred on relatively unambiguous hurtful acts, such as hitting, pushing, or stealing. But the full range of ways in which people can be hurt or upset by others' actions is broader, and older children become more aware of subtle and psychologically based forms of harm. For instance, from 5 to 10 years of age, children increasingly recognize and judge emotional harms (e.g. making fun of a peer) as severe (Heck et al., 2021). In adolescence, youth also become particularly sensitive to social evaluation due to their developing psychological understandings and the importance that they place on social relationships; therefore, they become more aware of the possibility of relationship-based and reputational harms, such as social exclusion (Somerville, 2013).

These patterns imply that youth of different ages may experience particular types of harms in varied ways and may also require different types of adult support to fully comprehend the impacts of their actions on others. This may be particularly the case when youth have minimal direct experience with certain forms of harm or injustice; for example, White youth who have less experience with identity-based micro-aggressions (West, 2019) develop understandings of discrimination and prejudice at a later age than their Black and Latinx peers (Seider et al., 2019).

An implication of this research is that harms often stem from children's lack of attunement to the severity of the consequences of their actions rather than their indifference to those consequences. This is one reason that punitive approaches may be ineffective for children's learning. One goal of punishment is to generate external negative consequences in response to harm as a form of deterrence (e.g. Patchin & Hinduja, 2018), implying that an awareness of having caused harm is not sufficiently aversive. In this sense, power-assertive responses fail to address children's difficulties in anticipating or grasping the intrinsically hurtful outcomes of some actions. Dialogically based restorative approaches are better suited to supporting children's awareness and understanding of the impacts of harmful actions. Indeed, inductive educational interventions (which involve explaining to children the psychological and emotional consequences of their own actions towards others) are known to support moral development (e.g. see Rote et al., 2021).

Children's developing social-cognitive skills also inform, in other ways, how they understand and evaluate harm. For example, young children's limited psychological understandings can lead them to be more outcome focused in judging harmful actions and less likely to take people's intentions into account. Indeed, preschoolers are more likely than early school-aged children to believe that a negative outcome must have been intended, and so they judge people more harshly for accidentally causing harm (Killen et al., 2011). Relatedly, before the age of 7, children have a limited grasp of divergent interpretations and struggle to comprehend that a conflict can reasonably be understood in different ways (Ross et al., 2005). These findings have implications for supporting young children's participation in dialogical approaches to addressing harms, which are typically based on the premise that different parties have varied legitimate perspectives on events. That is, the interpretive aspects of conflict might be more difficult for younger children to grasp, and they may more often judge that others' divergent perspectives are simply "wrong." Nevertheless, although young children may need support in navigating these discussions and more often struggle to see the validity of others' points of view, it is also the case that their participation in dialogically based restorative initiatives can serve to foster their development of these social-cognitive capacities. This latter issue will be explored later in the chapter.

In sum, the research reviewed in this section illustrates various ways in which children's developing capacities may inform their participation in restorative processes. Starting in the preschool years, children recognize the importance of avoiding harm or unfairness to others. However, across childhood and into adolescence, they increasingly grasp the impacts of psychological- or identity-based harms. They also gradually develop a deeper understanding of how hurtful actions can sometimes stem from divergent goals or varied understandings of situations (see also Wainryb et al., 2005). These findings imply that restorative initiatives and efforts towards peace education may be most fruitful when they are sensitive to these developments in children's understandings of harm and conflict. In addition, these findings point to how restorative practices may promote a culture of peace by providing a space for students to grapple with both direct and indirect forms of harm.

Children's Developing Perspectives on Accountability for Harm

Alongside children's understandings of harm itself, research has also considered children's constructions of meaning about accountability for harm. By accountability, we mean both the psychological experience of taking (or failing to take) responsibility for harm, as well as the actions involved in addressing harms; in this respect, these processes have a bearing on both intrapersonal and interpersonal dimensions of peace education. Restorative justice is premised on conceptions of accountability that foreground the needs and obligations of all parties involved in the conflict, as well as members of the broader community (Braithwaite, 2006). This perspective can be distinguished from retributive views of accountability that emphasize ascertaining blame and administering punishment (Okimoto et al., 2009).

Developmental research has documented that children are guided by both retributive and restorative concerns from early in life. Examples of children's retributive considerations abound. In the second year, toddlers engage more negatively with individuals who previously acted in transgressive ways than with individuals who acted pro-socially (e.g. in a forced-choice situation, choosing to take a treat away from the transgressor; Hamlin et al., 2011). Similarly, older preschoolers and school-aged children also behave punitively towards those whose actions have had negative impacts on others (Yudkin et al., 2020). Beyond punishment, children and adolescents who are harmed by others' actions sometimes describe wanting or even carrying out revenge and explain these motives in relation to their desires for justice or teaching the other a lesson (Recchia et al., 2019). And although children in community samples typically judge retaliation as wrong, they see it as *less* wrong than unprovoked aggression (Ball et al., 2021). For example, school-aged children have been shown to judge aggression against "bullies" less negatively than against other peers on the basis of "just desserts" for their previously hurtful actions (Smetana & Ball, 2018).

Significantly, however, at all ages, children's concerns with retribution coexist alongside an orientation towards restoration. Even as school-aged children and adolescents describe retaliatory desires and ideations in the aftermath of being deeply hurt, they also sometimes describe decisions to *not* actually carry out these desires. Their reasons for not enacting revenge are varied and include the recognition that revenge is problematic both morally and interpersonally – it hurts others or further escalates the conflict. Adolescents also recognize that retaliatory actions are inconsistent with their self-views and personal moral commitments (Recchia et al., 2019). But children often go further than not enacting revenge – they also show an inclination towards restoration. When given the choice in a lab experiment, preschoolers and young school-aged children opt for a restorative option (e.g. returning possessions to the owner) over a retributive or punitive one (Yang et al., 2021). Similarly, children in the early elementary years make more positive judgments of restorative responses to harm than of punitive ones (Lee & Warneken, 2020) and report feeling better after someone who harmed them offers to help repair their damaged property (Drell & Jaswal, 2016).

While some forms of harms, such as stealing or damaging property, lend themselves more easily to direct forms of restoration, it is not always possible for offenders to engage in reparative efforts that fully remediate the consequences of all harms. Alongside restitution or compensation, symbolic forms of reparation, such as apologies, are also useful avenues for restoration. Children show an early-developing awareness of the value of these overtures. By age 5, children grasp that apologies are a way to express remorse and expect that apologies will help victims feel better (Smith et al., 2010). School-aged children judge that punishments should be less harsh for transgressors who offer apologies and even for those who provide explanations for their behaviour than for those who do neither (Banerjee et al., 2010). Early-school-aged children are also sensitive to the spontaneity of apologies and judge apologies coerced by adults as not helpful (Smith et al., 2018).

In terms of children's own experiences of harm, receiving apologies led 4- to 7-year-olds to report feeling better (Smith & Harris, 2012); school-aged children and adolescents also often noted others' apologies in situations when they forgave their peers for having harmed them (Wainryb et al., 2020). Thus, while restoration does not necessarily imply or require forgiveness, it does appear that restorative overtures can sometimes support reconciliation and help children achieve closure in the aftermath of being harmed. These findings are important in the context of restorative and peace education initiatives, in that they illustrate children's receptivity to concrete efforts to support justice and interpersonal harmony from an early age (Taylor & Christie, 2015). They also highlight that even young children seem to be attuned to the authenticity of restorative overtures; when restorative bids are viewed as inauthentic or coerced, such reparative attempts may be less well received.

There may also be meaningful age differences in the psychological and interpersonal processes that help children move beyond experiences of harm. As noted above, while restoration *can* support forgiveness or reconciliation, this is not required or inevitable (see Armour & Umbreit, 2006). Nevertheless, it is instructive to consider how children of different ages arrive at decisions to forgive. Children in the early elementary years tend to view forgiveness in interpersonal terms centred on resuming relationships (e.g. "going back to being friends"), whereas older children and adolescents more often emphasize emotional (e.g. "not being mad anymore") and/or psychological aspects of forgiving (e.g. "learn from what happened and move on"; Wainryb et al. 2020). By the late-school-age years, children's interpretations of others' intentions (as benign or hostile) also become more significant in guiding their decisions to forgive and their receptivity to others' apologies (Ohbuchi & Sato, 1994; Wainryb et al., 2020). Importantly, then, while key interpersonal processes such as apologies and restitution may bear on children's decisions to forgive across the school-age years, psychological factors such as interpretations and emotions become increasingly relevant to children's experiences of forgiveness as they get older.

Across the elementary school years, children's views on accountability may also reflect increasing attention to the prevention of harm. With age, children become more adept at imagining alternative possibilities whereby harm could have been prevented in the past or at considering strategies to avoid harm in the future (Gönültaş et al., 2021). As such, older children's views on accountability increasingly reflect considerations surrounding the avoidability of harm. For example, compared to those of preschoolers, school-aged children's views on culpability more often account for how harms could or should have been avoided (Mulvey et al., 2020). In relation to restorative efforts, then, identifying strategies for preventing harm in the future may be useful at all ages but particularly crucial for addressing older children's psychological needs in the aftermath of harm.

The research reviewed in this section emphasizes the value of leveraging children's receptivity to restorative forms of accountability. However, it simultaneously underlines children's standpoints on punishment, retribution, and revenge as means – and, sometimes in their view, a necessary, desirable, and even legitimate means – for righting harms and injustice. Those orientations, too, are part and parcel

of children's psychological experiences of being harmed. While these aspects of children's (and adults') experiences are sometimes harder to acknowledge, it is likely that ignoring, denying, or repressing them will not make them go away. Thus, when we think of structuring restorative systems, it may be imperative to create space within restorative dialogues and peace education efforts for children to voice vengeful desires and emotions – perhaps as a first step towards understanding and containing them and also as an ongoing element of a more long-lasting restorative conversation. This is to say that, in some instances, bringing retributive motives into the open may help children recognize the problematic aspects of these desires (e.g. how they might escalate conflict or fail to resolve the hurt, or how they are inconsistent with youths' moral commitments). In other instances, such as those involving more serious, repeated, ongoing, or systemic harms, retributive goals and feelings may not be easily relinquished or resolved, and those who were harmed may remain unsatisfied or angry, believing that those who hurt them do not fully grasp the impact of their actions or have not "paid" enough for those actions. So restorative efforts that allow for complexity and refrain from demanding or rushing towards reparation or resolution may sometimes need to be ongoing to avoid invalidating children's unresolved feelings or to avoid suggesting that their complex reactions to being harmed are somehow "wrong" or uncooperative. This is also consistent with broader insights from peace psychology emphasizing how restoration and possible reconciliation may involve a slow and gradual process rather than victims' immediate forgiveness (see Christie et al., 2008).

In sum, the findings in this section underline that efforts at designing restorative models and promoting harmonious and equitable relations in schools may be enriched by sensitivity to children's developing perspectives on accountability for harm. Overall, the studies reviewed above imply that restoration may unfold at a more concrete level for younger children, whereas restorative processes may involve and require more psychological depth for older youth. That is, at least in the context of everyday harms between peers, simple (but authentic) restorative bids (such as apologies) may be adequate for younger children to move beyond conflict and hurt feelings. Simultaneously, younger children may particularly benefit from adult scaffolding of psychological factors undergirding conflict (e.g. why people acted the way they did), inasmuch as these psychological dimensions may be more opaque to them and are less likely to guide their responses to harm. Conversely, restorative processes among older youth need to acknowledge the greater complexity with which youth approach issues of harm as reflecting what people thought, what they wanted, and how they could have behaved differently. Implementing and coming to a consensus about realistic strategies to prevent harm in the future may also be particularly important for older children to feel that harm has been adequately addressed. Finally, while it does seem to be the case that children and adolescents see the value of restorative approaches, exploring and validating their retributive concerns may also sometimes be a key part of the process.

Children's Developing Perspectives on Peers' and Adults' Roles in Addressing Harms

Restorative approaches to justice involve a shift away from doing things *to* or *for* students towards working *with* students to address harms that arise in schools (Morrison et al., 2005). In this way, the practice of restorative justice in schools can be understood as a form of experiential learning that can promote a culture of peace (Hettler & Johnston, 2009). Indeed, recent models of restorative justice implementation in schools are often based on efforts to democratize these approaches, wherein students themselves take on the role of practitioners and circle keepers (González et al., 2019; Winn, 2018). Therefore, as a backdrop for these efforts, it is useful to consider what youth think about the roles of authority figures, and the potential contributions of adults versus children themselves, in addressing moral transgressions.

As noted above, even preschool-aged children believe that moral violations (e.g. harm, unfairness) are wrong even in the absence of rules prohibiting them. This is not to say that children do not see the value of adults' involvement in helping them address and navigate experiences of harm. For example, both children and adolescents judge that authority figures can and should try to regulate children's actions to protect others' welfare and promote justice (e.g. issuing commands to prevent harm; Laupa, 1994). But, importantly, children also set limits on adult authority. By the late preschool years, children endorse disobeying adult directives that fail to prevent harm, such as commands to continue a physical fight (Laupa, 1994). With age, children become even more critical of authority directives that they see as unfair or hurtful (Smetana et al., 2021).

These critical stances on authority figures' actions that perpetuate harms and inequities are important to consider in light of the recognized drawbacks of traditional and widespread punitive discipline. It is well-documented that punitive discipline is ineffective (at best) and often employed in ways that disproportionately target students with disabilities, BIPOC students, LGBTQ+ students, low-income students, and students who have been maltreated (Mallett, 2017). Peace education efforts aimed at promoting positive peace, by definition, require pathways for overcoming these forms of structural violence (see Grewal, 2003), including approaches that give voice to those who have been oppressed within inequitable systems (Christie et al., 2008). Thus, it is critical to document how minoritized youth themselves make sense of their experiences with school discipline. Although there is less research focused on younger children, by adolescence, it is clear that minoritized youth are well aware of inequities in discipline. For example, in one study, Black students in the US who had received an out-of-school suspension described the unfairness and absurdity of being targeted in discriminatory ways by adults on the basis of their personal choices in music (e.g. rap) or clothing (e.g. baggy pants; Bell, 2020). They described punitive disciplinary policies as unfair because they disproportionately target some groups of students and fail to consider youths' own voices and perspectives in the disciplinary process. Minoritized adolescents also describe how educators may sometimes react in punitive, condemnatory, or shaming ways to

victims who report harm. For instance, sexual or gender minority youth describe experiencing punishment connected to their victimization (Horn & Schriber, 2020). As one example, they noted ineffective responses to peer victimization that resulted in efforts to escape or withdraw (e.g. hiding in the bathroom, skipping school), at which point they were punished themselves. Perhaps partly as a result, in early adolescence, trust in the school system tends to decline especially among minoritized youth (Yeager et al., 2017), which may lead youth to disengage from school and undermine peace education efforts that aim to promote caring and inclusive school climates (see Payne & Welch, Chap. 4, in this volume).

More broadly, youth tend not to view punitive discipline as either fair or effective. Many adolescents do not believe that punitive approaches to harm are a fair way to address victimization (Rote et al., 2021), and some are also sceptical of whether punitive policies such as zero tolerance actually promote safety in schools (McNeal & Dunbar, 2010). Conversely, youth more often endorse supportive strategies that involve authority figures' cooperation with students and parents, as well as authority directives that promote restoration, such as ensuring that students who damaged property provide compensation to those whose belongings were destroyed (Pareja Conto et al., 2022; Wachs et al., 2019). Indeed, a robust finding is that students' judgments of fair and equitable disciplinary practices are linked to their positive perceptions of school climate (Payne & Wilson, 2021). In sum, adolescents' criticisms of punitive discipline echo concerns that have been expressed in the scholarly literature on restorative justice and confirm that youth may tend to be more open to support and guidance from adults when they deem adult interventions to be helpful and fair.

Alongside students' perspectives on the role of adults, research has also documented their expectations and judgments regarding the role of peers in intervening to address peer harms in schools. Children vary in their perceptions of themselves as responsible for intervening in peer bullying and also in their knowledge of how to intervene effectively (Fredrick et al., 2020). While school-aged children sometimes endorse seeking adult support to address peer harms (particularly in cases of physical altercation), they also suggest intervening directly by confronting offenders or comforting victims (Rock & Baird, 2012). By adolescence, youth describe how their efforts to address peer harms support their sense of self-direction, competence, benevolence, and increasing maturity while also simultaneously meeting the needs of their peers (Frey et al., 2021). In our own research, when students were asked about ideal responses to inter-group harms in schools, adolescents describe creative ways of integrating their desires for autonomy with their beliefs about the value of adult intervention (Pareja Conto et al., 2022). Victims themselves also describe various forms of peer interventions as effective in helping them regulate emotions in the aftermath of harm, such as efforts to reassure them, provide advice, or re-frame the situation (Higheagle Strong et al., 2020).

Thus, in general, both children and adolescents recognize the value of peer support surrounding experiences of harm at school, underscoring their preparedness to engage in efforts to democratize approaches to conflict resolution. There is also

evidence suggesting that norms surrounding the role of peers in addressing harms can alter children's sense of engagement. For example, peer group norms predict children's tendency to intervene in peer victimization, and efforts to transform the school climate to one that emphasizes children's agency are effective in supporting their sense of responsibility for addressing peer harm (Barhight et al., 2017; Yun & Graham, 2018). More specific to restorative justice models, whole-school transformative implementation of restorative justice predicts a shift from relationships of control (i.e. authority-centred models that prioritize students' compliance) to relationships of engagement, wherein students in the community recognize and embrace their own agentic roles in addressing harms (Reimer, 2019; see also Gavrielides, 2022). Ultimately, restorative justice is in line with peace education pedagogy in that they center students' lived experiences and promote their active involvement in the resolution of conflicts and the construction of cultures of peace (Bar-Tal, 2002).

How Participation in Dialogically Based Restorative Models May Support Children's Socio-moral Development

Thus far, we have focused on the capacities that children bring to the restorative process and how these capacities change with age. It is also worth considering how participation in restorative initiatives may, in turn, spur further development in children. Most research examining the outcomes of restorative justice has understandably focused on changes in school disciplinary practices, such as reductions in office referrals and suspensions (González et al., 2019), as well as reductions in student misbehaviour and bullying, improvements in social relationships, and higher levels of school connectedness (Katic et al., 2020; Velez et al., 2020). Alongside these institutional and behavioural outcomes, however, it is also relevant to consider what children are *learning* from participating in restorative practices. While some research suggests that participating in restorative practices promotes children's emotional expression, empathy, and anger management (Ingraham et al., 2016; Schumacher, 2014), the specific ways in which restorative justice supports such developments have not been directly investigated. Nonetheless, psychological research on children's conversations about conflict and harm can shed some light on these issues.

First and foremost, encouraging children to share their perspectives on experiences of harm confers a variety of benefits. Narrating experiences to others can help children regulate emotions surrounding affectively intense events, organize their thinking, take a broader psychological perspective, consider why people behaved the way they did, and evaluate their own and others' actions (Fivush et al., 2003; Pasupathi & Wainryb, 2010). In this sense, providing opportunities for children involved in conflict or harm to describe and explain what occurred may be useful in its own right.

Some approaches to school discipline do not encourage children to describe their experiences of conflict or harm or only encourage *some* children involved to share their perspective, relying on adult observations of what occurred or responding to conflict based on only one child's account of the event. And at times, even when asking children to "tell their side of the story," punitive disciplinary approaches may incentivize narratives that frame conflicts in a "zero-sum" fashion, pitting parties against each other and thus undermining constructive conflict resolution (see Christie et al., 2008). That is, within a punitive system, children who have been harmed may construct narratives that maximize others' blame, and those who have harmed others may minimize their own responsibility in an effort to avoid potential punishment that might otherwise ensue. For example, a lab-based study with preschoolers attending more and less punitive educational environments suggested that after cheating at a game, youngsters in a punitive environment lied more often and maintained the lie more effectively (Talwar & Lee, 2011). This tendency to avoid blame when accounting for one's actions may exert prospective effects on how children think about their experiences and themselves (McLean et al., 2007). As such, if children are exposed to disciplinary models that encourage them to recount conflicts in ways that minimize their own responsibility, this has troubling implications for moral and social development.

Disciplinary approaches based on the principles of restorative justice may be helpful in mitigating against the defensiveness prevalent in more punitive contexts, inasmuch as they involve explorations of varied roles in instances of harm and conflict rather than categorizing individuals as victims or perpetrators (Warnick & Scribner, 2020). To make this possible, schools need to undergo a broader cultural shift that promotes and sustains respectful relationships while rejecting models that place blame on individuals' behaviours (McCluskey et al., 2008). However, where schools emphasize restorative and relationship-oriented models of engagement and responsibility, these environments may be more well suited to helping children to explore their experiences in a way that supports moral accountability (Drewery, 2016). Specifically, experiences of restorative justice in schools may help children learn to consider how conflicts and harms arise from unmet needs, overwhelming emotions in specific situations, imperfect understandings of others' perspectives, and conflicting goals (Pasupathi & Wainryb, 2010). By supporting children's reflections on these aspects of experiences, then, restorative frameworks can also help children in finding ways to repair relationships, as well as in identifying strategies for self-improvement and avoiding similar harms in the future.

Restorative approaches in schools accomplish these goals by bringing different conflict parties into conversation with each other in a way that (ideally) lends itself to sharing perspectives, developing empathy, and identifying meaningful forms of reparation and concrete solutions to problems (see Pasupathi & Smith, 2021). Research indicates that these features of conversations have positive impacts on children's moral development (Recchia & Wainryb, 2022). While most research in this area has focused on conversations with parents, it seems reasonable that some of these patterns might generalize to conversations in other contexts as well, an important direction for future research on restorative dialogues in schools.

More specifically, research on conversations between parents and children suggests that one important feature of restorative conversations about conflict and harm is that they can help children deepen their understandings of the psychological processes that undergird both their own and others' actions, including emotions, beliefs, and intentions. Discussing emotions, in particular, can help children understand their own emotional lives, how their own and others' emotional experiences might converge or diverge, and how to regulate emotions (Fivush et al., 2003). Talking about emotions (e.g. discussing emotional consequences of the child's actions on others) predicts children's understanding of emotions, empathy, and pro-sociality (see Laible et al., 2019). Similarly, when children talk about what people think or believe, this supports their understanding of the psychological world. In the preschool years, engaging in discussions about the mind helps children grasp that people might sometimes have misunderstandings or incorrect assumptions (de Rosnay & Hughes, 2006). Later, in the school-age years, conversations support the further insight that people can disagree based on incompatible but legitimate interpretations of the same events (Tafreshi & Racine, 2016). As noted earlier, reaching these understandings may be more challenging for younger children, but discussions about the psychological world appear to be a potential path to supporting them. Conversations, too, may help children reflect on how intentions guide actions and offer alternatives to hostile attributions. When adults support children's understandings of how hurtful actions sometimes result from benign intentions, this is linked to more social competence and less aggression in preschool- and school-aged children (e.g. Mize & Pettit, 1997; Hudley & Graham, 1993).

A second way in which restorative conversations may further children's development is by providing a means to reconcile hurtful actions with a positive self-view. One reason that children might fail to take responsibility for their harmful actions in the context of a punitive disciplinary system is a sense of shame. There is evidence that schools use a variety of practices in response to students' misbehaviour that may be intentionally or unintentionally shame inducing, including publicly visible behaviour management charts and isolation from the peer group (e.g. Goodman, 2017). Experiencing shame has been associated with a desire to withdraw, as well as defensive anger and the tendency to blame others (Tangney et al., 2007).

In the absence of support for how to reconcile their hurtful actions with a positive self-view, youth may have difficulty moving beyond conflict and envisaging possibilities for redemption and repair. Conversations about harms that are oriented towards restoration may help children recognize these possibilities (see Recchia & Wainryb, 2014). As noted, conversations can help children recognize the ways in which hurtful actions resulted from a particular set of contextual and psychological circumstances, such as background sources of stress, transient goal conflicts, or mistaken assumptions. Although exploring these explanations does not excuse or justify harmful or unfair actions, it does provide a means to reconcile them with an overall positive self-view by anchoring them within a particular time and place rather than being self-defining. Another way in which restorative conversations may circumvent a sense of shame is by directly encouraging children to consider routes to redemption – that they can take active responsibility for their actions by engaging

in authentic efforts to make amends or reparations or to improve their behaviour in the future (Braithwaite, 2006).

Research also implies that discussions of conflict are particularly fruitful when antagonists engage thoughtfully with each other's perspectives. In one study of middle schoolers' dialogues in the classroom, youths' efforts to engage meaningfully with others' points of view (rather than talking past each other) were linked to moral growth (Nucci et al., 2015). Even more directly relevant to the themes of this chapter, experience with peer mediation in schools has been shown to help children resolve conflicts more constructively. For example, exposure to mediation encourages children to resolve conflicts both at school and at home by actively negotiating in ways that coordinate conflicting perspectives; consequently, it helps them independently arrive at integrative solutions in which both parties' needs are met and rely less on adult-imposed solutions (Erb & Erb, 2018; Ingraham et al., 2016; Johnson et al., 1995). More broadly, students exposed to restorative conflict resolution practices tend to see the value of conflicts as learning opportunities and also increase their sense of self-efficacy in resolving conflicts (see Johnson & Johnson, 1996).

Future Directions and Concluding Thoughts

Altogether, the findings reviewed in the previous section provide an encouraging portrait of the opportunities and benefits associated with the implementation of restorative philosophies and practices in schools. However, it is also important to recognize that in some circumstances, restorative efforts may be more challenging to navigate. For example, not all restorative processes end in agreements between parties, and even when they do, resolutions may not necessarily help all parties to achieve closure and feel that their needs have been fully met (Johnson & Johnson, 1996). We, therefore, highlight some considerations that may be important for future research to address. First, it is understood that the careful implementation of restorative models must take into consideration the power dynamics at play within a dialogue and the identity of those participating in restorative practices (Vaandering, 2010). Otherwise, the value of restorative practices in the promotion of positive peace is questionable. Even within restorative models, historical inequities and power imbalances may continue to play out between different groups of students, as well as between students and educators (Winn, 2018). For instance, critics have pointed to the challenges of implementing restorative practices with BIPOC students when the majority of educators in their schools are White (Romano & Almengor, 2021). Overlooking those affordances may result in ineffective processes that, at best, are limited to peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts (rather than going further to also support peace building) and, at worst, result in the perpetuation of harm and injustice. Second, restorative models require those who have caused harm to take accountability for their actions, but clearly, there will be situations in which children are unwilling or unable to do so and instead disengage from the process or

convey remorselessness or defiance. Similarly, those who were harmed may vary in their receptiveness to restorative overtures. These responses may arise due to, for example, children's and adolescents' varied developmental capacities, their understandings of conflicts, or their history of experiences related to harm and injustice. While taking a developmentally sensitive perspective that accounts for students' unique lived experiences will be helpful in navigating these issues, it may also mean that restorative approaches are sometimes challenging to implement and require ongoing investment and engagement with students to avoid pivoting to a punitive or exclusionary approach.

This chapter has outlined findings from psychological research that inform the implementation of restorative practices in ways that are sensitive to, and rely on, children's developing socio-moral capacities. We also reviewed research that illuminates the potential psychological and relational benefits of youths' participation in restorative practices. Future research may help to further document the varied developmental outcomes associated with these efforts (see Velez et al., 2020), the social and psychological processes that account for these outcomes, and whether the impacts of children's experiences with restorative justice vary with age. The incorporation of students' voices within restorative models can also provide insights to researchers and practitioners into how students make sense of their experiences of being harmed, harming others, or witnessing harms, which can, in turn, inform the design of interventions in ways that are attuned to students' lived experiences (see also Gavrielides, 2022; Velez & Gavrielides, this volume). Relatedly, future research also needs to explore youths' development of restorative capacities across different sociocultural contexts; inasmuch as the bulk of the scholarship reviewed in this chapter is based on samples of North American children and adolescents, the patterns discussed may not generalize to youth in different cultural settings.

Ultimately, restorative models hold the potential to develop a culture of positive peace within schools, characterized by equitable and harmonious relationships, through the incorporation of students' voices in the resolution of harms and directing attention to the relational climate in schools. This potential lies in the forms of reflection and meaning making that can occur within a restorative framework. For instance, questions about harm, needs, and responsibilities can be seen as prioritizing peacekeeping and peacemaking initiatives by concentrating on direct responses to harms (Cremin & Bevington, 2017). Similarly, peace building can be supported via restorative dialogues that invite stakeholders to examine their relationships as members of the school community and urge careful consideration of the relational culture in the school.

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Chapter 3
Developing Youth Peacebuilders: The Potential of School-Based Restorative Justice in the USA

Gabriel Velez and Antonio Butler

Introduction

Young people can be shaped by and shape social dynamics related to peace, violence, and conflict in various ways. Socialization and inter-group dynamics are powerful influences on adolescents' values, attitudes, and behaviours towards people belonging to different groups (Blackmore & Mills, 2014; Crocetti et al., 2012). Young people are also active agents who can choose to engage with armed actors, engage in or resolve interpersonal conflicts, and/or serve as influential peacemakers with peers, families, and communities (Berents & McEvoy-Levy, 2015; McEvoy-Levy, 2006). These differential pathways involve a host of factors: family contexts, individual personalities, opportunities and resources, and other influences across their developmental systems may all play a role in shaping their trajectories and choices (Spencer, 2006; Spencer et al., 2006). Nevertheless, such contexts are not deterministic. Growing up in a low-resource, rural area of a war-torn country, for example, does not dictate that a child will join a paramilitary group, suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, or never become a mediator of conflict between their peers. Rather, youth's outcomes in relation to orientations towards peace and conflict are linked to their psychological meaning making—that is, the ways they interpret their contexts, experiences, and risk or protective factors in relation to their understandings of peace, conflict, and themselves define their developmental trajectories (Spencer, 2006; Velez, 2021).

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This developmental framework can motivate important questions about young people's experiences in their families, communities, and schools. Rather than focusing solely on inputs and outcomes, it is important to understand how young people experience and respond to programmes and interventions as part of their developing sense of self and place in the world. Ending violence and building cultures of peace require young people to engage in these efforts and have tools and skills to contribute. Most effectively achieving these goals, however, requires attention to meaning making (Daiute & Fine, 2003; Drummond-Mundal & Cave, 2007).

Restorative justice has demonstrated potential for contributing to building peace, though often the focus in this literature is explicitly on transitional contexts in which societies and the citizens within them are trying to move forward from violent pasts (e.g. Clamp, 2014; Lambourne, 2009). An under-explored potential connection between restorative justice and cultures of peace, however, involves the developmental processes described above. Restorative justice offers young people an alternate framework for addressing harm and conceptualizing interpersonal and community relationships, with implications for their social, moral, and identity development (Velez et al., 2020). It also can provide concrete tools and experiences of effective conflict resolution and community building that prioritize inclusion (Morrison, 2007; Morrison et al., 2005; Wong & Gavrielides, 2019), a sharp contrast to the normative, hierarchical systems that tend to dominate how young people are treated in society.

In this chapter, we explore how school-based restorative justice may be a support for young people's development as peacemakers and builders in their social contexts. The rise of restorative justice within K-12 settings has led to increasing numbers of youth and young adults across the world who have had this experience, but there is little understanding of how they made meaning of restorative justice in their schools and how it may have influenced their identities, moral frameworks, and lives more generally. The objective of this chapter is to expand thinking about the potential value of implementing restorative justice in educational contexts to more broadly consider developmental trajectories and the psychological skills and frameworks young people need to engage in building peace. This argument demonstrates how school-based restorative justice contributes to young people's development of skills, orientations, and behaviours that lay the intrapersonal groundwork for peace.

We first present key elements of school-based restorative justice that would be pertinent to influencing psychosocial development and positive peace. We then conduct a secondary review of the literature to describe understandings of the processes involved in identity development and peace-promoting outcomes for adolescents, before integrating the two areas to demonstrate the potential of restorative justice. Next, we provide an ethnographic case study from the life of one of the authors. His experience illuminates how restorative justice may inform young people's work in supporting peace. We end with a call for research and the implications of these connections.

School-Based Restorative Justice: Connections to Peace

The use of restorative justice in schools has become more prevalent in recent decades but is also varied in terms of what it entails. Concrete practices include regular community-building circles, restorative conferences to address serious incidents of harm, and the use of alternative disciplinary strategies beyond suspensions and expulsions (Morrison, 2007; Wadhwa, 2016). Some institutions employ these measures as isolated tools—for example, implementing community-building circles once a week at the beginning of homeroom—though there has been an increasing focus on the need for more comprehensive whole-school approaches (González et al., 2019). A whole-school approach entails various other efforts that move beyond a sole focus on student behaviour and interpersonal harm: considering dynamics and relationships among staff; not just implementing isolated procedures but also building a restorative environment; and prioritizing all school community members' social-emotional well-being. The argument in favour of this holistic approach builds on core aspects of restorative justice: restoration inherently entails a focus on relationships and an inclusive environment with more horizontal sharing of power. Importantly, in relation to students, this dynamic plays out by prioritizing student agency and leadership in restorative practices (RPs), including serving as facilitators and mediators and socializing younger students into the processes and values (González et al., 2019; Morrison, 2007; Morrison, et al., 2005).

To date, the evaluation of school-based restorative justice has mainly focused on behaviour, attendance, academics, school climate, and implementation. Part of the motivation comes from the driving forces behind the growth in these initiatives. While restorative justice itself has deep roots in indigenous communities and has been used in school contexts for decades (Gavrielides, 2011; Morrison et al., 2005), since the late 1990s and early 2000s, evidence has increasingly emerged proving that punitive school environments and policies are detrimental to many students and are particularly problematic for those with minoritized identities (e.g. students of colour, with disabilities, LGBTQ identifying). A primary mechanism for these disproportionate impacts has been disciplinary practices and, within the United States, a focus on zero-tolerance policies. These frameworks have intersected with stereotypes, biases, racism, and ableism, and the results have been that students with marginalized identities have been significantly more likely to be suspended or expelled and miss school (tied to a lack of belonging and engagement in school; Anfara et al., 2013; Darling-Hammond et al., 2020). Furthermore, this alienation and criminalization within educational settings have created a school-to-prison pipeline in which these young people are also more likely to be labelled as detrimental to society and end up in the incarceration systems (González, 2012; Wadhwa, 2016).

These primary foci for much of school-based restorative justice have clear connections to peace psychology. Broadly, peace psychology can be understood as "psychological knowledge in the pursuit of peace … [including] both the absence of destructive conflict and the creation of positive social conditions which minimize destructiveness and promote human well-being" (Christie et al., 2008, p. 540). This

framework focuses on the psychosocial processes that are tied both to ending violence (negative peace) and to building cultures of peace (positive), a dual perspective first proposed by Johan Galtung (1969). This conceptualization of peace was further developed through attention to the ways that positive and negative peace can address direct (actions and behaviours that threaten the lives or basic well-being of others), structural (the systematic oppression and injustices that affect the well-being and survival of groups and individuals), and cultural (the social norms and dynamics that justify and amplify direct and structural violence) violence (Galtung, 1990).

Work on school-based restorative justice has tended to focus on its negative peace potential in response to direct and structural violence, as well as its connections to positive peace in response to cultural violence. First, the attention to disciplinary incidents, behaviour, and suspension and expulsions demonstrates efforts to address the direct violence that occurs through interpersonal harm. More broadly, however, in linking these outcomes to the school-to-prison pipeline, many proponents of school-based restorative justice also position the practice as addressing the broader inequities in how minoritized students are treated (Wadhwa, 2016). Second, whole-school approaches have drawn attention as changing school climates and conceptualizations of relationships in educational settings. An array of research has focused on understanding how these efforts can improve student-teacher relationships and school climate, creating more peaceful educational communities that foster a greater sense of belonging and student engagement (i.e. through attendance; Darling-Hammond et al., 2020).

The potential for promoting peace, however, extends more broadly as well. Socialization, learning, and identity development are all parts of the ways that school contexts can inform understandings of peace, young people's engagement in it, and their ability to resolve conflict, fight systemic injustice, and generally contribute to peace (Harber & Sakade, 2009; Nkomo et al., 2007; Velez, 2019). An extensive, whole-school approach to restorative justice has the potential to feed into such developmental processes that link educational settings and peace. Looking beyond what occurs within schools, young people who engage in restorative justice in these settings may learn and grow in ways that facilitate their ability to make and build peace.

An authentic, whole-school approach to restorative justice is centred not only on responses to students harming others but moreover on generating an environment that fosters community, healing, and horizontal interactions throughout the school (Morrison, 2007; Zehr, 2001). As a first link to young people's engagement with peace, this framework draws attention away from punishment to a relational sense of accountability. In whole-school contexts of restorative justice, students learn and are socialized to value building community and healing ruptures to social fabric through processes that are inclusive and responsive to the perspectives of all involved (Anfara et al., 2013). In this way, these young people are not simply taught social-emotional and interactional strategies that help resolve conflict but moreover engage as equal partners in creating environments that deter harm and promote genuine healing in response to inevitable conflict. Building from this point, another link to

young people's engagement with peace emerges from the inclusive and horizontal focus on whole-school approaches. In moving beyond simply a response to harm, attention is focused on healthy, strong relationships that are developed through collaborative partnerships and active participation of students, faculty, and administrators in creating the restorative environment (Acosta et al., 2019; Morrison, 2007). Through a focus on the equality and engagement of all participants in the community as equals, this approach to building a restorative school environment challenges the usual hierarchical structures that pervade educational settings (between teachers and students and also administrators and teachers; Boyes-Watson, 2008; Hudak, 2000).

Overall, a whole-school approach to restorative justice creates environments that deter interpersonal harm, expose young people to alternative ways of interacting, and refocus attention on relational dynamics. These have the potential to engender more peaceful ways of viewing social relations. To this end, individual development can be informed by restorative justice in ways that promote positive peace in response to both cultural violence (e.g. by shifting attitudes and understandings of interpersonal relationships and conflict) and direct violence (e.g. by promoting relationships, interactions, and mediations that are inclusive, just, and reparative).

Adolescence, Development, and Peacebuilding

The links between school-based restorative justice and peace are further amplified by the developmental processes of adolescence in educational settings. Adolescence is a formative time in the life course biologically, cognitively, emotionally, and socially. During these years, young people begin to grow and mature into adults, with increasing capacity for complex and abstract thinking, consideration of sense of self and future trajectories, and engagement as agents in their communities and societies (Crocetti et al., 2012; Erikson, 1968; Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Biologically, both the body and the brain are undergoing considerable changes and growth, creating the groundwork for plasticity in terms of identity, openness to change, and decision-making processes (Steinberg, 2005). Neuroscience research has demonstrated that adolescents' limbic systems are also more sensitive than those of children to cues in their social environments (such as the presence of peers or adults or social threats; Casey, 2015). This social correlate of neurological development is considered to be part of why learning and habit formation are heightened during this time. Importantly, such groundwork for identity can be particularly influential when tied to positive rewards and outcomes and when linked to students being active agents or taking leadership (Davidow et al., 2016).

Adolescence is thus a time of marked change in social cognition (how individuals think about and orient themselves towards others), which is complemented by the salience of identity-related questions like "Who am I" and "How do I see myself?"(Blakemore & Mills, 2014; Harter, 2015). The focus on identity development as a key psychosocial process in adolescence has long been an established part

of the psychological theory (Erikson, 1968). More recently, there has been increasing attention to the complexity of these processes in relation to how young people understand themselves as members of groups, communities, and societies. The intersection of cognitive and physical changes with social dynamics and norms often makes young people more likely to engage with questions of social membership in flexible ways (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). There are also demonstrated benefits to their psychosocial well-being when they can build a sense of belonging and connection while also establishing some level of autonomy and self-efficacy (e.g. McElhaney et al., 2009). Finally, these processes of socially embedded identity development are linked to changes and growth in moral reasoning. As young people become more attuned to others, they begin to form more stable values about justice and how people should treat one another (Daniel et al., 2014; Killen & Smetana, 2010). Older adolescents are more able to consider nuanced contextual information, hold multiple and perhaps contrasting perspectives, and be cognitively flexible in considering situations of harm (Eisenberg et al., 2005; Nucci & Turiel, 2009).

These developmental processes underlie the potential for restorative justice in schools to enhance young people's emerging engagement and orientations towards peace across levels. First, restorative justice offers a fundamentally different approach to responding to harm, justice, and community building than do traditional educational frameworks. While school settings and climates are not deterministic of individual student outcomes, they may facilitate young people's pro-social development if the environment and opportunities for practising these skills are authentically attuned to these students' experiences and perspectives (Eccles & Roeser, 2011; Spencer et al., 2003). School-based restorative justice can achieve these ends by engaging young people in horizontal relations, repair, and more broadly their school communities. With schools as developmental contexts for adolescents, these experiences may promote emotional competence and regulation, interpersonal skills, and belonging (Hansberry, 2016). There is some evidence that students who participate in restorative justice in their schools may feel more confident in handling interpersonal conflict and lay the foundation for continuing to be peace builders into the future through more robust social-emotional competencies and social skills (Gaines, 2019; Reimer, 2019).

One of the drivers of such growth can be the agency given to students in whole-school approaches to restorative justice, as well as the attentiveness to their perspectives and understandings. First, an authentic implementation of restorative practices involves attentiveness to treating the perspectives of everyone in a community as equals. In traditional approaches in schools, students sit at the bottom of a hierarchical structure. Teachers are authorities and decision-makers within their classrooms, while administrators are the authorities within the broader school context. When harm occurs, these adults decide who is listened to and when, interpret what occurred, and make decisions about consequences. Restorative justice, however, offers a different vision of school relationships that is inclusive and prioritizes listening to all parties and making collective decisions (Wadhwa, 2016). In this way, students are exposed to a different conceptualization of how people can interact that is more conducive to productive conflict resolution and peace. Given the changes in

social cognition and neuroplasticity during adolescence, such experiences may be particularly formative in forming the attitudes, skills, and orientations for this type of engagement in building cultures of peace.

Building on this inclusive framework, whole-school models prioritize student leadership and development in the implementation and practice of restorative justice. For some schools, this involves teaching newer students, leading circles, or even linking the school environment to the community (González et al., 2019). This focus can deepen the potential impact of restorative practices as “leadership leads to empowerment, and empowerment leads to leadership” (Morrison et al., 2005, p. 341). The pathways through which this can occur are many: making young people more engaged and strengthening belonging, bolstering their self-efficacy, providing concrete opportunities to practice community-building and conflict resolution skills that create peaceful social environments, and offering them a different way of understanding themselves as potential peacemakers. Importantly, when institutional systems privilege youth voices in this way, it can create truly democratic experiences that foster respect for human rights (Gavrielides, 2012).

Through these ways of valuing all students’ agency and perspectives, restorative justice can also tap into developmental identity-based processes. While identity formation continues long after adolescence, it still marks a time in the life course when these questions become salient. Furthermore, young people are socially expected to explore identities and define their future place in the world (Swanson et al., 1998). These processes are contextually situated and are particularly influenced by everyday relationships: “Personal identity develops within the context of role relationships. Its development presupposes a community of people whose values become increasingly important to the growing individual” (Swanson et al., 1998, p. 21). Schools, and the people within them, are significant sites of these norms and expectations being conveyed through interactions with teachers and peers, individually and in community (Eccles & Roeser, 2011). The horizontal and relational focus of restorative justice presents very different messages about the value of each student, particularly in processes of community building and healing than in traditional educational environments (e.g., Morrison et al., 2005). These norms and expectations can help support a sense of personal responsibility and self-efficacy in engaging productively in social relations, with clear connections to young people’s skills and orientation towards engaging in building and maintaining cultures of peace (Horan, 2015). It is important to note that self-efficacy and engagement in schools—which restorative justice can promote—are particularly important for minoritized groups that have been historically, and often personally, presented with barriers and messages of not belonging (Spencer et al., 2006).

Summary

Little research and theory have focused on the developmental implications of participating in school-based restorative justice (Velez et al., 2020). Often, the connections between these experiences and peace are made at individual levels (i.e. fewer

behaviour incidents for students) or in terms of immediate school environments and relationships (i.e. measures of the climate of teacher-student relationships; Darling-Hammond et al., 2020). A consideration of the developmental context and processes of adolescence, however, highlights numerous pathways by which an educational environment based on restorative justice can shape young people's emerging identities, social skills, and social cognition during a time in the life course marked by moral, social, and cognitive plasticity and growth. These connections between restorative justice and longer-term engagement in building cultures of peace are rooted in the horizontal nature of relationships, the inclusive orientation to community and addressing harm, the prioritization of student agency, and the modelling and engagement in conflict resolution.

Case Study: The Experience of Youth in the Milwaukee Area

To enrich the theoretical case we have laid out above, in this section, we describe the experiences of youth in an urban context in the Midwest United States who graduated from the Alliance School of Milwaukee, a high school with a broad whole-school restorative justice programme (for more details on their model, see González et al., 2019). The description of their experience, while anecdotal in nature, is meant to demonstrate lived experiences. In doing so, we believe it highlights the need for further research to explore the experience and processing of young people to better understand the potential of school-based restorative justice to feed into positive developmental outcomes in relation to peace.

For the students, staff, family, and administrators at the Alliance School, restorative justice is interwoven into the school's structure and culture. The students and staff of the school usually refer to restorative justice as restorative practices to emphasize a holistic environment. Specifically, the school's structure is focused on two major facets of restorative practices: the first being building relationships and the second maintaining or "repairing" relationships. Everyone in the school participates in one form or another. All staff members are trained in restorative practices, and at the least, every student has the opportunity to sit in circles. The school integrates relationship building by holding school-wide circles where all students and teachers sit in a circle and discuss a general topic. These circles are held twice a semester and give students an opportunity to connect with one another as well as their teachers. The Alliance approach strives to maintain and restore relationships in their discipline methods through repair-harm circles. In these, students have a chance to accept accountability and right their wrongs by allowing them to participate in a repair-harm circle with the other person to create a resolution together. All participants are asked questions that revolve around the "four Fs": facts, feelings, fix, and future. After going through the repair-harm process, both persons involved in the altercation will say what they are committed to doing in order to right their wrongs, restore the community, and sign in what they have agreed on. There is a

follow-up process to check in on both students for accountability to their commitments and to reflect on their personal growth.

This restorative practice work necessitates consistent facilitators. In line with a focus on student agency and engagement in this work, students who take a Restorative Practices English class serve as the circle keepers facilitating these processes. The main focus of the class is to equip young people with the necessary tools to be leaders in peacemaking, no matter what setting they are in. In the class, students learn how to be practitioners while gaining the experience necessary to integrate restorative practices into their growth as individuals. The class is split into two courses—beginner and advanced—and both are worth one English credit. In the beginner's course, which is usually composed of juniors, students engage in reflective and mindfulness-oriented activities to identify their strengths and think about how to apply them in restorative practices. They gain live experience by facilitating the school-wide circles and participating in some of the repair-harm circles that are led by the advanced class. In the advanced course, mostly seniors, students use their experience and what they have learned to improve their community, including facilitating circles in Milwaukee Public Libraries, hosting restorative practice training, and operating circles in various workshops. Across these experiences—participating in circles, taking the two courses, engaging in personal development and building leadership in restorative practices, and being active participants in community efforts—students at Alliance have numerous developmental opportunities to both engage with restorative practices and connect them to their own emerging identities and roles in communities around them.

The experience of one of the co-authors of this chapter, Antonio Butler, demonstrates this potential. Antonio was a student of both courses, and his experiences at Alliance have driven his development as a young adult, his understanding of himself, and his work trajectory. The restorative practice culture at Alliance was formative for Antonio's sense of identity and place among peers. The school environment was noticeably different for Antonio from the beginning. In middle school, he was frequently bullied and came into high school thinking it would be worse. Early in his freshman year, a brief interaction with the student counsellor laid the groundwork for Antonio to understand that relationships mattered more at Alliance. The counsellor took the time to sit with him, engage him, and demonstrate genuine care about how he was doing. The experience was the first of many that shifted his entire understanding of what high school and interpersonal relationships in school settings could be. The restorative practice course built on this experience of a school climate that fostered positive relationships between students and adults. Specifically, the course provided tools, opportunities, and support to work through much of the emotional trauma that he had carried from his previous school years. He also learned how that trauma had influenced his thought processes and the way he would handle stressful situations.

As a young adult reflecting, Antonio believes that his mental and emotional growth began to show in his friendships and interactions with other people. He began to understand that many of his old behaviours were founded on defensive mechanisms so that he could protect himself. Engagement in restorative practices

also incorporated an element of inner healing as he now identified that those behaviours and habits were harmful to him and hindered his ability to properly establish relationships with others. Before the restorative practice course, when something upset him, he would remain quiet and hold a grudge against a person. Afterwards, he was able to find his voice and hold constructive conversations with the people that upset him. Rather than lashing out when he was overwhelmed, he would instead remove himself from the situation and ground himself. He also found it easier to trust the authority figures around him because of the relationships that had been built through the holistic school environment. The staff members at Alliance are on a first-name basis with students and engage in circles and everyday interactions with students that go against the typical nature of vertical relationships in school settings. These types of engagement allowed him to feel as though he was on even ground with his teachers, rather than seeing them as another person to answer to because they were above him.

Although Antonio has been out of school for the past 4 years, these intrapersonal and interpersonal lessons have stuck with him, and he feels that he continues to use those tools in everyday spaces. If there is ever a disagreement between two people in his workplace, he will attempt to offer himself as an unbiased set of ears for both parties to voice their opinions and will help them understand where the other person is coming from. He also uses his peacemaking skills with his family. After going through a difficult situation with his mother, he took the time to sit and talk with her about how her actions had affected him. Although things were not resolved in a desirable way, he remained calm and continued to focus on his progression rather than on things that are not in his control.

While Antonio feels that these personal lessons are ones he shares with many of his fellow alumni in his personal journey, restorative practices have also become part of his professional life as he has worked as a full-time paid RP practitioner. Heather Sattler, leader of the restorative practice course at Alliance, along with her work partner, Sharon Lerman, built out a holistic approach to restorative justice with youth and secured funding for a pilot programme that pays young practitioners to work in Milwaukee communities and implement restorative justice on a city-wide scale. In this project, Antonio and other Alliance School alumni work for the Center for Self-Sufficiency (CFSS) to bring restorative practices to the local justice system, the Department of Youth and Family Services, the Milwaukee Police Department, local higher education institutions, and multiple local community groups and programmes.

Antonio's story is one young person's story of restorative justice deeply shaping their personal and professional development. It may be a unique one to some degree, given the depth of restorative justice at his school and the opportunities to continue this work. Still, it demonstrates the potential for genuine, thoughtfully developed school-based restorative justice initiatives to foster intrapersonal perspectives, identities, and interpersonal skills for young people to be peacebuilders across various contexts. Antonio's experience also highlights the development framework argued for in this chapter as he continues to build on and employ these takeaways from his time as a student.

Implications and Future Directions

In this chapter, we have aimed to outline a theoretical argument for the potential of school-based restorative justice to foster developmental outcomes in young people that can support and contribute to positive peace. The possible connections are numerous as engagement in restorative justice can provide young people with tools for conflict resolution, different understandings of social interaction and conflict, and deeper relationships. Building cultures of peace involves work across levels, from structural elements like sustainable development and human rights to more intrapersonal actions and orientations like democratic participation and valuing understanding, tolerance, and solidarity (e.g. De Rivera, 2004). Schools offer an important intersection of these varying factors (Cremin & Bevington, 2017). Furthermore, within them, young people develop identities, are socialized into values and norms, and engage in interpersonal relationships that can both feed into peaceful schools and lay the groundwork for who students can be as community members in the future (e.g. Eccles & Roeser, 2011).

Some of these developmental opportunities emerged in the personal story of Antonio and his time as a student at the Alliance School. His experiences with the school climate, the staff, and restorative justice not only offered him opportunities to build a community and resolve conflicts in reparative ways but moreover led to new, more positive understandings of himself and the intrapersonal challenges he faced in peaceful engagement with others. To this end, his intrapersonal and interpersonal growth can both be understood as outcomes linked to positive peace. His story also feeds into important considerations for greater theoretical and empirical exploration of the link between school-based restorative justice and developmental outcomes linked to positive peace. First, his growth began internally, with strategies, opportunities, and support to process and cope with past trauma and build a more robust sense of inner peace. Second, the Alliance School practises a whole-school approach to restorative justice, going beyond circles to a focus on relationships across school settings and interactions, courses devoted to the topic, and authentic and deep student agency (González et al., 2019).

By bringing these two lessons to a broader context, numerous opportunities for future research and development emerge from integrating the study of school-based restorative practices into developmental theory with a focus on peace offers (Velez et al., 2020). A first opportunity would be drawing directly from the research in developmental and peace psychology that could inform restorative justice. These connections are underexplored and include what is already known about moral development and the ways young people consider topics like forgiveness and reconciliation (e.g. Wainryb et al., 2020). In this area, there is plentiful work on how young people perceive justice and attribute causes of harm and advocate for different types of punishment (Oosterhoff et al., 2018). One of the broader takeaways from considering these connections is that school-based restorative justice could be more closely integrated with established programmes that have been shown to foster values, social skills, and attitudes connected to peace, forgiveness, empathy,

perspective taking, and emotional regulation (Velez, et al., 2020). Specifically, this integration could draw on the rich literature on effective practices and developmental trajectories in work on social-emotional learning.

The field of peace psychology tends to focus on adolescents in areas of societal conflict and warfare, but there is considerable work on conflict resolution training with youth, the role of schools in fostering peaceful intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes, and other related areas that could be incorporated into the restorative justice literature (see Christie, 2012; e.g. Spears, 2012). More broadly, the discipline of peace studies offers additional frameworks that could be linked to the intersection of school-based restorative justice and developmental outcomes oriented towards peace. One example is the conceptualization of everyday peace as a framework for understanding youth leadership and action to building peace as they navigate social contexts and interactions in their everyday lives (Berents & McEvoy-Levy, 2015).

Another area of exploration could focus on how young people make meaning of restorative justice in their schools. In other words, rather than the current focus on outcome measures, scholars and researchers should engage more with the process and the experience of restorative justice in order to better understand how it may feed into identity-based outcomes for young people (Spencer, 2006). A focus on meaning making is an important and underdeveloped framework for understanding how and why young people develop identities as peace builders and engage in making peace across contexts (e.g. Velez & Dedios, 2019). This lens could highlight the longer-term impacts of school-based restorative justice, as well as highlight the complexity of how factors like age, life experience, social contexts, and individual processing influence young people's engagement or disengagement in restorative initiatives in their schools (Velez et al., 2020). Concretely, exploring young people's meaning-making processes would require nuanced research over time with multiple methods (Power & Velez, 2020).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have argued for greater integration of developmental psychology and school-based restorative justice. Bringing these areas more closely together could bolster the ability of restorative justice to engage students, as well as strengthen understandings of how the practice can contribute to building positive peace. The systemic, cultural, and societal factors that motivate violence are diverse and can be challenging for individuals to confront (Christie et al., 2008; Galtung, 1969, 1990). Still, individuals—and particularly youth—can be powerful agents for peace through intrapersonal resilience, through interpersonal and everyday actions, and as leaders of social movements (Berents & McEvoy-Levy, 2015; Daiute & Fine, 2003; McEvoy-Levy, 2006). Engaging in and leading restorative justice in their schools may provide developmental experiences that help young people develop tools and self-efficacy to engage in peacemaking and peace-building efforts. To this end, a

developmental perspective on school-based restorative justice can be a framework for understanding the connection to key elements in intrapersonal peace (e.g. efficacy, identity, orientation to conflict). More research needs to be done to understand these potential dynamics, and thus there are abundant opportunities for scholars, practitioners, and young students themselves to deepen understandings.

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Chapter 4
Transforming School Climate and Student Discipline: The Restorative Justice Promise for Peace

Allison Ann Payne and Kelly Welch

Introduction

The importance of a positive and communal school climate—one characterized by supportive and collaborative relationships among school community members and a common sense of norms and values—cannot be overstated. Students and teachers in schools with such climates experience beneficial academic, socio-emotional, and behavioural outcomes (Payne, 2016). It is indisputable that this type of supportive climate has a great influence on a school's safety and success.

Unfortunately, most US schools are organized hierarchically and utilize punitive authoritative approaches that directly impede these beneficial outcomes despite research substantiating myriad destructive results of top-down punitive student treatment (Kupchik, 2016). Students in schools without peace-oriented structures and policies struggle both academically and behaviourally. In fact, punitive discipline may even contribute to what is often referred to as the school-to-prison pipeline (Kim et al., 2010). This occurs when disciplinary situations are redefined as criminal justice problems, leading young people to be pushed out of school and onto the streets and ultimately into the juvenile and criminal justice systems. This is particularly socially unjust since students of colour are significantly more likely to be penalized and stigmatized in punitive schools, and schools with a greater proportion of minority students are more likely to use these methods (Mittleman, 2018; Welch & Payne, 2018a, b).

By contrast, a restorative justice framework could naturally lead to a more positive and communal—and thus a safer and more academically successful—school climate (Payne & Welch, 2018). Some conceptualizations of restorative justice are

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limited and situation specific, while others are all-encompassing system-wide models for individual and institutional operations. At a minimum, restorative approaches frame misbehaviour as a violation of relationships between the rule breaker, the individual who was harmed, and the overall school community that has been let down by the individual's offending behaviour so as to promote the health and healing of all involved (Christie, 2006). The goal in this context is to address any underlying trauma and facilitate conciliation (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). On the other hand, some educational institutions have implemented a comprehensive restorative model for all operations, one that is not limited to a criminal justice or disciplinary context, as is frequently the case in the West (Wong & Gavrielides, 2019). Unfortunately, likely because of the expansive inter-institutional restructuring that implementing a peace-driven restorative model would require, most schools in the United States (US) have instituted only piecemeal elements of restorative justice in order to reduce immediate harm (Paul & Borton, 2021) rather than "systemic violence" (Christie, 2006). Nonetheless, schools that use restorative approaches to discipline demonstrate a more positive and supportive climate, and members of the school community experience many expected beneficial academic and behavioural outcomes (Payne & Welch, 2010; Payne, 2012). Importantly, "systemic peacebuilding" is sustained (Christie, 2006) as these outcomes remain strong across different racial and ethnic student groups and in schools with varying racial and ethnic compositions (Payne & Welch, 2018; Welch & Payne, 2018a, b).

The collaborative and supportive environments that are inherent in restorative justice have great potential for peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building in a number of institutional realms, one of which is within schools. In accordance with Johan Galtung's seminal peace study work (e.g. Galtung, 2007; Galtung et al., 2000; Galtung & Fischer, 2013), communal school climate is an essential component of increasing both positive and negative peace. In terms of positive peace, students in schools with harmonious and caring climates experience a broad range of positive psychological and social benefits, including stronger academic engagement, equality of treatment, better socio-emotional health, and regular attendance. Negative peace, which is characterized by the absence of conflict, is also more often achieved in communal school climates, as evidenced by lower rates of absenteeism, dropping out, victimization, deviancy, and criminality among students (Payne, 2008). Additionally, teachers and administrators in such schools experience the benefits of less conflict-ridden environments (Hymel & Darwich, 2018). Thus, evidence indicates that all school participants are happier, healthier, and more productive and that both positive peace and negative peace are increased.

These peaceful benefits of communal climates are characteristic of schools that use a restorative justice ideology. As with other institutional realms, support for school-based restorative justice has gained momentum. This chapter offers a fresh review of the literature on the importance of restorative justice in schools by 1) examining it in the context of research on school climate and punitive responses to misbehaviour and 2) describing the ways in which restorative justice in schools helps achieve both positive and negative peace. This chapter further explains how peaceful outcomes of school-based restorative justice may be particularly

pronounced for students of colour who have been historically disadvantaged by traditional modes of schooling and discipline. It includes a discussion surrounding the implementation of restorative justice models in schools, offering both recommendations and challenges for schools looking to transform from a punitive to a peace-based education model. It concludes that a restorative justice orientation could lead to peaceful interpersonal and inter-group outcomes within school communities.

School Harm and Disorder

Despite declines in school-related deaths, violent victimizations, and overall school crime during the past two and a half decades, crime and victimization in schools are still a cause for concern. During the 2017–2018 school year, 80% of public schools in the US recorded one or more crime incidents (i.e. behaviours that are considered crimes even outside a school context), 71% of public schools recorded one or more violent incidents (i.e. crimes classified as violent in nature), and 21% recorded one or more serious violent incidents (i.e. the most injurious acts of violence, such as assault with a weapon; Wang et al., 2020). Throughout the same year, 33% of public schools recorded one or more thefts, and 13% reported that bullying occurred among students on a daily or weekly basis (Wang et al., 2020). Other sources report even higher bullying rates, with a mean prevalence rate of 35% (Modecki et al., 2014). In response to these incidents, 35% of public schools took at least one "serious" disciplinary action against a student; of these, 73% were suspensions, 22% were transfers to other schools, and 5% were school removals with no services provided (Wang et al., 2020). Clearly, crime and disorder in schools still require attention.

The Importance of School Climate for a Peaceful Experience

As attention to school safety has intensified, research has highlighted a variety of school-related problems that could be improved with intervention efforts. Among these is school climate, the importance of which has been recognized for over a century (see Perry, 1908; Dewey, 1916). As researchers in the 1950s examined the effectiveness of various school practices and environments, the scientific study of school climate grew, contributing to the recognition of schools as a primary agent of socialization. Along with the family, schools as an institution provide children and adolescents with an early introduction to and a reinforcer of society's norms and values. This research made it clear that positive and communal school climates can improve a school's safety and foster a school's success (for a review, see Payne, 2016).

Different definitions of school climate abound, including the "inner workings of the school" (Ma et al., 2001, p. 256) and "shared beliefs, values, and attitudes that

shape interactions between the students, teachers, and administrators" in which "tacit rules delineate parameters of acceptable behaviour and norms for the school" (Mitchell et al., 2010, p. 272). Although there is a lack of agreement regarding nuances, most definitions of a positive school climate emphasize the importance of both supportive relationships among school community members and shared collaborative school norms and values (Payne, 2016). Importantly, collective action is a necessary component. A positive and communal school climate must be actively created and sustained by all members of the school community (National School Climate Council, 2007; Payne, 2016); by so doing, positive peace is promoted (Hymel & Darwich, 2018).

One aspect of school climate that has been studied extensively pertains to the affective bonds among all members of the school community. Students who experience supportive and respectful relationships with their teachers display lower levels of victimization, fewer bullying incidents, and decreased engagement in delinquent and violent behaviours, while those with cohesive and trusting relationships with their school peers experience lower incidents of problem behaviours and victimization (Payne, 2016). A collaborative faculty culture is also important: schools where teachers share responsibility and commitment with the students and the institution have lower levels of student delinquency, student victimization, and teacher victimization (Payne, 2016). This comports with a peace study framework: trusting and healthy relationships among students and adults in schools are fundamental for developing a culture of care and a discourse of peace (Cavanagh, 2009; Lum, 2013).

Another studied dimension of school climate is discipline management, as illustrated by the rules and norms of the school. Clear rules and fair rule enforcement have been highlighted as important elements in obtaining lower levels of school disorder. Contrary to the punitive nature of the discipline used by many schools, research shows that fairness of rules and consistency of rule enforcement are far more effective. When students perceive rules as clear and fairly enforced, schools have fewer instances of truancy and dropping out, lower suspension rates, and lower levels of crime and victimization, likely due to greater acceptance of school rules (Payne, 2016). The inclusion of students in establishing school rules and policies on dealing with problem behaviours has also been found to be related to lower levels of problem behaviour, most likely because students are more likely to internalize school rules if they have helped shape them (Payne, 2016). In addition, the clarification and communication of behavioural norms are associated with lower rates of victimization and violence, again due to greater internalization of these experiences (Gottfredson et al., 2014). These concepts are supported and extended by work in peace studies, which highlight the importance of all school participants' internalization of peaceful behavioural norms, such as non-violent conflict resolution (Galtung et al., 2000).

Research has gone beyond studying individual aspects of school climate to illustrate many benefits of an overall positive and communal school climate for all members of the school community. Students in schools with a peaceful and communal climate display lower levels of absenteeism, truancy, and dropping out (Payne, 2016) because they are more invested in their education (Hymel & Darwich, 2018)

and experience less episodic and systemic violence at school (Christie, 2006). They are less likely to be victimized and are less afraid to attend school (Payne, 2016). These students also demonstrate lower levels of substance use and aggression, are subjected to fewer suspensions and expulsions, and engage in fewer acts of deviance, delinquency, crime, and violence (Payne, 2016). In addition, teachers in a school with a positive and communal climate are more likely to experience negative peace demonstrated by lower levels of absenteeism, turnover, and victimization (Payne, 2016). Ultimately, the climate of a school affects its ability to regulate students' behaviours, such that school crime and disorder will be lower when the climate is "more socially cohesive and has a shared sense of values and beliefs" (Zaykowski & Gunter, 2012, p. 435).

Importantly, school climate can also moderate negative relationships between certain risk factors and student behaviour, promoting negative peace by decreasing conflict and discord. For example, school climate acts as a protective factor in the relationship between poverty and school disorder and conflict: the beneficial impact of a positive and communal school climate on student delinquency is greater for students who come from lower-income households and those who attend high-poverty schools (Hopson & Lee, 2011; Thapa et al., 2013). Similarly, a positive school climate can moderate the relationship between school disorder and school composition, such that a communal school climate has a stronger impact on delinquency and victimization in schools with a greater proportion of racial and ethnic minority students (Hopson & Lee, 2011; Payne, 2012). By promoting peace building through the reduction of intermittent harms and better management of conflicts (Christie, 2006), structural violence appears to decrease and school arrangements may become more socially just.

School climate can also serve as a protective factor in the relationship between gender and student delinquency, in that boys are less likely to be delinquent when they attend schools that have a positive and communal climate (Hopson & Lee, 2011). Finally, the impact that deviant peers have on a student's own delinquency can be counteracted by school climate: the positive association between deviant peer associations and a student's level of problem behaviour is weaker for students who attend a school with a positive and communal school climate (Wang & Dishion, 2011). Thus, several dimensions of a peaceful experience, such as fewer violent episodes and better conflict management, are enhanced when the school climate is improved.

The Destructive Impact of Punitive Discipline on School Climate

Although research indicates a solidly detrimental impact of punitive discipline on school climate, many US schools continue to use a punitive accountability structure for student behaviour that promotes neither positive nor negative peace. It is now

well established that US schools have responded harshly towards student misbehaviour and delinquency despite sustained reductions in school-based violations, a phenomenon similar to what has been observed in the American criminal justice system (US Department of Justice, 2019; Welch & Payne, 2010; Welch & Payne, 2018a). The use of exclusionary discipline policies in K-12 public schools increased sharply from the early 1970s to the early 2000s, at which time it continued to grow at a more gradual pace (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008). Although the last few years have seen these increases level off, the rates of expulsion and suspension are still remarkably high (e.g. 46% of US schools had expulsion policies; US Department of Education, 2020).

Because these disciplinary responses isolate students from the school community and exclude them from beneficial interpersonal and educational experiences, the consequences of exclusionary responses to misbehaviour can be harmful in a number of ways. Students who experience punitive discipline are more likely to experience poor school performance, grade retention, negative attitudes towards schools, and dropping out, as well as lower graduation rates, a reduced likelihood of receiving a college education, and fewer individual professional opportunities (Welch & Payne, 2018a). These students are also more likely to engage in physical fighting, weapon carrying, smoking, alcohol and drug use, and other delinquent acts. Ultimately, they are more likely to end up in the school-to-prison pipeline and eventually experience punishment under the juvenile and/or criminal justice system (Welch & Payne, 2018a). Thus, punitive and exclusionary discipline not only fails to reduce school violence and misbehaviour, but it may actually increase the frequency and intensity of these incidents.

From a peace study perspective, the reactionary and retributive forms of discipline that are intended to deter students from subsequent rule breaking have an alarming potential for imposing structural violence and preventing peace building. Discussed as a “security approach” by Galtung (2007), punitive discipline views students as passive participants to be deterred, with no focus on improving relationships but rather a preference for an authoritarian structure and a law-and-order model. This is the very opposite of a structure that favours positive peace, which builds and maintains relationships and skills intended to collectively resolve conflicts. In fact, although direct negative peace—that is, the cessation of conflict—may be achieved, it is likely that this will be temporary since the root causes of the conflict remain unaddressed (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016).

Long-lasting positive peace, including the absence of oppression, will certainly not be achieved within this punitive discipline model. Indeed, there is plentiful research indicating that exclusionary punishments are destructive to students and school communities and that these disciplinary responses can—and do—exacerbate social disadvantage (Kupchik, 2016; Wolf & Kupchik, 2017). Research shows that youth who experience harsh school discipline are more likely to be subjected to controls within the justice system such that authoritarian educational institutions may become a pathway to the juvenile and criminal justice systems (Gentile, 2013). Studies demonstrate that suspensions and expulsions are associated with an increased risk of justice system involvement, regardless of misbehaviour,

delinquency, and other influences. Specifically, punitive discipline has been associated with juvenile justice contact, arrest, probation, and incarceration, thus reifying the school-to-prison pipeline as a tragic reality for some students within educational institutions (Mittleman, 2018; Barnes & Motz, 2018; Rosenbaum, 2020; Wolf & Kupchik, 2017). Clearly, positive peace is not possible in this cultural context wherein students are simultaneously deprived of equal access to the institutional benefits of education and also exposed to the episodic and systemic violence perpetrated within the US justice system.

Additionally problematic for positive peace building is that students of colour are more likely to be identified as rule breakers deserving of harsh treatment. In the United States, Black and Latinx students disproportionately experience suspension and expulsion compared to White students (US Department of Education, 2019), and research confirms that students of colour are more likely to be disciplined net of a large array of other influences, including the amount and type of misbehaviour (Ksinan et al., 2019; Mowen & Brent, 2016; Young & Butler, 2018). Research also shows that racial and ethnic composition of schools is associated with discipline, with harsher sanctions being used in schools with proportionally more Black (Welch & Payne, 2010; Payne & Welch, 2010) and Latinx students (Welch & Payne, 2018b). Thus, both the process of disciplining students and the outcomes of that discipline are racially and ethnically unequal (Welch, 2018), evidencing the detrimental outcomes of an absence of positive peace.

Restorative Justice in Schools

Given the importance of a communal school climate and the negative consequences of punitive discipline, it is evident that punitive schools need to reconsider their responses to student behaviour. Fortunately, restorative justice approaches have been identified by many as a successful alternative to harsh discipline (Gregory & Evans, 2020; Velez et al., 2020), one that can successfully create and maintain a supportive school community and culture. Restorative justice is rooted in the practices of many pre-modern native cultures of the South Pacific and Americas, in which relationships are emphasized as promoting the well-being of the entire community (González et al., 2019). Although the use of restorative practices in the United States began in its justice system, it is thought that restorative practices in *schools* were first implemented in Australia in the early 1990s. The use of restorative justice in schools has grown tremendously: towards the end of the last decade, schools in more than half of the states in the United States have implemented these approaches, and a growing number of school districts have moved to incorporate it into their systems (González et al., 2019).

Initially, restorative practices were used in US schools primarily as an alternative to punitive discipline. Restorative approaches focus on the harm done, allowing targets of harm or victims to propose what they needed for reparation, leading the violating students to understand that harm results in an obligation for this reparation

and promoting the participation of all affected parties (Zehr, 2015). Zehr (2002) suggests that this approach "moves school discipline away from 'offend, suspend, and reoffend' by instead engaging in dialogue that helps people to understand why the incident occurred, how to resolve the conflict, and teach alternatives to violence and aggression" (p. 5). Within the restorative justice model, student misbehaviour is viewed as a violation of the relationships between the offender and the victim as well as between the offender and the overall school community. In order to restore the harm caused, the school facilitates an environment in which the offending student and those individuals whose trust was violated can reconcile and thereby mend their relationships. The importance of building and maintaining positive relationships is continually stressed; community members adhere to school rules and norms to avoid violating these valued relationships. Importantly, rather than punishing students for wrongdoings, a restorative justice approach motivates students to understand how their behaviour impacts others, and it empowers these students to actively design a plan for repairing the harm and moving onwards (Payne & Welch, 2018).

More recent work within the realm of peace studies illustrates how restorative justice in schools has evolved from an incident-based strategy that focuses solely on misbehaviour and discipline to a broader approach that focuses on peace building within the overall school community. Rather than dealing mainly with specific incidents or problems between only a few individuals, this whole-school model addresses how restorative justice can be used to build a peaceful and communal school climate. Importantly, this peace-centric approach more fully captures the heart of a true restorative model, recognizing that building and maintaining relationships are for the good of the school community (Schiff, 2018). The holistic framework emphasizes "relational pedagogies, justice and equity, resilience-fostering, and well-being" (Gregory & Evans, 2020, p. 3) with the underlying values of "respect, dignity, and care for all" (Guckenburg et al., 2016, p. 9).

These models work to improve relationships among all members of the school community, and the prevention of violations goes beyond each isolated incident to instead incorporate a multi-level intervention system (González et al., 2019; Morrison, 2007). At the initial level, all school community members are engaged in the development of skills necessary to build and maintain relationships and to create a positive school climate based on restorative values. The next two levels focus on specific incidents and individuals, with the secondary level using less formal techniques to repair harm and the tertiary level centring on those who need the most intensive intervention (Morrison, 2007). Ultimately, this holistic approach involves all members of the school community, establishing an environment conducive to positive peace. The whole-school framework takes a comprehensive approach, addressing the attitudes and behaviours of all school members, social interactions and relationships, discipline policies and procedures, and pedagogical and curricular decisions (Gregory & Evans, 2020; Velez et al., 2020). In this way, restorative justice in schools is not merely a programme or set of practices but a core framework and set of values fundamental in the transformation of not only a school's disciplinary policies but its climate and community as well.

Schools have implemented a wide variety of practices under the name of these restorative values and principles, with the prescribed goal of building and maintaining relationships within their educational communities. Although not promoted as components of peace education per se, it is clear that these align with peace building. These practices range along a continuum from informal techniques, such as restorative dialogue between teachers and students and restorative circles in classrooms, to more formal practices, such as restorative conferencing and peer mediation (Fronius et al., 2019; Katic et al., 2020). The more formal practices naturally require greater preparation and effort. Restorative conferences are often used in response to serious harm and involve much planning with a variety of school community members, including administrators, teachers, and students. Peer mediation, in which students mediate conflict between other students, requires intense training and guidance and focuses on improving conflict resolution skills in order to repair relationships. Restorative practices can fulfil a responsive or preventive purpose, with some overlap. Responsive, or reactive, interventions focus on addressing a particular conflict and repairing the specific relationship or relationships harmed by that problem; examples include restorative circles, conferences, and peer mediation. Preventive, or proactive, strategies focus on building and maintaining relationships and an overall sense of community; these include restorative dialogues and circles. As can be seen, restorative approaches are often "...both proactive and responsive in nurturing healthy relationships, repairing harm, transforming conflict, and promoting justice and equity" (Gregory & Evans, 2020, p. 3). Thus, they simultaneously promote negative and positive peace.

Indeed, Galtung's (2007) framework of peace aligns well with a restorative justice framework. As he describes, violence is the outcome of an unresolved conflict, which will only be resolved by repairing the involved relationships, thereby bringing about peace. In contrast to a security approach, a peace approach goes to the root of the unresolved conflict; not doing so merely postpones future violence. As such, a punitive approach may temporarily stop direct violence, leading to what appears to be temporary negative peace. However, a peace approach is superior because it both stops direct violence and establishes processes for handling conflicts in a just way. Thus, negative peace *and* positive peace are promoted (Cremin et al., 2012). This is accomplished with three overall methods: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016). Peacekeeping is merely reactive and involves separating conflicting parties but not investigating the underlying reasons; thus, only temporary negative peace may be achieved, and future violence is likely to occur. Peacemaking is also reactive, responding to an immediate conflict, but it works to deal with the underlying reasons for the conflict through dialogue and harm resolution; negative and positive peace may be achieved, and future violence is less likely. Finally, peace building is proactive, creating a climate of peace through equity and positive relationships; within this culture of both positive and negative peace, the likelihood of violence is far lower.

The connection between Galtung's framework of peace and restorative justice in schools is clear. While it is sometimes argued that punitive responses such as suspension and expulsion rely on peacekeeping methods by separating the conflicting

parties, restorative practices address violence with both peacemaking and peace-building approaches, thereby dealing with the root of the problem (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016). Through peacemaking practices such as restorative conferences and peer mediation, students learn how to repair harm and resolve conflicts peacefully. These practices also allow students to fully engage with the process, thereby giving them a voice not found in the authoritarian structure of punitive discipline (Velez et al., 2020). In addition, by using peace-building strategies such as restorative dialogues and circles, school community members build and nurture the supportive relationships that are so important to the creation and maintenance of a positive and communal school climate. Finally, broader restorative justice principles call for schools to confront their hierarchical authoritarian systems and break down structures based on oppression (Gregory & Evans, 2020). In essence, restorative justice in schools provides a fundamental framework for a peaceful culture.

Research on the Effectiveness of Restorative Justice in Schools

While the tenets of restorative justice fit nicely in a peace framework as applied to educational settings, rigorous research on the effectiveness of these practices in US schools is lacking (Fronius et al., 2019; Zakszeski & Rutherford, 2020). While most school-based interventions suffer a gap between research and practice, such that the implementation of evidence-based programmes lags behind the recommendations of high-quality studies, the reverse is true for restorative justice in schools. Indeed, initial studies of the impact of restorative approaches were primarily descriptive in nature, and many of the quantitative studies that are emerging suffer from certain limitations. Very few of these studies are experimental or quasi-experimental in nature (Zakszeski & Rutherford, 2020); studies have only recently begun, including comparison groups, and even these are only sporadically subject to randomization (Gregory & Evans, 2020; Velez et al., 2020). Other limitations include small sample sizes, samples restricted to a small range of schools, varying units of analysis, and a lack of proper measurement instruments (Fronius et al., 2019; Gregory & Evans, 2020; Katic et al., 2020). Since most research lacks the internal validity required, it is challenging to draw strong conclusions regarding the effectiveness of restorative justice in US schools (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020) or whether it contributes to a peaceful school environment.

Research on restorative justice in schools is also particularly difficult to conduct and interpret because districts and schools have goals and practices of varying depth and breadth (Gregory & Evans, 2020; Katic et al., 2020). Furthermore, these practices and goals are not always clearly defined or described (Zakszeski & Rutherford, 2020). For example, some studies simply examine the use of restorative circles in response to individual incidents, while other research examines the implementation of a whole-school approach (Gregory & Evans, 2020). In addition, few studies actually measure crucial features, such as dosage and fidelity of implementation (Katic et al., 2020; Zakszeski & Rutherford, 2020); it is assumed that faithful adherence to

restorative principles increases expected outcomes, but this has yet to be rigorously studied.

Nevertheless, findings from both early descriptive studies and newer, more rigorous studies on restorative justice offer promising support for peace education, particularly in connection to school climate, which is detailed above. Importantly, results indicate improvements in various indicators of school climate (Fronius 2019; González et al., 2019; Gregory & Evans, 2020). In a systematic review of ten studies, Katic et al. (2020) found that restorative practices increased school connectedness, positive relationships among school community members, student attachment, and student social skills. Similarly, a review of quantitative studies on the effectiveness of restorative justice in schools between 1999 and 2019 found that school connectedness and caring relationships increased, as did student use of conflict resolution and problem-solving skills (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020).

There is also evidence showing a beneficial impact of restorative justice on negative peace. Restorative practices in schools are related to fewer episodes of student misbehaviour, including bullying and fighting (Fronius et al., 2019). In the Darling-Hammond et al. (2020) review, nearly all of the studies revealed reduced rates of harmful behaviour, with reported reductions in offending ranging from 40% to 58%. Restorative approaches also reduce the use of zero-tolerance policies and punitive discipline, such as suspensions and expulsions (Fronius et al., 2019; González et al., 2019; Gregory & Evans, 2020). Four of the studies reviewed by Katic et al. (2020) reported decreased office referrals, in-school and out-of-school suspensions, and expulsions. Similarly, the studies reviewed by Darling-Hammond et al. (2020) reported reductions in office referrals ranging from 55% to 77% and reductions in suspensions ranging from 44% to 87%. Not surprisingly, studies suggest that a whole-school approach towards restorative justice is likely to be more effective than an incident-based approach (Fronius et al., 2019; González et al., 2019; Morrison et al., 2005).

These beneficial results appear to be seen—albeit tentatively—across different racial and ethnic student groups, an indicator that restorative justice may promote positive peace by reducing social inequality. As with overall effectiveness, the degree to which restorative discipline impacts disparities in schools seems to depend on the degree to which schools have implemented a whole-school restorative model that extends beyond simply reacting to the harm done. For example, in their study of 30 Oakland, California schools, Jain et al. (2014) found that schools introducing "developing" restorative justice measures (i.e. providing restorative justice training to staff, using restorative justice practices in the classroom, and regularly convening a school climate team) were able to reduce racial disparities in discipline, from 12.6% to 9.2%. While this was an improvement compared to the Oakland schools that had an "emerging" restorative programme (i.e. recently began using restorative techniques with few associated resources available), significant racial disparities still remain. Similar findings were seen in public schools in Los Angeles (Hashim et al. 2018) and Denver (González, 2015; Gregory et al., 2018).

Although these outcomes are encouraging for advocates of a peace framework in educational settings, they do indicate that restorative measures may be more

effective at reducing overall punitiveness than reducing the racial and ethnic *disparities* in punitiveness—a result that is at once promising for negative peace and perhaps somewhat dispiriting with regard to positive peace. One study of two US Atlantic coast cities' schools found that the implementation of restorative justice was indeed successful at reducing the rates of suspension for Black, Latinx, and White students, but it did nothing to impact the rates relative to each other, meaning that the inequalities in discipline were not reduced (Gregory & Clawson, 2016). The conclusion this suggests, then, is that merely introducing restorative practices is not sufficient for eliminating the inequity and injustice that hinder structural positive peace.

Despite the enthusiasm with which schools have adopted restorative justice in recent years, the number of studies that have examined the reduction of racial and ethnic disparities *after* the implementation of restorative justice remains frustratingly small. It appears indisputable, however, that a comprehensive, fully restorative approach to education is necessary for negative and positive peace to occur. Increasing equity in this manner would involve "disrupting hierarchies and rampant individualism, and … honoring the humanity of each member of the learning community", and not focusing solely on reducing suspensions and expulsions (Gregory & Evans, 2020, p. 4). Valuing all student voices and experiences is an essential component of transforming structures of exploitation and eliminating the marginalization of minoritized students through exclusionary school punishment. Moreover, addressing structural and systemic inequalities that disadvantage students according to their individual characteristics will promote students' psycho-social and academic well-being.

Implementing Restorative Justice for a Peaceful School Climate

Given the beneficial impact of restorative approaches, schools should look to implement a comprehensive restorative framework to expand the possibility of positive and negative peace. As noted above, a great variation currently exists regarding the level at which US classrooms, schools, and districts are implementing restorative practices. Some are using these approaches simply as add-on responses to student misbehaviour, while others are implementing the whole-school model (González et al., 2019). A broader and more consistent transformation within schools holds greater promise for promoting peace.

Schools looking to implement restorative approaches can find plenty of resources that can help (see, for example, Table 1 in Fronius et al., 2019, "Restorative Justice Implementation Guides and Toolkits"). However, schools must recognize that there is no "one size fits all" model to the restorative justice framework that can be boiled down to a simple "how-to" manual (Gregory & Evans, 2020; Velez et al., 2020). The primary step, of course, is for schools to implement practices that respond to student

misbehaviour from a harm repair framework rather than a punishment framework. The focus should be on relationships, with the offending student and those individuals whose trust was violated working together to mend their relationships. Thus, rather than punishing students for wrongdoings, restorative practices with these students help them understand how their behaviour impacts others and facilitates their leadership in reconciliation (Payne & Welch, 2018).

However, because restorative justice goes beyond a programme or set of practices, schools and students would benefit from the recognition that peaceful school culture can be created through a multi-level intervention system. While the secondary and tertiary levels of negative peace conflict management are incident based, using basic strategies such as restorative conferences to repair harm, it is the primary level in which all members of the school community learn and practice the skills necessary to build and maintain supportive relationships and to resolve conflicts peacefully through the continual use of practices such as restorative dialogues and circles (Guckenburg et al., 2016). By focusing on this whole-school intervention level, schools can create a positive and communal school climate based on restorative values.

Importantly, schools must continually ensure that approaches implemented as part of this whole-school restorative justice model align with peace education values and principles. That is, the practices must embody the restorative values of "respect, dignity, and care for all" (Guckenburg et al., 2016, p. 9), along with an emphasis on justice and equity (Gregory & Evans, 2020). Thus, the restorative justice philosophy should be integrated into a school's overall ethos (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020), creating a culture of tolerance and acceptance and a climate of peace. It is only at this point that a restorative justice model will be truly successful.

Those working to implement a restorative justice framework in schools, however, should be aware of a variety of challenges they may encounter. This approach requires a large range of resources, including time for training, professional development, continuing education about youth social and emotional learning skills, and implementation, as well as continual coaching and improvement efforts (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020; Guckenburg et al., 2016; Hymel & Darwich, 2018). In this way, restorative justice in schools may be more resource intensive than traditional sanctions (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020). This could lead to resistance from teachers and administrators, who may view this approach as competing with other priorities (Guckenburg et al., 2016). Resistance may also occur if administrators and teachers view restorative approaches as "soft" on student misbehaviour, particularly if they have deeply held beliefs about discipline based on their own experiences (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020; Schiff, 2018). In addition, teachers may feel that using restorative practices in the classroom, such as circles, takes time away from learning and that it is easier in the short term simply to remove the misbehaving student (Guckenburg et al., 2016). They may also believe that a restorative approach requires them to perform duties outside of their traditional job description (Guckenburg et al., 2016) or expect to simply implement a set curriculum rather than change their classroom culture (Velez et al., 2020). Therefore, successful restorative justice implementation must account for the resistance that will likely

result from the fact that its benefits, although more effective, will probably take longer to accrue.

Perhaps the greatest challenge pertains to the adoption of the whole-school restorative approach: advocates caution that the implementation of a comprehensive restorative justice model requires a fundamental shift in thinking, one that addresses not just student discipline but the entire school climate and culture as well. This significant paradigm change is “characterized by a shift away from being a rule-based institution to a relationship-based institution, or from being an institution whose purpose is social control to being an institution that nurtures social engagement” (Morrison & Vaandering, 2012 p. 145). Restorative justice would transform the thinking about discipline from viewing students’ behaviour as a function of their ability to follow rules to a function of their capacity to consider how behaviour impacts the school community. Thus, conflict is managed as part of the overall strategy to build, maintain, and repair relationships. However, the full restorative model should also shift the focus away from strategies primarily designed to address harm and conflict towards those designed to create social justice and engage all school participants in building inclusive, respectful, and responsive school environments (Christie, 2006; Christie et al., 2008; Lum, 2013; Morrison, 2007).

Thus, schools and districts should recognize that restorative justice is not simply a set of disciplinary responses to misbehaviour, delinquency, or violence but rather a complementary philosophical component of a peace education framework that should be adopted not just in schools but also at all levels of the educational system and beyond (Fields, 2003; González, 2012; Morrison et al., 2005; Hymel & Darwich, 2018; Penny, 2015). As Schiff (2018) states, “restorative justice must begin operating more as a movement and less as a technique, strategy, or program” (p. 132). When that happens, schools have a greater chance of being characterized as peaceful, nurturing institutions of learning.

Conclusion

The potential for restorative justice to increase positive and negative peace extends beyond US justice system institutions that have traditionally made use of it. Educational institutions offer an excellent example of how restorative principles—especially when applied in a holistic manner—can transform the entire experience and culture for children and the adults who facilitate their learning. Building and maintaining a positive school climate, and ultimately facilitating negative and positive peace, will be nearly inevitable in these conditions, and all members of the school community will benefit from the strong relationships that develop. Further, with the particular goal of positive peace, these advantages are expected to be particularly meaningful for students of colour and in schools with proportionally more students of colour.

In sum, this chapter has established that while restorative justice can dramatically improve student behaviour as well as schools’ responses to student behaviour,

these benefits will multiply as nurturing interpersonal and inter-group relationships continue to establish positive school climates and accordant peaceful environments. With the patience, resources, and support required to overhaul traditional school philosophies and their attendant policies and practices, entire communities will benefit from schools that engender peaceful psychology in their community members, and schools will realize interpersonal and inter-group peace.

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Chapter 5
Developing a More Restorative Pedagogy: Aligning Restorative Justice Teaching with Restorative Justice Principles

Mikhail Lyubansky, Giovana Mete, Gillian Ho, Emily Shin, and Yamenah Ambreen

Introduction

Critical pedagogy, an educational philosophy that invites students to critique and challenge systems of power and oppression, was originally developed by Brazilian educator Paolo Freire in 1968 but has its roots in critical theory, which goes back even further.

As part of his critique of the traditional education system, Freire referred to the banking model of education as one in which the instructor makes deposits of knowledge into passive students who receive, file, and store the deposits but do not question the information, build on it, or adapt it to a different context. Thus, Freire argued for a more egalitarian power structure between teachers and students, a more participatory student body, and a much larger emphasis on critical thinking and problem-solving. In addition, Freire and other critical theorists, such as bell hooks, espoused a commitment to learning from the vast and diverse experiences of people around the globe and challenged the notion that every student should be taught the same things, arguing for a more personalized approach based on individual and cultural differences (Burke, 2004). To that end, Freire, hooks, and other advocates of critical pedagogy emphasize that teachers must also remain in the role of learners, not only in regard to their content area but also in terms of learning and understanding the cultural, racial, and class-based experiences of their students, as well as their own biases and prejudices (Burke, 2004; Freire, 2018).

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Freire's ideas fit well with the student-centered movement built on the scholarship of John Dewey and Lev Vygotsky and championed, among others, by Carl Rogers and Maria Montessori. However, in his later years, Freire grew concerned that teachers were using his work to justify giving up their authority in ways that he considered dishonest:

> When teachers call themselves facilitators and not teachers, they become involved in a distortion of reality … the teacher turned facilitator maintains the power institutionally created in the position…. The facilitator still grades, still has certain control over the curriculum, and to deny these facts is to be disingenuous"…. What one cannot do in trying to divest of authoritarianism is relinquish one's authority as teacher…. Teachers maintain a certain level of authority through the depth and breadth of knowledge of the subject matter that they teach (Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 378).

In that same spirit, Freire rejected the notion that teachers should aspire to be non-directive or even less directive. On the contrary, he believed educators should use their structural authority to get students involved in planning their education and help them build a capacity to engage with the content critically rather than passively (Freire & Macedo, 1995).

While there is no single approach to critical pedagogy, restorative justice principles are congruent with the broad philosophy of critical pedagogy and, as such, provide one conceptual approach to implementation. Furthermore, for instructors, integrating restorative principles into pedagogy (rather than merely teaching *about* them) allows the learning environment to be more congruent with restorative values and principles and gives students an opportunity to have first-hand experience with those principles. In the remainder of this chapter, we discuss how each of these restorative principles can be reflected in pedagogical practices and how they fit into peace psychology's objective of providing a viable alternative to the structural and institutional violence that characterizes many aspects of higher education.

Restorative Principles

Restorative principles are typically seen as foundational to doing any kind of restorative justice work and are regarded as an essential part of any restorative justice curriculum. However, there is no definitive list of such principles, and different scholars and practitioners focus on different concepts, typically giving priority to those they deem central to their own approach and their own understanding of practical constraints (e.g. Braithwaite, 2003; Van Ness & Strong, 2014). For this chapter, the lead author has identified the ten principles below based on over a decade of active involvement in teaching, research, and practice in a variety of contexts, including schools, organizations, and the juvenile justice system. The list of principles is intended to be comprehensive, with the awareness that the contemporary

movement is still less than 50 years old and, therefore, still actively developing, testing, and revising theory and practice. The principles are as follows:

1. Treats relationships as foundational.
2. Walks toward conflict.
3. Considers conflicts to belong to the community.
4. Creates conditions for truth telling, mutual understanding, and accountability.
5. Prioritizes voluntariness.
6. Commits to restorative justice as an antioppressive practice.
7. Recognizes that interpersonal violence is often connected to structural/systemic violence.
8. Has the goals of repairing harm and transforming conflicts.
9. Uses “power with” not “power over”.
10. Responds to the needs of all parties impacted by the harmful act.

Some of these principles, like the primacy of relationships (1), community ownership (3), voluntariness (5), and goal of repair (8), are likely to be familiar to anyone connected to the restorative movement. Other principles, like the commitment to antioppressive practices (6) and the connection of interpersonal and systemic violence (7) represent a more radical, and in some ways more recent, part of the movement that has been termed “transformative justice” (Nocella, 2011). Still others, such as responding to the unmet needs of all parties (10) reflect the philosophy of one or more particular approaches, which may not be shared by the entire movement.

Although only one (7) explicitly references Galtung’s model of violence (Galtung, 1969), the principles are intertwined, such that each recognizes the cultural and structural context within which the conflict takes place and expresses a behavior, attitude, and/or context that relates to Galtung’s conflict triangle. Thus, principles such as walking toward conflict (2) and using “power with” (9) describe both behaviors (visible) and attitudes (not visible) that exist in a cultural context, which generally socializes us to fear conflict or seek to dominate it. In this way, restorative principles, like critical pedagogy, are intended to challenge dominant frameworks, narratives, and structures. Though certainly vulnerable to co-optation by mainstream institutions, restorative principles, like critical pedagogy, are designed to be subversive to established systems and protocols and arguably can only exist within established institutions when those who hold structural power are themselves willing to subvert larger systems of which their institution is a part. This is especially evident when a teacher commits to using the principles in their classroom, but it is also what occurs when those who hold structural power in a particular school or school district decide that they are ready for a different type of leadership and a different type of response to interpersonal conflicts and the structural and institutional violence of the educational system itself.

Methodology

Importantly, the writing of this chapter was guided by several of these principles, primarily power sharing and vertical collaboration (9) and voluntariness (5). The first author is a university professor who, at the time of this writing, had been teaching courses on restorative justice for 10 years. The other authors were students[1] in his spring 2021 *Restorative Justice: Principles and Methods* course who responded to his invitation to collaborate on this project. This course was an upper-level undergraduate course offered through the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign's department of psychology, which is the first author's home department. Though psychology students are given enrollment priority for the 45-seat course, as the only undergraduate restorative justice course offered at the university, it also attracts students across campus.

Importantly, though we did not plan to write about this class when it first started and did not keep a journal or collect other qualitative data, we write in the tradition of auto-hermeneutics, a phenomenological approach to inquiry that focuses on an individual's lived experiences within the world. More specifically, though hermeneutics has typically involved the interpretation of the texts of others, such as interview transcripts and participants' experiential accounts, this approach can reasonably also be applied to one's own experiences, including retrospectively examining one's memories and thoughts (Neubauer et al., 2019).

Consistent with auto-hermeneutics, rather than writing with a single voice, we chose to preserve the separate perspectives of both individual students and the instructor. The goal is to show how the different restorative principles were experienced by both the instructor and several students, without assuming that the experiences can be generalized. In the remainder of the chapter, each of the ten principles is discussed separately, with the voices of the student authors italicized for the reader's convenience. Nonitalicized text represents the voice and perspective of the course instructor.

[1] Giovana is a cisgender white female. She is an undergraduate student at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (U of I) where she studies Clinical/Community Psychology and Spanish. Giovana first learned about Restorative Justice from this course. She plans to attend a master's program in fall 2022 for faith-based Clinical Mental Health Counselling. Gillian is a cisgender Taiwanese American female and child of immigrants. She is a recent graduate of U of I with dual degrees in mechanical engineering and psychology. She first heard about restorative justice from racial justice activists. Afterward, she decided to take a course to better understand the framework and engage with the restorative justice literature. Emily is a cisgender Korean American female. She is an undergraduate student at the U of I where she studies Molecular and Cellular Biology and Clinical/Community Psychology. Emily heard of Restorative Justice prior to taking this class, but she learned more about it from this course. Yamenah is an undergraduate student at the U of I studying Bioengineering and Psychology. She plans on studying medicine after her undergraduate studies.

Restorative Principles in the University Classroom

Principle 1: Relationships Are Foundational

That relationships are foundational to restorative justice is so accepted in the restorative movement that it has become axiomatic. In his groundbreaking book *Changing Lenses*, Zehr (1990) described a restorative justice framework where crime is viewed not as an offense against the state but as a violation of people and relationships. Moreover, as Braithwaite (2002) pointed out, unlike criminal justice and legal practices that limit the scope to law and policy, restorative justice intentionally focuses on underlying relationships. This is particularly true in education where restorative justice's philosophical assertion that "all people are interconnected" (Reimer, 2019, p. 52) fits under the larger umbrella of peace education as a response to various forms of violence (Galtung, 1990). To that end, restorative justice's messages of unity, including across groups, can provide a much-needed antidote to in-group moral superiority and perceived threat, which are foundations for hate and domination (Brewer, 1999). This is the heart of the integrative theory of peace (ITP), which holds that a unity-based worldview is essential for creating cultures of peace and peace-based conflict resolution (Danesh, 2011).

Importantly, the focus on relationships in restorative justice can be proactive as well as responsive. Utilizing this more holistic framework, Evans and Vaandering (2016, p. 8) define restorative justice in schools as "facilitating learning communities that nurture the capacity of people to engage with one another and their environment in a manner that supports and respects the inherent dignity and worth of all." Though, in practice, such holistic implementation of restorative justice is not typical in schools (Reimer, 2019), the restorative justice classroom provides an unusual opportunity to form a temporary learning community that seeks to establish these kinds of supportive relationships and maintain them for the duration of the class.

With this goal in mind, several aspects of the course design were intended to support relationship building. For example, during the first week of classes, students were randomly assigned to "breakout groups," which they kept for the semester. Each class period begins with a 6-min (1 min per participant) Peacemaking Circle,[2] a separate one for each of the breakout groups.

The beginning of the class always included small breakout groups which were focused on strengthening our relationships with individual classmates. In these breakout rooms, we would have a circle keeper who would ask an interpersonal question, which everyone in the group takes turns answering (or passing). Towards the beginning of the class, the questions were more light-hearted but as the semester went on, the questions became a lot more personal. As a result, our conversations in

[2] Adapted from the traditional practices of several First Nations communities, Peacemaking Circles have been used not only as a response to harm but also for "support, understanding, learning, healing, finding harmony, community building or simply celebrating being together" (Pranis et al., 2013, p. 130).

the breakout rooms became very intimate which strengthened our relationship with one another. Building these meaningful relationships in smaller groups helped us further build relationships in the larger class. As we became more comfortable with members of our small groups, it became much easier to express ourselves in larger groups. In other words, the small relationships we developed were foundational for the larger class community (E.S.).

When I first started doing the Peacemaking Circles at the start of each class period, my primary worry was that I was not making good use of precious class time or that my colleagues might think so. I was aware that for a course that met twice a week, a 15-week semester would yield 180 minutes of built-in relationship-building activities. I thought of all the content that could be presented and all the demonstrations, role plays, and discussions that could be squeezed in, if those 6 min of class-time were utilized differently. But this mindset, which dominates higher education, ignores how much relationship-building activities contribute to student learning. To begin with, a student's trust in a teacher determines the degree to which that student will be open to being taught by that teacher (Wang, 2014). It is also directly linked to several characteristics associated with learning. For example, in their study of 200 college students, Corrigan and Chapman (2008) found that students' level of trust in their teachers was significantly correlated with their motivation to learn ($r = 0.42$) and their report of learner empowerment ($r = 0.48$). Not surprisingly, other studies point to the importance of social connection by showing that students significantly benefit when they are involved in peer learning programs, such as study groups (Bonsangue & Drew, 1995; Tinto, 1998).

In practice, these 6-minute community circles worked less well than I hoped, at least on Zoom. Still, as evidenced by their own words, the students did experience at least some of the potential benefits that such relationship-building practices can provide.

One benefit to the small group discussions is the fact that there is no end goal to those discussions. Our only intention was to get to know one another and build a connection, which is not necessarily the point of having a large class discussion. We also did not have a lot of structure in the small group settings. Although we had a circle-keeper, the breakout groups were small enough for people to jump into the conversation when they wanted and keep the conversation flowing as organically as possible, whereas with the class of 40+ students, we did not always know when someone was going to talk next or whether we were talking too much and the awkwardness of having such a large group discussion made it difficult to build those relationships (Y.A.).

The breakout groups provided a structure for relationship building, but still required a level of commitment and engagement that students are not always able or willing to make.

The use of breakout rooms to create consistent smaller groups throughout the semester was helpful in enabling relationship building between peers. The guiding questions given to encourage conversation also allowed the groups to start discussions and naturally develop a group personality based on the students present. These small groups were also helpful in combating feelings of isolation being in a

larger class where it is harder to get to know others individually, especially in a virtual format. Of course, the virtual format made it easier for students to disengage and not interact if they choose to. For this reason, the breakout rooms are only beneficial for building relationships to the degree that students are willing to engage in them. The class structure encourages and gives the opportunity to build relationships, but the students must individually choose whether they will engage on any given day (G.H.)

Besides the different levels of engagement on the part of students, the structure of the virtual Zoom environment, as well as my choice to keep the same groups for the entire semester, also seemed to be barriers to deeper connection.

I do not think relationship building was adequate in our class due to the class being held via *Zoom. I think it was helpful that we had our groups for the first six minutes of class and for a time, we felt like we had a relationship with each other. But as time went on and people became Zoom-fatigued, our groups did not talk much and some just came to class late. This took away a sense of trust and relationships as we were not connecting. Also, I think only speaking with five other people in the class only allowed us to build connections with a few people. It did not feel safe to interact on a deeper level with the entire class, because I personally felt like I did not know much about anyone else except the people who actively participated or were in my group. The Zoom format was not very conducive to meaningful interactions between students (G.M.).*

As the course instructor who wants everything to be effective, the feedback above was obviously not what I was hoping to hear, in part because I tried to check in on how these groups were going at least once during the semester. It is, nevertheless, exactly the kind of feedback that is useful. As I write this, I am unsure what to do about Zoom fatigue, but I now realize there are potential benefits to moving students into different groups for remote and in-person classes alike.

Another part of the feedback above that is perhaps less obvious is that there was not sufficient trust, especially early in the semester, for students to respond honestly to informal check-ins. Given the particular challenges of remote instruction (Velez, Butler, Hahn, & Latham, 2021), this is not surprising but nevertheless speaks to the importance of dedicating time early in the term to building trust and establishing a culture of truth telling so that students feel empowered and sufficiently safe to not only respond honestly to such inquiries but also to initiate a conversation if they believe something about the class structure is not supporting their learning.

Principle 2: Walk Toward Conflict (with the Goal of Understanding It)

Like many others in the United States, I was socialized to believe that conflicts were messy, time-consuming, and unpredictable, sometimes even dangerous. Brazil-based restorative justice innovator Dominic Barter (2009) suggests that those who

see conflict in this way have it backward. It is not conflict that creates messiness and danger, Barter argues, but rather the ways that communities (or individuals) *suppress* conflict. Conflict itself, according to Barter, is feedback that something is not working and an opportunity to learn and make things better. Seen through this lens, engaging in conflict is productive and healthy and not only not inherently dangerous but potentially a way to make our communities (and ourselves) *safer* by making visible (and seeking to change) the systems of domination and structural violence, which are one cause of riots and other violence (Christie et al., 2008). To test Barter's claims, I started to look for opportunities to engage in long-avoided conflicts in my own relationships. The conversations that ensued often felt awkward, but I could see that, afterward, the relationships felt easier and, at least marginally, more emotionally intimate. Within a year's time, I embarked in earnest on the hard work of unlearning long-standing habits of avoidance and began to experiment with ways to work through conflicts in my own life.

I share this personal story because I do not believe we can meaningfully walk toward conflict in the classroom until we have done so in our own interpersonal relationships. If we avoid or respond with passive aggression to conflicts in our personal lives, what reason do we have for doing something different in the classroom? But if, as instructors, we are philosophically aligned with this principle and practice it[3] in our own close relationships, then walking toward conflict in the classroom is the logical extension of this philosophy, a way to be congruent with our own values and a way to "do" restorative justice and not just teach it.

The first step is to talk about this principle, both as one of a set of principles that shape and define the restorative movement and create conditions for positive peace and to invite students to think about how they orient toward conflicts in their own relationships. As part of this personal narrative, I talk about how I was socialized to believe conflict was dangerous and to be avoided, as well as the costs I incurred by doing so. I introduce students to the four conflict styles (competing, appeasing, cooperating, and avoiding[4]) and have them move to a corner of the room based on their preferred conflict style in different contexts (e.g., family of origin, friendships). Together, we explore the benefits and costs of each approach. Eventually, students submit a written reflection on their conflict style and how it plays out in different contexts. The assignment is sufficiently congruent with university norms and student expectations that I typically see little resistance, and the resulting papers seem to contribute not only to their learning about this construct but also to their personal relationship with it. It is notable, for example, that students spontaneously refer to their conflict style during class discussions.

[3] "Practice" here does not imply that every conflict should be engaged. It is impractical and potentially destructive to engage directly with every conflict in our life. Rather than a mandate, this principle is intended to describe the benefits of engaging in conflict and invites a mindful choice.

[4] Different scholars have used different terms, including Competing, Accommodating, Collaborating, and Avoiding (Blake & Mouton, as cited in Thomas & Kilmann, 1978), Domineering, Obliging, Integrating, and Avoiding (Rahim, 1983) but generally describe similar orientations to conflict. Sometimes, a 5th style, compromising, is also discussed.

It is more difficult, however, to bring this principle into the classroom directly by creating a space for students to engage in whatever conflicts/concerns they might have with me or each other. I do invite such feedback about my own actions related to the class and tell students I am committed to receiving their feedback as a gift. And when students cautiously provide some, I do my best to respond in congruence with this commitment (and my own values) because I recognize, as G.M. explains below, that students are aware of my structural power[5] as the course instructor.

I think walking toward conflict is difficult and counter-cultural in general, but the professor-student power dynamics make it especially difficult in class. It is uncomfortable to contradict the professor in any given class, even in a restorative justice class; we students have preconceived notions about this power dynamic, which makes it hard to move past because in our other classes we do as the professors say without question (G.M.).

No doubt this structural power serves both students and me at times, for example, by creating conditions for efficient decision-making. At other times, however, it seems to be a barrier to deeper engagement. In those moments, it is tempting for me to de-emphasize and minimize it. I have learned to resist this impulse because I do not want to give students an inaccurate impression of how power operates. The reality is that my quantitative assessment of their work will show up on their transcripts, and my qualitative evaluations in a reference letter might hurt or help their chances of landing a job or being admitted into a graduate program. Bias is sometimes implicit (Staats, 2016), and though I am philosophically opposed to such a response and guard against it, I cannot guarantee I will not determine that the student's critical feedback is evidence of flawed thinking or, worse, flawed moral reasoning. Being direct and honest about structural power allows those with less to make informed choices about navigating classroom relationships, and it makes sense that this influences the degree to which students are willing to walk toward conflict with me and, by extension, each other. Thus, while such transparency may not in and of itself create a peaceful class community, it is a necessary step in that process.

Some critical peace education scholars take this principle further. As Bajaj (2015) points out, the more students can engage in problem-solving such dynamics in the classroom, the better equipped they will be to resist them in the larger world. To that end, identifying the problem and then asking students "How are you going to solve it?" not only potentially yields strategies that support the classroom community but also empowers them after they leave.

There is, however, one way in which students are already embracing this principle, which is in their willingness to express their points of view in class discussions, including those contrary to the points of view of their classmates and the authors in our assigned readings.

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[5] Importantly, many students are also aware of structural power more broadly and though they are likely to deal with mild discontent by covering it up and/or withdrawing from class and venting to friends, they also understand that they have the option of taking their grievances to those with even more structural power, like a department head.

I believe that Professor Mikhail was clearly open to conflict as well as hearing students' true opinions. Thus, students felt safe enough to debate frequently. I think that is a part of trying to understand conflict (G.M.).

In the above formulation, "conflict" refers not to interpersonal or system dynamics but to differences of opinion/perspective. While this is not the kind of conflict that we typically associate with restorative justice, it is related to both restorative justice and Galtung's formulation of "positive peace" in that its purpose is to create a classroom culture in which rather than seeking "negative peace" by avoiding conflict, dialogue is seen as a healthy and productive way of engaging with conflict when it emerges (Galtung, 2011). It is this willingness to hold a space for such contentious discussions that G.H. refers to, below, as "the unrestricted format."

The unrestricted format of the discussion space was particularly helpful for allowing students to unpack and engage in the contentious topics brought up in class. Because there was not necessarily an end point that the instructor was trying to convince students of, it allowed students to simply share their perspectives. Naturally, students' perspectives differ, especially with regards to contentious topics like abolition and the state of policing, and conflict inevitably arose. The benefit of the unrestricted format was that conflict could be addressed in the moment and students were able to put into practice the methods for addressing conflict that we had been learning about. The presence of conflict also never resulted in a change in the curriculum to avoid certain topics so as to "prevent" conflict. Rather, these topics were an opportunity for students to model and practice restorative methods to approaching conflict (G.H.).

Unfortunately, while the breakout groups helped establish trust within the small groups, as discussed earlier, that trust did not always sufficiently generalize to the larger group. The dynamics that E.S. describes below were unknown to me until we undertook this writing project.

In the class, we discussed a lot of controversial topics such as police brutality and racism. We were encouraged to speak up even if our thoughts did not necessarily coincide with the majority. As a result, some opinions were stated that led to tension. Rather than judging the person for their thoughts, we provided an open space to explore and be curious about them. Our primary goal was to understand the conflict rather than avoiding and suppressing the negative emotional responses. There are some limitations for following this principle that must be addressed. Although it was encouraged to speak up, not everyone did in the main room. Students were much more open in the breakout room about the tension they were feeling, if any. A factor for this may be that the class was online, and it is much harder to speak up in front of the entire class on a zoom call. Therefore, not all conflicts were acknowledged or addressed (E.S.).

It is difficult to know to what degree the online format contributed to these dynamics, but something similar likely also happens in the in-person classroom. The feedback that students provided through this writing collaboration clearly points to the need to build more trust in the large group and rotating small groups may potentially contribute to that.

Principle 3: Conflicts Belong to the Community

From the moment that Nils Christie first delivered his *conflicts as property* talk in 1976, his assertion that conflicts belong to the community, rather than to government officials or institutional professionals, has been a core principle of the restorative movement. Christie's paper of the same title (1977) is the first assigned reading in the course and creates an opportunity to consider not only the costs of handing our conflicts over to professionals but also the benefits and costs of keeping the conflicts in the community in which it originated.

As part of this discussion, I invite students to consider whether it might make sense for our class to create our own conflict/justice system instead of relying on the grievance-based justice processes available in the department and university. This is an important conversation because without it, there is an unacknowledged incongruence between the restorative content of the course and the available options for dealing with classroom conflicts. In truth, there are good reasons for this incongruence and good reasons not to attempt to eliminate it.

The good reasons that dominant (nonrestorative) systems are set up to remove serious and moderate conflicts from the classroom (and have them responded to by department administrators or a designated campus office) include protecting students from the instructor's structural power and protecting learning time from the time demands of conflict resolution. As well, it places the conflict in the hands of those who have the training and experience to, at least in theory, make decisions that are in the best interest of both the involved parties and the campus community.

But this appeal to an outside authority also has limitations, especially in a class that is focused on conflict and justice. These limitations include 1) students lose the opportunity to practice conflict and problem-solving skills and to apply the curriculum to their own lived experience, which Galtung (2008) argued is an essential part of peace education; 2) professionals who are charged with sorting out the conflicts are removed from the specific classroom context in which the conflict emerged, which means they may not get an accurate understanding of what happened, including the different types of harm that might have occurred; 3) our institutions are rule and punishment focused, while our class (in theory) has the ability and motivation to focus on harm and how to repair it, and 4), handing over the conflicts to the department and/or university actually disempowers the harmed party if the wishes of those who were harmed run counter to university punishment guidelines.

Even if we wanted to, the students and I do not have the authority to simply opt out of the university system. This not only means that students would still have the option of filing a formal grievance, but also that we would not be able to count on either the department or campus to support whatever agreements the class justice system might reach. While this does not preclude creating a class justice system, which in a way is what every class does when it establishes (or receives from the instructor) class "discussion guidelines," it does mean that anything that is done to that end is embedded in the larger systems of the university and, therefore, constrained by those systems.

Because of these constraints, I am more interested in having a dialogue that names and engages the incongruence and unearths this complexity than in actually creating something that may appear to be more restorative but is still subject to university policies and to the professionals responsible for administering them. Yet even with these considerable constraints, by having students collectively consider creating a justice system and explore what we might win or lose in the process, we not only create a bit more congruence with this principle but also an opportunity for students to share power (see principle 9) and have more agency in defining classroom norms (Zeiser et al., 2018). Moreover, the discussion typically makes the restorative values and practices more salient, potentially creating more openness to talking through disagreements that naturally arise when there is an honest dialogue about contentious content.

Whenever there was conflict or disagreement between community members, it was always resolved within the community. There was an understanding that to effectively address the harm and needs of those involved, it had to be discussed and addressed within the community. Escalating it to the institutional level was unnecessary and would have likely caused more harm (G.H.).

Our class had little reason to speak with the school about a conflict during class. Going to the Psychology Department or university was unnecessary unless a conflict could not be resolved by our class and/or someone was intentionally harmed, which was very unlikely (G.M.).

In some ways, the entire conversation is a kind of collective thought experiment. So far, I have not had any class decide to create its own justice system, though there is always the possibility that one semester a critical mass of students will decide to do so. If that happens, a part of me will worry about how it will be perceived by department and institutional leadership, especially if the system is then used to work through real conflicts, but a part of me will be delighted to see students initiate such a process and curious to see what emerges. I suspect such tension is unavoidable when trying to do anything restorative within a hierarchical system.

Principle 4: Creates Conditions for Truth Telling, Mutual Understanding, and Accountability

A considerable amount of class time is set aside for discussions of readings, videos, class demonstrations, and debriefing after guest speakers. As restorative and transformative justice are intentionally countercultural movements (e.g., Lippens, 2015; Vaandering, 2011), many speakers and much of the assigned material express contentious perspectives and viewpoints. To engage with this material, it is important to have a culture where everyone feels “safe enough” to express their own truth, including voicing disagreement with the authors of the assigned readings, as well as with each other and with me. I try to create such a culture by emphasizing the distinction between understanding—the goal of reading, listening, and discussing in

class and engaging with conflict restoratively—and agreeing with the point of view of others, which may or may not happen. Importantly, there is a difference between "safe enough" and "comfortable." The former refers to a lower threshold characterized by a willingness to participate, often despite considerable discomfort. The latter is a threshold that is incompatible with controversial and uncomfortable topics. Here, again, Galtung's (2011) concept of a positive peace that makes room for conflict engagement is relevant and useful.

I think that us students really tried to have a mutual understanding and were successful; Professor Mikhail set a good example of how to assume people have good intentions and engage their perspective. I think we were self-responsible when people made statements that were offensive and/or perceived as offensive (G.M.).

I think this [willingness to engage in perspective-taking] was facilitated by the fact that many of the topics we covered were not very objective. We talked about controversial topics such as policing where there was no right answer and because the people in our class had different backgrounds, they had very different perspectives towards these topics. But we always maintained the purpose of our discussions was not to agree with one another, but to understand one another, which led to developing a more multi-faceted perspective on a situation (Y.A.).

To raise the likelihood that students were heard and understood accurately, the class used a dialogical practice originally developed by Carl Rogers for psychotherapy (e.g., see Arnold, 2014) and adapted by Marshall Rosenberg (2015). In this practice, often called "reflective listening," each person, prior to expressing their point of view, first checks their understanding of what the previous speaker said by putting the essence of what they heard into their own words. The previous speaker then notes whether the understanding is accurate and provides correction or elaboration, as necessary. When (and only when) the speaker is satisfied that they were heard accurately, the next person is invited to express their perspective. This operationalizes positive peace in the classroom, creating not only the norm of engaging contentious topics but also a dialogical structure that facilitates learning and stronger interpersonal connections.

During discussions, the practice of "echoing back" what the other person said to ensure understanding was extremely helpful in highlighting the importance of and orienting to mutual understanding and truth telling when holding conversations with those who have differing viewpoints. This allows each party to feel heard and understood and encourages each party to really think about and consider the other's perspective (G.H.).

This dialogical process slows things down by design. It is not always needed, but when different points of view emerge or when the dialogue has the possibility of becoming contentious for other reasons, this practice not only increases the likelihood of students being understood accurately but possibly also builds trust in the dialogue process and in each other. To be fair, as both G.M. and Y.A. point out below, it does not always accomplish these lofty goals.

I believe people may not have been comfortable sharing a less accepted viewpoint, but when people shared their views, it was truthful. I think it would be useful to use anonymous polls more often (G.M.).

I think this is something that students became more confident with doing as the semester progressed. One potential downfall of this, though, is that it requires a certain level of initiative from the student to learn and respect other perspectives. Students may not necessarily want that level of self-responsibility, which makes it difficult to maintain a discussion. I think there were times when a student would restate another student's perspective, and then follow it with "but" and restate their own opinion without trying to incorporate the first perspective into their own. This led to a sort of circular argument where we were going back and forth between two perspectives, and it did not seem like there was a concerted effort to reach a resolution (Y.A.).

This response is understandable in the current political climate in which politically progressive groups often pursue harm reduction by trying to anticipate and, if necessary, limit some forms of expression that are believed to cause harm (e.g., Goldberg, 2020; Lukianoff & Haidt, 2019;). Moreover, the situation is likely exacerbated in an online classroom where cameras are not always on and connection (and trust) are much harder to establish. Even so, many students seemed pleasantly surprised by the level of honesty and transparency. There was even a student-led attempt to organize a continuation of a discussion (on policing communities of color) outside of class. Altogether, even if the particular strategies associated with this principle are only able to increase the level of honesty slightly, every bit makes a difference.

Principle 5: The More Voluntary the Participation, the More Restorative the Outcome

The principle of voluntariness is the idea that when people have the autonomy to choose whether and how they want to engage, they will feel they have more ownership of their actions and, therefore, engage more fully and with less ambivalence and resistance (see Dickinson, 1995). A workshop learning space is generally congruent with this principle because those who register are typically doing so voluntarily. To some degree, the same is true in higher education. This restorative justice class is a special topic course in the psychology department, and there are many other elective courses available. As such, students taking this course are self-selecting into it, presumably because they have some interest in the course content.

Once in the class, however, the level of voluntariness drops considerably relative to a workshop, which typically does not have required, formally evaluated work. While I try to maintain the most choice possible for students—there are no exams, all assignments have a high level of choice, and deadlines have some flexibility—I have little doubt that most students would choose to do much less reading and writing if it would not have negative consequences on their class grade and, in turn, their grade point average (GPA). As a nontenured faculty member, I have lacked the courage to really challenge the convention of quantitative evaluation of the student by

the professor, even though I am aware of several ways by which I might do so, such as including student self-evaluation in computing semester grades. This would certainly raise a new set of concerns (e.g., about consistent grading standards across students), but it would eliminate at least some of the constraints on student autonomy and also create opportunities to share power (see principle 9).

Graded work aside, the voluntariness principle is emphasized throughout the course, as in this excerpt from the "Participation" section of the syllabus:

> Just as an art class requires picking up a brush, I will invite you to put on a facilitator hat in various in-class exercises. In enrolling and remaining in this class, you are acknowledging that this kind of participation is considered to be an essential part of the course…. At the same time, voluntariness is a core restorative principle and all such activities are voluntary. As such, the choice to sit out a particular activity … is a gift to the rest of us in that it demonstrates that the person making that choice has clarity about what would best support their well-being and trusts that the option to not participate is, indeed, a real option that students can choose without concern of being penalized.

All students were given the opportunity to engage in discussions and activities, but also the choice to participate or not, and were not penalized if they chose not to. This allowed students to pass on when they were not comfortable or willing to share. Doing so respects students' autonomy and their choice to protect their well-being. It also emphasizes the trust that is placed in the students that they have clarity about what is best for them and their mental health. Voluntariness serves to protect students so they do not feel forced to be vulnerable or share private details in spaces that may or may not be equipped to adequately protect or care for them. Of course, there were times that students would use this opportunity to disengage from the discussion. This may reflect the fact that the course cannot be fully voluntary and there may have been times when students had to be present even if they did not want to be (G.H.).

Although it was highly encouraged to participate in class discussions, it was never mandatory to do so. There were no participation points for speaking up. Students also had the option to choose if they wanted to speak up on a topic and when to do so. In other words, students had the autonomy to speak up on their own terms (E.S.).

Even voluntariness has costs, however, as Y.A. and G.M. point out below.

I think the fact that students were given the choice to volunteer was important because we often talked about more sensitive topics, and I do not think forcing people to participate would benefit students or the discussion. From the students' perspective, being able to choose when to participate was less stressful, especially for those who do not typically feel comfortable speaking in front of a class. And from the class's perspective, I think voluntariness allowed for students to be more honest and forthcoming because they felt less pressure to share, which led to more genuine conversation. But on the flip side, there were times when a question was posed and nobody answered, which ended up putting pressure on certain students who were more accustomed to volunteering to ensure that the conversation kept flowing. So ultimately, although the voluntariness aspect benefited most students, it did not benefit all students (Y.A.).

I love that the class participation was voluntary and think this aspect of the course was done very well. I do think that it was unlikely for someone to "pass" even if it was clearly an option, because most people were participating. I do not think there is much to be done about this issue, as it is not possible to get rid of social conformity (G.M.).

The social dynamic Y.A. describes, in which some students feel pressured to keep the conversation flowing during class discussions, is one that probably every student and every instructor has observed. There are various group dynamics in play—including social loafing, the tendency of individuals to put forth less effort during a group activity (see Karau & Williams, 1993)—but I mostly attribute this phenomenon to personality differences and individual differences in motivation to engage with the content. While I, too, would prefer that participation be distributed more equitably (and invite students mid-semester to stretch into participating more if they tend to listen quietly), I am usually willing to accept this particular inequity in order to prioritize student autonomy and the voluntariness principle. And on those occasions when more equitable participation seems particularly important, I can turn to a variety of strategies designed for that purpose, including the Peacemaking Circle process and having students work in their small groups.

G.M.'s concern about conformity pressure is also important as given sufficient social pressure, participation stops being voluntary. On the other hand, in moderate amounts, this kind of social pressure is positive in the sense that students learn better when they are actively engaged in class activities. As with many things, the goal is not necessarily to eliminate the pressure to participate but to maximize choice and autonomy by naming the social conformity phenomenon and continuing to emphasize that not speaking (during a class discussion) or "passing" (during a circle process) are real choices with no structural consequences.

Principle 6: Restorative Justice Is Philosophically Opposed to Oppression and Cannot Be Separated from Movements to End Racism, Sexism, and Other Forms of Domination

A restorative justice class is unlikely to end racism or other forms of oppression and domination, but it can be a place that promotes consciousness regarding how these operate in society. It can also be a place in which there is a shared commitment to recognize these particular forms of harm and engage with them if they occur. Students cannot be guaranteed a safe haven from such oppression in class, in part because, as Sensoy and DiAngelo (2014, p. 7) point out, "for many students…of color, the classroom is a hostile space virtually all of the time, and especially so when the topic is race." Because students of color are often a numerical minority and because of the current political polarization regarding critical race theory and related constructs, this is likely the case even when the class is designed, as this one is, to investigate and challenge the ways that racism operates in society. Students

who are white often also experience discomfort and tension, sometimes due to their own anxiety about saying something offensive or insensitive and sometimes because they do not trust that their opinions are welcomed by non-white classmates. In their comments below, E.S., G.M., and Y.A. articulate the benefits of class discussion focusing on oppression.

Along with exploring our own internal biases, the restorative justice class spent a lot of time discussing conflicts such as racism, sexism, oppression, and privilege. There were many presentations with statistical information as well as documentaries and videos in class on these issues. A lot of articles, which we reflected on, discussed these issues as well. Becoming aware of how prevalent these issues are is the first step to ending them (E.S.).

I strongly believe our class was good at opposing oppression, as everyone was very considerate when discussing examples that included specific group identities. There was a clear demonstration of the commitment to anti-oppressive practices which plays into respect as well as understanding one's own biases (G.M.).

Many times, in the university setting, you feel like you live in a bubble. Your life revolves around classes, work, sleep, eat, and repeat. But having an environment that was interested in addressing issues like oppression injected a healthy dose of reality into what would be a more "removed" life. I think we learned not only about other viewpoints from people who have different backgrounds from our own, but also what it takes to have these conversations beyond the classroom. Talking about privilege or oppression could often be a daunting task because of the inflammatory nature of these conversations, and through our discussions, we experienced how to share opinions, at times even opposing ones, on these matters more openly. However, I do think our ability to explore this principle is limited by our ability to establish principle 1 (relationships are foundational) on a class-wide scale, because if people do not feel comfortable with sharing their opinion, this conversation will not really go in the intended direction (Y.A.).

The feedback from students has mostly been some version of what G.M. and Y.A. express above, but the news cycle continues to be filled with stories of professors and even progressive student organizations being protested or censured by some parts of the political left on the grounds they exposed students to content that produced emotional distress (Lukianoff & Haidt, 2019) and by some parts of the political right on the basis of the course content being indoctrinating and divisive (Vock, 2021a, b). Importantly, it is not the critiques that are troubling—understanding and engaging with different perspectives is a primary focus of both restorative justice and positive peace—but rather the lack of dialogue and the ensuing consequences. More specifically, in the absence of a dialogue that allows their distress to be named and addressed, some students might internalize their distress and then express it through violence toward themselves or others. I worry, as well, that some decontextualized version of what actually happened in the classroom could be used to support/promote a political agenda of silencing and prohibiting speech and ideas in the name of unity and patriotism, a political agenda that is antithetical to academic freedom and generally unconcerned with experiences and needs of those who were actually involved and impacted. Returning to Galtung's (2011) framework, I

worry that both progressives and conservatives are sacrificing the possibility of a positive peace built on justice for the illusory and unsustainable promise of a peace based on avoidance.

G.H. similarly acknowledges some benefits but also points out that some students may bear the brunt of the costs more than others.

The allocation of discussion times, especially after engaging with contentious topics in readings or seminars, was helpful in giving space to all students to voice their opinions. It was a welcome space for differing opinions. It highlighted the differences in opinions within a community and gave a space for members who may have felt silenced in other contexts to have a voice. In a lot of ways, spaces like this are rare in higher education, especially if an opinion challenges values or beliefs embodied by the institution. At the same time, the potential costs and benefits for engaging in open discussion spaces are different for those with privileged and marginalized identities. For example, a discussion on racism could provide an opportunity for those with privileged racial identities to talk to and learn from those who have had different experiences. For them, the cost of the discussion may be discomfort or vulnerability, which is certainly not trivial. However, for those with marginalized racial identities, the cost can be much higher, especially if there are no structural procedures to protect them. The discussion may be invalidating, triggering, or re-traumatizing and can come at the cost of their mental or psychological well-being. For this reason, there is a need for structural procedures and spaces to protect and support community members with marginalized identities (G.H.).

Like G.H., I, too, worry that the risks and costs of conversations about racism and other forms of oppression may not be equally distributed. Even after years of teaching this content, it is tempting to try to keep everyone safe and comfortable by either avoiding such topics entirely or mentioning them in passing. But especially at a time when such avoidance is becoming increasingly common, even in university classrooms (Lukianoff & Haidt, 2019), the need for spaces that can hold such dialogues, as the students themselves point out below, is more pressing than ever. Moreover, avoiding the examination and discussion of racism and other forms of domination would de facto support such practices and, therefore, run counter to not only several restorative principles but to the very concept of justice.

Related to the above, I also worry that students may not inform me when they are negatively impacted by something related to the class. I want to know when this happens because that makes it possible for us to collectively understand the dynamics and potentially repair the harm. At the same time, I also understand that there are good reasons that students may not want to share this kind of negative impact with the instructor (and classmates) and that this choice is congruent with the principle of voluntariness. In the restorative classroom, as elsewhere, we must learn to trust that restorative options are just that—options—and that people will use them when, and only when, they believe those options will support their well-being.

Principle 7: Interpersonal Violence Is Connected to Structural and Systemic Violence

In the introduction to his poem *Call Me by My True Names*, Thich Nhat Hanh, a Buddhist monk and peace activist, tells the story of a young girl who jumps to her death after being raped by pirates:

> When you first learn of something like that, you get angry at the pirate. You naturally take the side of the girl. As you look more deeply you will see it differently. If you take the side of the little girl, then it is easy. You only have to take a gun and shoot the pirate. But we can't do that. In my meditation, I saw that if I had been born in the village of the pirate and raised in the same conditions as he was…. There is a great likelihood that I would become a pirate. I can't condemn myself so easily (Hanh, 2001).

Hanh's point is not to absolve the pirates from accountability. They are still responsible for their choices but, in Hanh's view, only partially. The larger responsibility, Hanh argues, lies with the society into which the pirates were born and with the conditions of poverty, violence, lack of education, and desperation for survival that made piracy an appealing option. While we can take an individualistic lens and join the mainstream justice system in holding the individual pirates fully and solely accountable, doing so prevents us from understanding the conditions that produced such violence and, more importantly, from doing anything to address those conditions.

When done well, restorative justice makes space not only for understanding the context in which harm happens but also for identifying how the community has created conditions for the harm and exploring what systemic changes may be possible. While students are generally open to recognizing how poverty and socialization create conditions for violence, many have understandable resistance to seeing perpetrators not only as offenders but also as victims (Shpungin, 2014).

*We spoke about violence respectfully as we refrained from labelling an oppressor as a bad person but instead evaluated the reasons for their violence (*i.e.*, their own needs were not met due to oppressive systems, someone was bullying them,* etc.*). It was clear that in this class we were to look from the other person's point of view. Also, we learned to give an oppressor in a given context the space to learn from their actions (G.M.).*

This one was a bit trickier to establish because it required a deeper understanding of how systemic racism works and what it entails. One's background and perspective would definitely affect their ability to understand how connected interpersonal violence and systemic factors can be. One thing we did establish early on though, was the belief that just because someone did the offense, that did not necessarily make them the sole offender, and just because someone was affected by the offense, that did not make them the sole victim. We learned that depending on the circumstances, the roles could be reversed, and in order to fully address the harm done, we need to have a solid understanding of the situation from multiple perspectives (Y.A.).

There were certainly students who recognized the connection between interpersonal violence and structural violence. However, there were also students who did not recognize or agree with the existence of this connection, and their perspectives did not necessarily change over the course of the class. Much of the understanding of structural and systemic violence and its impact on the interpersonal level is learned through exposure. Directly exposing students to systemic violence to breed understanding is unethical. Indirectly exposing students by teaching about other people's experiences of systemic violence can be helpful, but no amount of indirect exposure can force someone to internally engage with those experiences. For understanding to happen, individuals must decide on their own to engage, which is a very uncomfortable process. Because it is so uncomfortable and because typically there are not a lot of consequences for NOT engaging, many do not, which makes this principle difficult to teach. (G.H.).

This principle is made salient by inviting students to write about and discuss the relevant theory and case studies, such as the story of the pirates above. As G.H. notes, indirect exposure will not necessarily result in students endorsing this principle. A certain level of psychological openness and readiness are necessary, in addition to exposure. But this is true of all course content, and, in any case, the point is not to have students *agree* with any particular concept or principle but to create conditions where they can *understand* that perspective and critically examine it themselves. Of course, a certain level of openness is required just to be willing to explore and "try on" a new idea, and, as G.H. explains below, even those who have such openness may have good reasons to engage in exploration either silently or on their own time.

Another barrier is that those who have directly experienced systemic and structural violence have likely experienced it within the context of higher education as well. This can make it difficult for these students to trust it is safe to share perspectives and not fear consequences either from the institution or from their peers. Without procedures and spaces to protect these students, they may not feel safe to fully engage in these topics or share their perspectives (G.H.).

Principle 8: Goal of Repairing Harm and Transforming Conflict

The distinction between a space for working through conflict and a space for learning how this might be done is a meaningful one. Though we spend some class time role-playing facilitation, I emphasize to students that the purpose of those role-plays, like the purpose of the class more broadly, is to support their learning and growth, not to work through the actual conflicts. To that end, while I want the conflicts in the role-plays to be real (because real conflicts are more realistic and engaging), I do not want students to get so caught up in the conflict drama that they are emotionally or cognitively distracted from the task of learning. Similarly, I want to be able to focus my own attention on supporting the learning process rather than on supporting the people in conflict, as I would during actual conflict facilitation. In a space that is designated for learning, as a university classroom clearly is, I want

learning to be the primary focus. I, therefore, orient myself and the students accordingly, in part by insisting that the conflicts students role-play are not with anyone in the room and not more than 3 or 4 on a 10-point intensity scale.

One memorable experience was when we were practicing how restorative justice would address a conflict. One student brought up a seemingly trivial conflict she had with her brother as an example. During the process, we realized there were more serious underlying concerns which led to the student feeling like her brother did not respect her belongings and space. This highlighted that even seemingly unimportant conflicts could be based in something that does need to be addressed and worked through. We realized that repairing harm is not a surface-level process and just how important it is to address an offense, regardless of how small it may seem. We practiced this in class by doing our best to understand and respect others' views and openly addressing conflicts when they occurred. If an offense was committed or a serious disagreement took place, we would try to take the time to resolve it before moving onto other topics (Y.A.).

Real conflict in class is not common, but when it does emerge, as G.H. notes below, I do make space for it. I do so despite the fact that students, so far, have opted to *not* create a set of agreements for dealing with such an eventuality (principle 3).

If there were disagreements or conflicts during class, addressing the conflict and harm were prioritized over other plans for the class period. This highlighted the importance of repairing harm and repairing relationships in the community, as it was prioritized over other aspects of the course (G.H.).

Similarly, I try to keep myself open to difficult feedback and track my impact on students. If I become aware of a misunderstanding (e.g., about assignment expectations), I look for and then acknowledge my role in it. According to G.M., students did this with each other:

I think this was modelled well in class as when students made statements that some took offense to, [when they learned of such impact,] they explained where they were coming from and apologized to the offended party (G.M.).

Principle 9: Effective Conflict Engagement Requires Power Sharing

In restorative justice, power sharing refers to specific observable ways in which those with structural power include those with less power in some aspects of decision-making, especially regarding conflicts and/or violations of group norms (Lyubansky & Barter, 2019). Thus, in schools, the principal or dean holds the authority to identify wrongdoing and administer proportional punishment but places their authority on hold in favour of a dialogue-based community process designed to lead to mutual understanding and agreements about how to move forward. Importantly, they are not giving up their power. They still participate by representing the school's interests and still have an important voice in the resulting

agreements. Rather, the power to determine what needs to happen is distributed among a larger group, typically including those who were harmed and the student(s) who caused the harm (Lyubansky & Barter, 2019).

Sharing power in a classroom works the same way. Just as restorative justice responds to conflict through a dialogical process, dialogue-based pedagogy builds knowledge through collaborative exploration rather than a top-down instructional process. Here, too, the instructor neither gives up power in actuality nor pretends to do so (Freire & Macedo, 1995). They are active participants, both by holding space for the dialogue and by gently challenging assertions or guiding students to pursue a line of inquiry they might not have considered.

Throughout the semester, the professor consistently reiterated the value of sharing power, which contributed to a culture of power-sharing. While there were limitations to this because the course is part of a higher education institution, within the class community, power was shared effectively. This was modelled first by the professor who continually invited students to criticize or disagree and share opinions, highlighting the idea that no one person, not even the professor, was exempt from criticism. This value was further established by allowing students to collaborate to create a class community that they wanted. This happened through a series of intentional discussions about the values, rules, and beliefs that were important to each person. From these discussions, the class community established the guiding rules and beliefs they valued that would be used for the remainder of the semester. Sharing power enabled everyone in the community the chance to contribute to and shape the community they were all part of (G.H.).

This kind of vertical collaboration (across differences in structural power) can challenge conventional norms and, in so doing, uncover alternative ways to build knowledge and be in relationship with others. It can also create unfamiliar challenges for students navigating the learning space and the relationships in that space. Consider, for example, G.M.'s narrative:

Power sharing was effective because it was clear we were all equals and that we should respect everyone's opinion. As I stated in the conflict principle, it was clear that professor Mikhail was thinking of us and himself as equals, but it was still difficult to feel that way due to the university structure in which professors hold more power (G.M.).

I do see my students as my equals in many ways, including in regard to their autonomy, dignity, and commitment to learning and growth. On the other hand, I am also aware that my structural power as an instructor creates asymmetries, particularly in regard to responsibility. As the one person in the room who is paid to be there, the instructor has ethical and legal obligations to the students that students do not have to each other or to the instructor. And if something goes wrong, the instructor is also accountable to the institution in ways that students are not, though they also have to navigate different types of accountability (e.g., to parents, to themselves). Finally, while all students have some first-hand experience with conflict and justice and some students with marginalized identities certainly have experiences that I have not and cannot have, I do typically have considerably more experience with creating restorative responses to conflict. My primary goal, therefore, is not to

silence or diminish my own voice as the instructor but to challenge the dominant narrative in higher education that the instructor's voice is the only one that matters and the only one we can learn from. Of course, as Y.A. notes below, the logistics of sharing power with students are not simple and require a willingness from both parties.

Although our professor would bring a topic to class, who participated and the direction the discussion went in was decided by the students. I think having this autonomy led to students becoming more engaged in the conversation because they were, in a sense, accountable for whether the conversation went in a beneficial and relevant direction or not. However, there were limits to power-sharing because if the conversation was not beneficial and our professor felt it was not an efficient use of class time, we would probably not engage with that topic in the same way again. For example, one thing we tried to increase power-sharing was reserving five minutes at the end of class for people who did not typically speak up during discussion to share their opinions, however this rarely proved effective because students were still unlikely to speak. This highlighted there is a level of self-motivation required to engage in the conflict and share power and if students were unwilling to do this, our professor had to assert power over (Y.A.)

Power in the classroom can be shared in other ways, too, such as by considering whether some decisions about the course might be made collaboratively with students. Students can reasonably have a voice in identifying the specific topics they want to focus on, selecting readings and/or videos to support their learning, and determining how they will be evaluated. Peer-led reading or study groups do all of this, often with relative ease and efficiency, but collaborating with students in these ways is generally countercultural in higher education, especially in undergraduate classes where the professors' expertise is presumed to better equip them to both set the curriculum and discern whose work is worth studying. Here, again, power sharing does not require such expertise to be ignored or devalued. The instructor might, for example, bring the previous semester's syllabus, with all the readings, to the first class and invite the class to consider if they want to learn something not in the syllabus and, if so, how to make room for it. Even if the resulting conversation does not lead to meaningful changes, this kind of vertical collaborative process is likely to create more investment and ownership of the curriculum and set the stage for more collaboration down the line.

Principle 10: Respond to the Needs of all Parties Impacted by the Harmful Act

In the classroom, "all parties" certainly includes all students, but it also includes the instructor. This is not to say students are obligated to take care of the instructor in some way but rather to emphasize that the course's organizational structure and how conflict is responded to consider the needs of both. "Needs" here is not a synonym

for wants, preferences, or interests. They refer to universal human needs, as proposed by U.S. psychologist Abraham Maslow. Though Maslow's (1943) proposition that the needs can be arranged in a hierarchy has not been empirically supported (Wahba & Bridwell, 1976), data from over 60,000 participants in 123 countries show Maslow was right to assert that the existence of these needs is mostly independent of cultural differences (Diener & Tay, 2011). Moreover, while many unmet needs can lead to conflict, three (*s*urvival, association, and transcendence) have been posited to be prerequisites for peace (Danesh, 2011).

In the classroom context, the needs of students and the instructor are often well aligned, including respect, productive use of time, and finding meaning and relevance in the course content. When the needs are not the same, they are often complementary, such that students talk about the need to learn and be evaluated fairly while teachers' needs include supporting student learning and doing their job with integrity, which includes a fair system of evaluation. Where tension between two parties' needs occasionally arises is when responsibilities and commitments from outside the classroom interfere with class performance. This applies equally to students and instructors. The former have competing demands for their time in the form of classwork from other classes, sports, clubs, jobs, and social activities. The latter have to balance demands of their scholarship, service to the department and university, other classes, and a variety of family responsibilities. Both parties sometimes have difficulty staying on top of everything, which for students typically results in absence, late assignments, and not completing the assigned readings and, for instructors, delays in evaluating student work and, in the context of dialogue-based classes, less capacity to track not only the nuances of what is being said but also the different emotional needs in the room. Caring for the needs of all parties therefore requires a certain commitment to self-care (see, for example, Barker, 2010), as well as systematized agreements that support productive dialogue even when both the students and instructor are not at their best.

Below, both G.H. and G.M. focus on the value of these systematized agreements. The self-care, to the degree that it was present, was, as it almost always is, invisible to all involved.

The practice of echoing back what the other person says and allowing them to correct the statement, particularly when there is conflict, shows equal concern for everyone involved in the discussion. It underscores the commitment to hearing the needs and concerns of everyone involved, allowing the community to come up with solutions that support all members. This allows everyone to feel valued by the community, even if they cause harm (G.H.).

I think it was clear that when we had conflicted conversations that you and others would make sure everyone felt heard and understood by repeating how they said they felt or stating reactions they may have had. You [the instructor] often paused and asked us how we wanted to continue, giving us space to figure out what was best for us (G.M.).

And, of course, here, too, there are limitations created by the structure of the course, including, in this case, meeting virtually:

I feel like having a class through Zoom made it a bit difficult to do this because it was often hard to tell who was impacted by a topic or conversation. This was also restricted by the fact that we had a limited amount of class time, and we could not always include everything and involve everyone we wanted to. But I think implementation of principle 4 [Create conditions for truth-telling] made this easier to accomplish because when we were able to understand each other better, we became more concerned with each other's well-being and made greater efforts to respect others' opinions and beliefs (Y.A.).

Conclusion

In closing, it is important to emphasize that the application of these restorative justice principles was in the context of a single 45-student class, held synchronously over Zoom, during the pandemic. As such, employing these principles elsewhere requires first considering particular class structures (i.e., in-person vs online synchronous vs online asynchronous), class size, and institutional norms and policies that might impact what happens in the classroom. Just as restorative responses to conflicts must be individualized to the specific contexts and communities in which the conflicts occurred, so must restorative classroom strategies be individualized to fit the particular context of the class and the specific needs of the students and instructor. Thus, rather than offering a manual for others to follow, we hope our experiences in this one class inspire others to engage in and share their own attempts to bring their teaching into alignment with restorative principles. Here, as elsewhere, there is no single approach that is right for every class in every context.

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Chapter 6
Pedagogy of Transcendence: A Framework for Positive Peace and Restorative Justice in Education

Gwynn Alexander, Antonio Jimenez-Luque, and David Karp

Introduction

Critical peace education aims to provide teachers with the resources and pedagogies necessary to cultivate classroom spaces that resist violence in pursuit of well-being. A peace-centred analysis of education highlights that modern-day classrooms are influenced by a history of colonization and oppression. The purpose of critical peace education is to address such violence at cultural, structural, and direct levels (Huaman, 2011). Teachers must be able to recognize schooling as an ill-state, that is, a site aimed towards legitimizing violence over peace. A peace-centred teaching practice challenges teachers to consider how their pedagogies may serve to further violence and also how these practices can be transformed in pursuit of peace building. Transcendence is the outcome of a pedagogical pursuit of well-being or the construction of the classroom as a well-state.

A key component for addressing violence in education, in which violence constitutes all forms of oppression and domination, includes reconciling a model of schooling built upon colonization and Eurocentrism (Zembylas, 2018). Critical peace education resists violence by offering (a) a critical analysis of dominant and subordinate power relationships, (b) a generative approach to problem posing, (c) the cultivation of transformative agency, (d) and a focus on decolonial knowledge construction and (e) and further takes issue with structural, not just interpersonal, inequity (Bajaj, 2008; Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Brantmeier, 2013; Hajir & Kester, 2020; Zembylas, 2018). Restorative education has emerged alongside critical peace education as a key social movement that can disrupt systems of oppression and offer

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a roadmap towards decolonial, anti-oppressive, and healing relationships between individuals and within systems and institutions.

Restorative justice was first introduced into education as an intervention to move schools away from punitive discipline in support of both community building and repairing harms to relationships (Cameron & Thorsborne, 2001; Karp & Breslin, 2001). However, there is still more room in scholarship to theorize applications of restorative justice that serve to address the historical and institutional harms that are products of oppression and domination (Fine, 2018; Vaandering, 2010). To that aim, this chapter offers a holistic intercultural framework to approach restorative justice, drawing from peace theory and post-colonial and emancipatory perspectives. More specifically, this chapter introduces the pedagogy of transcendence. We define the pedagogy of transcendence as a framework that bridges the philosophy of restorative justice with concepts drawn from critical peace education, cognitive justice, and constellations of pedagogical practices that support the cultivation of critical consciousness. This framework is modelled on the theory of positive peace to identify how harm functions in the classroom at cultural, structural, and direct levels. Positive peace then provides the frame with which to craft transcendent relationships. The pedagogical practices that inform the framework include relational (Crownover & Jones, 2018; Ginwright, 2015), sustaining and/or revitalizing culturally responsive (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Gay, 2010), engaged (hooks, 1994), circling (Baldwin & Linnea, 2010; Hollweck et al., 2019), and liberatory (Freire, 2012) approaches. The pedagogy of transcendence is theorized to support teachers in building positive relationships with and between students in the classroom by directly confronting long-standing direct and indirect forms of oppression and domination that produce harm in schools.

This chapter contends that students, teachers, and schools sit upon the precipice of a momentous transformation that will challenge the very foundation of modern-day schools, established curriculums, and long-standing pedagogies grounded in western conceptions of knowledge and social order. The catalyst for this transformation is the ever-expanding social movement to integrate restorative justice into primary and secondary education in pursuit of peace and in alignment with critical peace education. Therefore, this chapter will open with a brief definition of restorative justice and the current state of its integration into primary and secondary education. The introduction of restorative justice will be followed by an outline of key concepts related to peace theory that are foundational to the pedagogy of transcendence. Further, it is essential to the model that teachers identify violent pedagogical practices. Therefore, the pedagogy of violence, an introductory diagnostic of education as an ill-state, is presented ahead of the pedagogy of transcendence. With this context established, the second half of this chapter will present the pedagogy of transcendence. This pedagogical framework builds upon key philosophical tenets of both restorative justice and peace theory to construct transcendent relationships between all members of school communities.

Foundations of Restorative Justice in Primary and Secondary Education

Restorative justice has developed into a significant movement in primary and secondary education aimed at establishing school communities that value the well-being of every person (Smith et al., 2015). Over the past several decades, restorative practices in education, particularly in the United States, have emerged and expanded in recognition of the harmful and oppressive functions of zero-tolerance policies, punitive discipline practices, and inequitable numbers of suspensions targeted towards students of colour (Armour, 2015; González, 2012; Gregory et al., 2018; Wadhwa, 2015). The philosophy of restorative justice is well suited to the conditions of peace and therefore serves as an essential practice in the pedagogy of transcendence.

Restorative justice has philosophical roots in many justice theories from both western and non-western traditions (Boyes-Watson, 2019; Gavrielides, 2011; Reed, 2021; Valandra, 2020). Further, contemporary restorative justice activists draw attention to the ancient peace-building practices of Indigenous and globally diverse cultural groups. For these scholars, measures of Indigenous justice require that those who engage in restorative practices do so with "truth-telling", an act that includes revising the historical record to accurately account for the harms of physical and cultural genocide (Boyes-Watson, 2019). A key element of revising the historical record is to acknowledge the breadth of the cultural origins of peace-building practices within academic literature. Davis (2019) offers the following definition of restorative justice:

Consonant with African and Indigenous communitarian values, restorative justice is profoundly relational and emphasizes bringing together everyone affected by wrongdoing to address the needs and responsibilities and to heal the harm to relationships and the community… While often mistakenly considered only a reactive response to harm, restorative justice is also a proactive relational strategy to create a culture of connectivity where all members of the community thrive and feel valued. (p. 19).

This chapter is built upon the philosophy of restorative justice by three central concepts: (a) restoration of communal values of connectivity rooted in Indigenous and globally diverse cultures; (b) consistent practice of creative response to conflict, thereby generating new connections and understandings between diverse individuals; and (c) centrality of horizontal relationships between individuals and a sustaining relationship with the earth. Additionally, in this case, justice is defined as (a) the prevention of all forms of oppression and domination; (b) the social conditions that promote well-being across the mind, body, and spirit (self-actualization and self-determination); and (c) acts to repair the harm occurring between relationships and within communities.

Restorative justice is well theorized as a philosophical approach to repairing harm to relationships (Braithwaite, 2002). Restorative justice as a classroom pedagogy aims to negotiate conflict for peace-building outcomes and provides the

philosophical foundation for the framework outlined in this chapter. Archibold (2016) states that "restorative justice approaches to schooling advance the opportunity to frame new instructional methodologies that allow educators to transgress the limitation of racially and culturally-unjust schooling that has not affirmed all children's identities as intelligent human beings of esteem and value" (p. 3). Such is the goal of the pedagogy of transcendence.

Positive Peace Theory: The Pedagogical Promise of Classroom Conflicts

The pedagogy of transcendence rests on two key philosophical approaches: restorative justice and positive peace theory. Peace is achieved when members of a community (such as a classroom) live and learn in a non-hierarchical and collaborative relationship with one another and the earth (Huaman, 2011). Within human relationships, peace is concerned with addressing violence perpetrated by a dominant group against another (Cremin, 2016). In relation to the earth, peace is concerned with the violence of human beings who assume the right to use, exploit, and dominate the earth and her organisms (Brantmeier, 2013). Positive peace distinguishes the conditions capable of *preventing* violence through the synchronicity of direct, structural, and cultural positive peace (Galtung, 1996). Cultural positive peace can be defined as the social conditions that legitimize *peace* over *violence*, within the norms, values, beliefs, and traditions of the community. Structural positive peace is concerned with the habits and patterns (or pedagogies) of communication and relationship building that are institutionalized across time. Direct positive peace indicates the intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships cultivated within the minds, bodies, and spirits of all members of the community (Cremin, 2016). Positive peace is not the absence of conflict but rather a creative response to conflict, along with the establishment of conditions that create a culture of peace (Cremin & Bevington, 2017). Conflict is not inherently harmful. A conflict is rather just one of the many moments in a person's life in which one encounters a contradiction, through which their own attitudes and assumptions are at odds with the behaviour of another (Galtung, 1996). Conflict is therefore the negotiation of a contradiction. Conflict is not an isolated or rare event but rather an inherent and persistent component of relationship building (Bickmore, 2012; Cremin, 2016).

Once a conflict has surfaced within an individual or community, the individual and collective response can be either creative or harmful (Galtung, 1996). A person's ability to craft a creative response to conflict rests in their capacity to envision an alternative future to the one at the present and transform their world in pursuit of that vision (Leonardo, 2004). Alternatively, a harmful response to conflict is one of violence, serving to oppress or dominate another (Young, 2011). Therefore, creative responses to a conflict consist of the cultural, structural, and direct relationships cultivated in the classroom that support each person's pursuit of self-actualization and self-determination. When the pedagogy of transcendence is successfully

cultivated, the classroom response to conflict is open to the diverse inclinations and capabilities of each community member (Revell, 2021).

Central to the pedagogical framework is the concept of transcendence. Conflict or harm that occurs in the classroom can be transcended when contradictions of difference, which appear incompatible, are resolved through critical dialogue facilitated for the purpose of social transformation via the consistent practice of forging new relational connections and understandings. Positive peace can be achieved when harm is addressed at three levels, which include cultural, structural, and direct peace. When harm is addressed at all three levels of any given conflict, the outcome can be transcendent, that is, a space that fosters relationships beyond the bounds of hegemonic oppression and domination. Transcendence is therefore defined as *the pursuit and sustained practice of cultivating life-affirming relationships between members of the learning community that serve to resist the harm*. The pursuit of transcendence is the central aim of classrooms designed to support student well-being.

Making the Diagnosis: Education as an Ill-State

The pedagogy of transcendence cannot be pursued without first recognizing how social systems and the resulting embedded relationships have served to legitimize harm (in the form of violence) at the cultural, structural, and direct levels. Galtung (1996) termed this process of recognizing the functions of violence as the diagnosis of an ill-state. Once a diagnosis is complete, the path towards a state of wellness (or positive peace) can be crafted (Cremin, 2016). This section offers a diagnosis of the pedagogy of education as an ill-state (Fig. 6.1).

In this model, violence is framed as the inverse of peace (Galtung, 1996). Therefore, violence is sustained through social systems, relationships, and pedagogies that function at the cultural, structural, and direct levels. The pedagogy of violence describes how teachers, often outside of their conscious intent, participate in a model of education that has served to legitimize harmful responses to conflict. The pedagogy of transcendence is therefore a treatment plan to remedy that harm at the cultural, structural, and direct levels.

Level 1: Cultural Violence in Education

At the cultural level, the pedagogy of transcendence (and in turn the pedagogy of violence) is concerned with the conflicts that emerge in matters of "deep culture" (Galtung, 1996, p. 80). Deep culture is the cosmology of a civilization. A civilization can be identified as a shared culture among a large group of people that spans both wide swaths of geography and expansive periods of time. The cosmology of a civilization can be found in the deep structure of the societal organization, often

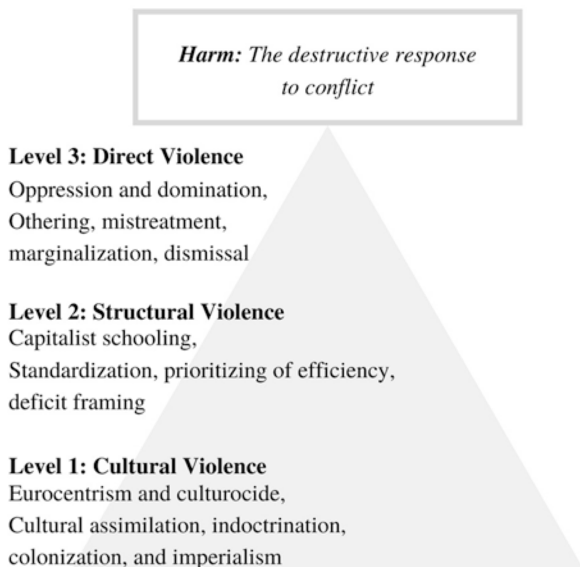

Fig. 6.1 Pedagogy of violence

Table 6.1 Pedagogy of cultural violence

Conceptual framework	Description
Theory	Eurocentrism – Modernity/rationality
Pedagogy	Subtractive schooling
Action	Cultural assimilation, indoctrination, colonization, and imperialism
Outcome	Culturocide, spirit murder

linked with a deep ideology (Galtung, 1981). Deep culture serves as the foundation for the attitudes, assumptions, and behaviours that each person considers socially acceptable, as well as the forms of knowledge that are considered valid.

Cultural violence, as summarized in Table 6.1, takes place whenever one group of people (or civilization) attempts to impose its own deep culture onto a person or people of cultural difference via social systems and relational pedagogies that sustain oppression and domination (Azarmandi, 2021). In the context of cultural violence, the person or people targeted with such violence are expected to abandon their own deep culture as a means to gain the social acceptance of a more powerful group.

Valenzuela (1999) argues that schools are settings constructed for the purpose of cultural violence, with the intent to subtract students from their own deep cultures to be replaced with a singular western/Euro-centred worldview. She terms this harmful pedagogy "subtractive schooling" (p. 3). Cultural violence can be recognized in educational contexts by identifying the social systems and pedagogies that foster cultural assimilation into a western cosmology. Critical scholars have identified western cosmology as a cultural perspective that aims to legitimize on a global

scale several aims, which include the following (hooks, 1994; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Sousa Santos, 2016):

- A diminished value of nature and the natural world.
- A deep split between mind, body, and spirit.
- A reliance on social structures of individualism and hierarchy, characterized by vertical relationships between people and organizations.
- A linear concept of time as "progress".
- A belief in infinite capitalist growth despite a planet with finite resources.
- A single ultimate and knowable truth.
- A single cosmology that is valid forever and everywhere, making all other cosmologies irrelevant.
- An imperialist operation of white supremacist, capitalist patriarchy.

The modern-day school is a product of the 500-year global expansion of European colonization and subsequent western cultural imperialism (Kurian & Kester, 2019; Zembylas, 2018). Through a process of violent conquest, slavery, colonization, and imperialism, a European social structure of oppression and domination has expanded to a global scale (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). Quijano (2007) argues that western cosmology can be identified through the concepts of modernity and rationality. Modernity is defined as the imperialist project of subjugation to the capitalist mode of production. Rationality accounts for the Eurocentric concept of the "scientific method" (originating in the sixteenth century Enlightenment) and the subsequent construction of "valid knowledge" that today legitimizes the purpose of education as the indoctrination of a Eurocentric worldview. Cultural violence is sustained in schools by centring western cosmology as the foundation for education and the connected harmful practice of pushing cultural differences to the margins (Kurian & Kester, 2019).

Cultural violence taken to the extreme is "culturocide", defined as the destruction of a group's deep culture through acts of violence (Galtung, 1996, p. 31). An outcome of cultural violence, at the individual level, is a psycho-spiritual harm that leads to profound suffering (Fanon, 1963; Ginwright, 2015). This psycho-spiritual harm is captured through the concept "spirit murder", the emotional culmination of acts of pedagogical violence that force students into a persistent state of stress and trauma (Love, 2019, p. 38). Spirit murder is the psychological and spiritual harm that results when students are forced to abandon the integrity of their own deep culture. Spirit murder is ever present in the daily lives of students targeted with cultural violence.

Level 2: Structural Violence in Education

The western cosmology of modernity/rationality was birthed in the Enlightenment, was institutionalized during the Industrial Revolution, and today persists in the form of capitalist globalization. In this global social structure, schools too have become

institutions that serve to legitimize cultural imperialism (social indoctrination into the twin pillars of modernity and rationality). Table 6.2 offers an overview of the key concepts in a pedagogy of structural violence. McLaren and Farahmandpur (2005) term this educational model "capitalist schooling". Capitalist schooling is achieved through pedagogies that support the production, distribution, and circulation of the knowledge and skills that students must learn to reproduce the social divisions of labour within the capitalist functions of oppression and domination. Capitalist schooling aims to achieve the following:

- Indoctrinating students into a western cosmology and robbing students of their own cultural development.
- Re-inscribing systems of oppression and domination (Young, 2011).
- Disciplining students into micro-controlling the body and movement with the aim of preparing them for peak efficiency in capitalist modes of production (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005).

Therefore, within the pedagogy of violence, structural violence addresses the social systems and relational pedagogies that legitimize capitalist schooling.

Seminal theorist Paulo Freire (2012) describes structural violence in schools as the "banking concept of education" (p. 2). Students are treated as empty vessels who must memorize the authoritative knowledge of the teacher. Structural violence amounts to the minute control of students' bodies (Foucault, 1979). Within the western context of capitalist schooling, the most important learning outcome for students is their preparation to assume their role in the capitalist mode of production (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). Therefore, the pedagogy of violence is focused on the efficient reproduction of knowledge, which can only be sustained through a state of near-total surveillance. Through the teacher's surveillance, students' every move is watched, evaluated, and ranked to assure fidelity to capitalist production.

Pedagogical forms of structural violence facilitate the destruction of globally diverse deep cultures. The harmful impacts of structural violence can be recognized in schools through the differential rates of academic attainment and persistent patterns of exclusionary discipline (Cremin & Bevington, 2017). Fine (2018) and others cite one outcome of exclusionary discipline as the "racial discipline gap" – accounting for "the disproportionately high rates of detention, suspension, and expulsion experienced by Black and Latino students, especially boys, when compared to their White peers" (p. 105; see also Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010).

Table 6.2 Pedagogy of structural violence

Conceptual framework	Description
Theory	Capitalist schooling
Pedagogy	Banking concept of education
Action	Standardization, prioritizing of efficiency, deficit framework
Outcome	Discipline gap and meritocracy

Structural violence serves to marginalize students, who then must be further policed and regulated to neutralize their perceived threat (Williams, 2016).

Level 3: Direct Violence in Education

Direct violence is concerned with the actions taken by members of the learning community that impart harm to either oneself or another (as summarized in Table 6.3). Direct violence is any event that limits a person's ability to practice self-actualization and self-determination. To deny a student these pursuits is a key component of oppression and/or domination. Even well-intentioned teachers may enact direct violence in the classroom through their socialization into a hegemonic, western worldview.

Direct violence then points to every action taken by a teacher to intentionally subvert the cultural knowledge held by students. These subverting actions culminate in harmful pedagogical relationships through which teachers, often subconsciously, divide students from their deep culture. Every pedagogical practice informed by the banking concept of education is a form of direct violence, such as pedagogies overly reliant on lectures and memorization of the teachers' authoritative knowledge, acts of humiliation and corporal punishment, and exclusionary discipline (Cremin, 2016). The pedagogy of violence is thus the invalidation of students' own ways of meaning making (a direct form of psychological violence; Fanon, 1963). Even a teacher's subtle body language can serve to marginalize students through harmful gestures, a hostile tone of voice, avoidance, expressions of nervousness, or a closed body stance that challenges students' sense of belonging (Young, 2011). All combinations of direct violence may inflict traumas on the minds, bodies, and spirits of students that culminate across time to spirit murder and/or suffering as a condition of learning (Ginwright, 2015; Love, 2019).

The act of subverting students' own cultural knowledge amounts to a social practice of othering. "Othering" denotes the subconscious mental tendency all people have towards an "innate hostility to the unfamiliar, and the instinct to perceive and push back" against people we perceive as different (Cobb & Krownapple, 2019, p. 121). Cobb and Krownapple (2019) offer four indicators of othering that can be recognized as forms of direct violence in the classroom:

Table 6.3 Pedagogy of direct violence

Conceptual framework	Description
Theory	Oppression and domination
Pedagogy	Surveillance, discipline, punish
Action	Othering, mistreatment, marginalization, dismissal
Outcome	School "push out" (Morris, 2016)

- Otherizing: "students are viewed, treated, or seen as different in a way that ostracizes, denigrates, reduces, or dehumanizes" (p. 122).
- Mistreatment: "students are dealt with in a way that is unfair, unjust, or biased due to perceptions about their identity, group, group membership, conditions, circumstances, or cultural practices/norms" (p. 123).
- Marginalization: "students are rejected or pushed to the edge of a group or kept in a position of limited significance, influence, and power; only able to gain access and belonging by challenging or hiding important aspects of self" (p. 124).
- Dismissiveness: "student's lived experience or expertise is questioned, invalidated, or deemed insufficient" (p. 125).

The harm of direct violence is cumulative in dividing students from their well-being. Just as acts of cultural violence lead to spirit murder, so do acts of direct violence lead to school pushout (Morris, 2016).

Another Pedagogy Is Possible: Education as a Well-State

It is important to recognize the way that harm, in the form of violence, functions in schools because with this awareness, it becomes possible to craft a pedagogy to promote peace: a pedagogy of transcendence. Peace is the presence of life-affirming, as opposed to life-inhibiting, relationships between people and with the earth (Brantmeier, 2013). Further, positive peace (as opposed to negative peace) involves social relationships that can engage a diverse community in ways that prevent harm or exclusion across cultural differences (Galtung, 1996). Galtung's philosophy of peace aligns with restorative justice as both philosophical approaches centre relationships, intercultural dialogue, and personal and communal well-being as essential to learning and the peaceful negotiation of conflict. Both the philosophies of peace theory and restorative justice assert that the prevention of violence can be achieved through the alignment of pedagogical practices across three levels of relationship building: cultural, structural, and direct.

Figure 6.2 offers an overview of the three levels that guide the pedagogy of transcendence. The first level begins with cultural positive peace, which is achieved through the relationships teachers and students develop across differences. The level of cultural positive peace is concerned with recognizing how teachers and students can view cultural difference as a strength, not a barrier, in building positive relationships and supporting academic achievement. Cultural positive peace is pursued through culturally responsive (sustaining and revitalizing pedagogies) with recognition of cognitive (decolonial) justice. The second level is structural positive peace, which is concerned with formal and informal peace-building practices that shape interactions to support relationship building and learning in the classroom. Structural positive peace is pursued through restorative practices. Lastly, the third level of direct positive peace refers to the personal relationships that students and teachers develop in the classroom to support positive conceptions of self and others

Fig. 6.2 Pedagogy of transcendence

in addition to the cultivation of critical consciousness through engaged pedagogy (hooks, 1994). The section below will offer a description of each level of the pedagogy of transcendence, including an explanation of how the philosophies of peace theory and restorative justice inform this model.

Level 1: Pedagogy of Cultural Positive Peace

The pedagogy of transcendence begins with cultural positive peace; see Table 6.4, which includes practices that involve the pursuit of cognitive justice. Cognitive justice is defined as the equitable opportunity for people of diverse epistemologies to meet in dialogue to co-construct the realities of their shared social conditions (Sousa Santos, 2018).

As students build relationships across cultural differences, they forge new cognitive maps that are the product of emergent and creative cultural connections and understandings. These connections and understandings serve to decenter western cosmology as the only valid form of knowledge in the classroom (Sleeter & Zavala, 2020). Cognitive justice therefore incorporates the pursuit of decoloniality, emphasizing all forms of cultural developments beyond the Eurocentric cosmology of

Table 6.4 Pedagogy of cultural positive peace

Conceptual framework	Description
Theory	Cognitive justice
Pedagogy	Culturally responsive, sustaining, and/or abolitionist pedagogies
Action	Decolonization through intercultural dialogue
Outcome	Ecologies of knowledge

modernity/rationality (Walsh, 2021). A decolonial pedagogy is one that engages with the diverse cosmologies and epistemologies that have been historically silenced as a key component of learning (Azarmandi, 2021). Similar approaches have been suggested in peace education, such as Zembylas' (2018) argument that peace pedagogies must "hold a strong emphasis on the geopolitics of knowledge production and the consequence of coloniality…, a pedagogical emphasis on action-oriented empathy and solidarity…, [and] a curricular emphasis on the inclusion of the histories and experiences of colonized people and active engagement with subjugated knowledges" (p. 17). At the heart of decolonial pedagogy, teachers must recognize that diverse global cosmologies and epistemologies are in fact active, creating, developing, and persisting and are vibrant and alive often in their very students.

The expanse of epistemologies pushed to the margins of western social order can be identified as the *epistemologies of the South* (Sousa Santos, 2018, p. 1). This is not meant to prioritize the geographical southern hemisphere. Rather, epistemologies of the South include all forms of knowledge that operate in resistance to imperialist, western, cosmology. The western notion of a single truth, stemming from the Enlightenment, has culminated in an epistemological *abyssal line* in the modern-day classroom (Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 70) All epistemologies cast to the far side of the abyssal line have been essentially deemed irrelevant or insignificant in the Eurocentric classroom. Cognitive justice is achieved when globally diverse epistemologies are welcomed in the enterprise of co-constructing knowledge.

Concepts within the philosophy of cognitive justice are aligned with the growing movement towards culturally responsive pedagogies. Ladson-Billings (1995) first offered a framework for culturally relevant pedagogies to define teaching practices that best serve the well-being and educational attainment of students of color. Similarly, culturally responsive pedagogies emerged in recognition that cultural differences are not obstacles to overcome in the pursuit of learning (Gay, 2010). Within a culturally responsive pedagogical framework, cultural differences are strengths to be channelled to expand the possibilities for everyone's learning. Culturally relevant/responsive pedagogies support all students to achieve academically, live fully into their cultural identities, and critique oppressive social orders in transforming the world through critical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Gay 2010).

The movement of culturally relevant/responsive pedagogies, aligned with cognitive justice, is ever expanding (Ladson-Billings, 2014). Two notable additions to this field include culturally sustaining and culturally revitalizing pedagogies. Culturally sustaining pedagogies challenge teachers to consider how they not only

recognize cultural differences in the classroom but also teach through a multilingual and multicultural approach, recognizing that learning through cultural differences creates an environment where both the individual student and the classroom community can remain vibrant and supportive of the well-being of all (Paris, 2012). Further, culturally sustaining/revitalization pedagogies acknowledge the inherent power dynamics that stem from the legacies of colonization and the need to reclaim and revitalize the cultural practices targeted with culturocide through a historical legacy of cultural violence (McCarty & Lee, 2014). Together, culturally responsive pedagogies emphasize a key element of a transformative pedagogical movement: to critique western conceptions of education and decolonize Eurocentric pedagogies and curricula. Therefore, a pedagogy of cultural positive peace resists the notion of a single truth as achieved through memorization in favour of cognitive constructions towards ecologies of knowledge. Ecologies of knowledge are the cognitive maps that students develop within their own minds as they begin to explore diverse cultural perspectives in relation to one another (Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 175).

The level of cultural positive peace builds upon scholarship in culturally responsive pedagogies to be specifically concerned with the ways that storytelling around points of cultural conflict serves decolonial transformation. Within the field of cognitive justice, this transformative response to such inevitable conflict is achieved through intercultural dialogue. Intercultural dialogue is the pedagogical practice of storytelling in recognition of each person's epistemological differences and with an emphasis on cultivating strategies for social change in pursuit of justice (Sousa Santos, 2007). Intercultural dialogue rests on the notion that no single cosmology can produce the social conditions of peace (or transcendence) for all. Rather, through intercultural dialogue, each student's experience, communicated through stories, has the potential to be framed within their own cultural perspective.

Cultural difference is the source of many conflicts in the classroom, being an outcome of the social injustices that emerged via colonization and the globalization of western paradigms (Kurian & Kester, 2019). Therefore, "there is a call for teachers to receive broader reconceptualization of what is understood as 'restorative' that ensures it is culturally responsive, and experienced as positive by everyone" (O'Reilly, 2019, p. 160). The art of the pedagogy of transcendence resides in the teacher's ability to recognize moments when such conflict occurs to build intercultural dialogue around matters of cultural difference. Such a creative response to conflict serves to guide the class towards new and transformative understandings and connections. The teacher can help forge relationships of integration, solidarity, and participation among all members of the learning community.

Additionally, it is important to note that restorative justice in education represents a key social pursuit of cognitive justice via the pedagogy of intercultural dialogue. Components of the philosophy of restorative justice draw from ancient and globally diverse deep cultures centred by similar communitarian values and transcendent ways of being. One strand of the contemporary restorative justice movement emanates from the conflict resolution practices of the Māori people of New Zealand (Boyes-Watson, 2019). Another strand is based on the concept of Ubuntu, stemming from southern Africa's Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Venda, and other African

traditions (Davis, 2019). Further, a key restorative practice, the community-building circle, can be linked to numerous North American Indigenous cultures, with several near-universal applications for peace building across groups (Reed, 2021). Therefore, while education is largely framed within a Eurocentric perspective, restorative justice offers an example of a transformative movement emerging from intercultural dialogue pursued through cognitive justice.

Level 2: Pedagogy of Structural Positive Peace

The second level of the pedagogy of transcendence is concerned with structural positive peace (see Table 6.5): habits and patterns (or pedagogies) of communication and relationship building that are institutionalized within a learning environment across time (Galtung, 1996). Restorative justice has been a steadily growing movement in education that can offer the social structure necessary to support students and teachers in crafting the creative response to conflict. In addition, the structural level includes an important restorative practice, the community-building circle, as an essential pedagogy in the pursuit of transcendence.

Community-building circles are a form of a peace-making circle. Peace-making circles have been practised since ancient times and across deep cultures to bring community members together in pursuit of healing, repairing harm to relationships, and collective decision-making (Pranis, 2005). Boyes-Watson and Pranis (2015) describe a community-building circle as "a simple structured process for communication that helps participants reconnect with a joyous appreciation of themselves and others. The practice of circles is helpful for building and maintaining a healthy community in which all members feel connected and respected" (p. 3; see also Anyon et al., 2018; Baldwin & Linnea, 2010). Community-building circles maintain a horizontal structure of storytelling in which no one voice is privileged over another. Rather, participants sit in a circle as each person has their moment to speak, as indicated by the passing of a talking piece. Circle participants craft agreements about how they would like to communicate with each other and what to do if those agreements are breached. Agreements can include statements of intent, such as "Listen with the heart", "Speak from the heart", "Follow the talking piece", or "Listen for understanding and connection". A circle facilitator offers the group prompts, thereby eliciting participants' stories, to which participants have the option

Table 6.5 Pedagogy of structural positive peace

Conceptual framework	Description
Theory	Restorative pedagogy
Pedagogy	Community-building circle
Action	Storytelling
Outcome	Co-construction of meaning making

to either pass or respond through storytelling. As one person speaks, all other participants engage in active listening. The community-building circle is well suited to challenge the banking concept of education as participants are not required to accept a single truth. Rather, the circle provides participants with the necessary relationships to build complex cognitive maps with recognition of cultural differences.

The cultural knowledge that drives the pedagogy of transcendence is, in part, derived from the authority of experience that students bring into the classroom (Ladson-Billings, 1995). By centring experience as a primary source for learning, students are engaged in the practice of freedom (hooks, 1994). When all participants in the classroom have authority over their own experience, then the classroom becomes a space for sharing knowledge, engaging in vulnerability and risk taking, as well as envisioning new ways to create more peaceful relations in the classroom and broader communities. This authority of experience is distinct to each student and cannot be replicated through the work of the teacher alone (hooks, 1994). The goal of the pedagogy of transcendence is to serve the co-construction of knowledge in the classroom to ensure that learning is centred not only on the content of Eurocentric curricula but also on the distinct life experiences and cultural wisdom that each student brings into the class. When knowledge in the classroom is co-constructed, knowledge is not conceived of as a single truth but rather a cognitive web made always more complicated with each dialogical exchange.

Further, community-building circles can be a powerful pedagogy to address interpersonal harms, such as othering, in the classroom. Teachers can guide students in transformative storytelling by crafting circle prompts that encourage students to reflect on their own roles in reproducing spaces of harm. To do so, teachers can craft circle prompts aligned with three essential aims. Firstly, students should be encouraged to reflect on how individual instances of harm are positioned within, and shaped by, broader structural and cultural violence. Secondly, circle prompts should encourage students to think relationally by recognizing their subjective positionalities within the broader ecologies of knowledge presented within the circle. Lastly, circle prompts should elicit storytelling by encouraging students to offer personal reflections *in their own words*, thereby facilitating intercultural dialogue and creating the space to challenge the inherent bounds of western cosmology (Hudson, 2006).

Circle practices are well suited to the pedagogy of transcendence as an example of intercultural dialogue. Intercultural dialogue is an essential component of creative response to conflict and occurs in circles through an emphasis on five core tenets, which include (a) ceremonial protocols, (b) the recognition of the interconnectedness of all life on earth, (c) the learning possibilities in vulnerability, (d) the centring of oral history, and (e) the importance of storytelling in reclaiming cultural narratives in the face of violence (Reed, 2021). Through the intercultural dialogue afforded in the community-building circle, students are provided the horizontal relationships necessary for the co-construction of meaning making.

Level 3: Pedagogy of Direct Positive Peace

The third level of the pedagogy of transcendence addresses the conditions of direct positive peace, as summarized in Table 6.6. Direct positive peace consists of "verbal and physical kindness, good to the mind, body, and spirit of the self and others" (Galtung, 1996, p. 32). In a pedagogy of direct positive peace, everyone's basic needs for survival, well-being, and freedom are met. Love is the epitome of direct positive peace. Direct positive peace supports the self-actualization and self-determination of everyone through the recognition of the distinctiveness of their mind, body, and spirit.

Theorists across peace studies, restorative justice, cognitive justice, and culturally responsive and critical pedagogies highlight the necessity of critical consciousness in cultivating relationships of well-being (Freire, 2012; Galtung, 1996; Ginwright, 2015; Fine, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Sousa Santos, 2018). Critical consciousness consists of a student's or teacher's ability to move through structural and cultural levels of relationship building with the intent to cultivate positive peace through social transformation. Critical consciousness is an outcome of critical dialogue but rises to its highest potential through the pedagogy of praxis. Praxis is a cyclical process of learning that is achieved through a person's practice of action and critical self-reflection (Freire, 2012). Praxis is achieved through the exchange of learning and perspective taking practised in dialogue (Vaandering, 2010). Therefore, praxis, at its root, is the exchange of words, or acts of storytelling (Fig. 6.3).

The goal of storytelling in service to praxis is that students can begin to act with intent while navigating the social systems of privilege and oppression that shape their world. This is not the nature of the world as proposed within conventional Eurocentric curricula but rather the nature of the world as seen through students' own eyes and communicated through their own words (O'Reilly, 2019). As students begin to name the world through their own stories, they can begin to collectively recognize harmful "limit-situations" (Freire, 2012, p. 99; see also Vaandering, 2010). Limit-situations are the specific functions of cultural, structural, and direct violence that students can identify as functioning in their relationships and in the world. When students can identify concrete limit-situations, those situations have the potential to be transcended (Leonardo, 2004). But these limit-situations cannot be identified and/or transformed until students can participate in the pedagogy of praxis and the cultivation of a language of transcendence.

Table 6.6 Pedagogy of direct positive peace

Conceptual framework	Description
Theory	Conscientization – critical consciousness
Pedagogy	Engaged pedagogy
Action	Praxis
Outcome	Mind, body, and spiritual well-being Self-actualization and self-determination

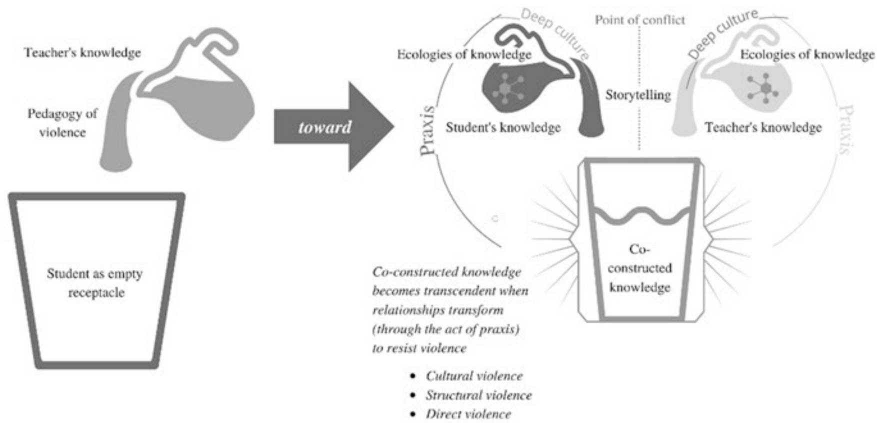

Fig. 6.3 The shift in the co-construction of knowledge moving from the banking concept of education towards the pedagogy of transcendence

Without a doubt, it is a challenge to cultivate critical consciousness within the classroom. For teachers to develop caring and humanizing relationships with students, they must engage in the personal introspection necessary to resolve their own psycho-spiritual obstacles that prevent them from developing high-quality relationships (Ginwright, 2015). While the self-awareness that emerges from the pursuit of transcendence may be at times painful, this does not mean that this pedagogy is harmful (hooks, 1994). As hooks argues, the cultivation of critical consciousness and the pursuit of self-actualization create the possibility for loving relationships because teachers and students develop the self-awareness necessary to resist oppression, domination, and other manifestations of violence. There is pleasure to be found in the exchanging of ideas and the expression of passionate interests. Teaching in pursuit of critical consciousness and self-actualization creates possibilities to "allow the mind and body to know and feel desire" (hooks, 1994, p. 199). In the pedagogy of transcendence, this is the desire to know one another, know our authentic selves, and be in community. The teacher's commitment to self-actualization and the pursuit of critical consciousness create the possibility of a classroom where students can experience the joy of interconnectedness.

As hooks (1994) states:

[School] is not a paradise. But learning is a place where paradise can be created. The classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility we have the opportunity to labor for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress (p. 207).

It is important to note that the pedagogy of transcendence is not a promise for peace or a utopia we can build and retain or even an ideal person we can become.

Transcendence is the shared commitment to seek transformed relationships through new ways of meaning making when faced with a conflict. The experience of transcendence is captured in the words of O'Reilly (2019), who says, "the telling of one's story is just such a turning point: the way in which I behave is unsustainable, it is therefore necessary to turn to face a new direction" (p. 164). Transcendence is thus not an outcome but a launch point into a place that is currently unknown.

Conclusion: Towards Cultivating Classroom Transcendence for Positive Peace

Conflict in the classroom becomes transcendent when relationships are transformed so that contradictions of cultural differences become compatible by cultivating new connections and understandings. The pedagogy of transcendence serves this aim by merging the philosophies of restorative justice and peace theory, as applied in peace education. As relationships emerge through transcendence, the needs of all individuals for self-actualization and self-determination can be met. The persistent creative response to conflict and the cultivation of positive peace coalesce into the pedagogy of transcendence.

It is important to note that the pedagogy of transcendence, like restorative justice, conceptualizes learning as relational; that is, learning is facilitated *through* relationships (Archibold, 2016; Fine, 2018; O'Reilly, 2019). This relational pedagogy encourages teachers to recognize that students attentively and critically observe the behaviour of others in the classroom, including the teacher, as a model for how to build healthy and life-affirming relationships. The pedagogy of transcendence challenges teachers to consider how their behaviour, as observed by students, models how to build a community that values positive, high-quality relationships. Crownover and Jones (2018) argue that relational pedagogy rests on twin pillars of humanism and a culture of care. Care is not simply the good intentions of teachers; rather, care rests on the condition of whether the student *feels* cared for by the teacher. The pedagogy of transcendence is concerned with creating the learning space that centres students' feelings of care and well-being.

This pedagogical framework is not a magic wand that serves to rid harm from our classrooms and relationships. However, well-being is not possible in a classroom that permits any of the forms of violence outlined in this chapter. Transcendence is thus the collective commitment between all members of the learning community to respond to conflict in ways that are life-affirming rather than destructive to any person's mind, body, and/or spirit.

The presentation of the pedagogy of transcendence is not a conclusion but the beginning of a journey into the struggle for a transformative classroom. It is not possible to foresee the knowledge and learning that students will share through telling their own stories in their own words. However, one can imagine that the classroom can become a societal microcosm with direction and future, engendering

praxis, agency, and resistance (Leonardo, 2004). To that aim, the pedagogy of transcendence, when applied in broader intersections of restorative justice and peace theory, can offer possibilities for creating transcendent spaces in all contexts in which people come together to construct horizontal, inclusive, and just dynamics between individuals, groups or, even, societies.

The pedagogy of transcendence is a framework constructed through the theoretical constellations of restorative justice and peace theory in combination with cognitive justice and the pursuit of critical consciousness. With such an interdisciplinary constellation, this framework is not fixed but rather expands to be always changing, complex, and welcoming of new connections that render it more effective in peace building.

In his philosophy of cognitive justice, Sousa Santos (2016) proposes the concept of "resolution" to describe the quality of details that one can glean about a given concept with the full scale of the information available at that moment (p. 146). The framework presented in this chapter offers admittedly a low resolution to the important concepts embedded within peace theory, restorative justice, cognitive justice, and pedagogies for critical consciousness. Readers are encouraged to view this chapter as a beginning and to launch into the unknown of their own communities. The possibility is transcendent.

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Part II
Restorative Justice and Peace Psychology in Relation to Criminal Justice

Chapter 7
Peace Building and Systemic Change for Survivors of Sexual Violence and Exploitation: LOTUS's Untold Stories

Rachel K. Monaco and Emily Goldstein Nolan

Introduction

Interactions with the justice system represent a form of systemic violence for victims of sexual violence and exploitation. Far too many victims of sexual violence, for too long, have experienced interactions with the justice system that have represented a "second rape" (McCarthy-Jones, 2018). This is especially true within adversarial criminal justice systems such as in the United States, Ireland, Australia, and the United Kingdom (or inquisitorial systems that have adopted some adversarial features) because of the focus on pitting two sides against each other as a way to fact-find before a judge who is less an arbiter of justice than a keeper of the process; this essentially places victims and their testimony "on trial" opposite their perpetrator. Sexual violence includes sexual assault, abuse, exploitation, stalking, intimate partner violence, and other harm (RAINN, 2021). For example, of every 1,000 perpetrators accused of rape in the United States, only five will receive a felony conviction or be incarcerated (US Department of Justice, 2018). Survivors carry the mental, physical, and emotional scars of their experiences throughout their lives and suffer negative long-term health impacts (Kapur & Windish, 2011). Beyond these, survivors state that they suffer most from the devastation of isolation, shame, stigma, and disempowerment (Delker, et al. 2020) (Fig. 7.1).

Examining the Untold Stories programme of LOTUS Legal Clinic in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as a case study, in this chapter the authors discuss a peace-building and

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Fig. 7.1 Art Therapy response to survivor's creative writing during Untold Stories, 2019. Artist, Jordan Henningfield

restorative justice effort towards a more structurally just legal system and an improved cultural response towards sexual violence. Through creative writing, art therapy and community witness, layers of systemic harm related to deep cycles of sexual violence are revealed through individuals who become engaged in a process of transforming the justice system. The chapter walks through the theoretical foundations, structure, implementation, and outcomes of the programme, ending with considerations for expanded use and benefit, particularly towards under-represented communities.

Restorative Justice, Peace Psychology, and Sexual Violence

Harm from sexual violence happens as structural and cultural violence in addition to the harm of direct violence through physical, one-on-one acts of assault or exploitation. Structural violence creates harm by depriving people of their most foundational human needs through a disharmonious web of political and economic systems. Cultural violence prompts and feeds structural violence through media, the language of discourse, and the use of symbols or imagery pervasive in society (Galtung, 1990). For example, for at least a decade, "crime porn" – the use of violent depictions of sex crimes and murder of women in television or movie dramas – has been rising and under scrutiny from sexual violence prevention advocates for its influence on normalizing sexual violence (Penfold-Mounce, 2016).

Peace psychology provides a useful framework for examining new methods of systemic change that promote proactive justice and peace for survivors of sexual violence. Peace psychology is "a contextually nuanced endeavour that is defined by theory and practice aimed at the development of patterns of behaviour and cognition that prevent and mitigate both episodic and structural forms of violence" (Christie & Morrison, 2021, p. 6). As a discipline, it explores and develops theories and practices that can reliably transform people as individuals and the communities they make up. As such, for sexual violence, peace psychology holds the potential to change policies, laws, procedures and advocacy efforts towards both victims and offenders by gathering insights from international comparisons, adapting techniques, expanding the practitioner community, inspiring to innovate and collaborate, and creating kinship among communities. In short, it can both localize and globalize the best efforts towards seeking peace and transformation from sexual violence and harm to individual safety, equity, respect, and empowered expressions of intimacy and love.

At the same time, restorative justice is equally available to not only restore justice for a particular victim or community but also bring about the deep change called for in creating positive peace. As applied to this area, restorative justice aims to prevent sexual violence from reoccurring while repairing its harmful effects. In this chapter, restorative justice is a process that transforms communities through hearing and attending to the damage caused and holding responsible those who created it. Restorative justice operates on both individual and collective levels (Burns & Sinko, 2021). Restorative justice models can explore and integrate the root causes of sexual violence and secondary trauma to victims in modern culture.

When used to reshape criminal and civil justice approaches to sexual violence, restorative justice and peace psychology are the new alchemy of democracy; accepting how past trauma can be integrated as a part of day-to-day policymaking choices and systemic change surrounding sexual harm or well-being for all.

Restorative Justice and Sexual Violence

Restorative justice is rooted in indigenous traditions, focused on community transformation through acknowledging harm and having people hold themselves accountable (Burns & Sinko, 2021). Centred on individual responsibility for causing harm and repairing it, restorative justice operates within communities to rebuild trust and attend to the causes and systemic oppression that underlie acts of violence or conditions that cause harm and injustice. In most models, restorative justice brings together a victim of harm, someone responsible individually for that harm, and sometimes others representing the community. Interactions take place through trained facilitators; the goals for those harmed are to feel seen and heard and for the person who caused harm to accept their actions and engage in some mitigating acts (Karp, 2019).

Traditionally, restorative justice for sexual violence has included victim-offender dialogue, circles of support and accountability, and victim-offender mediation (although mediation is not, per se, a pure restorative justice process because offenders are not required to accept accountability). However, what most survivors experience in a restorative justice process can differ greatly and has mixed results. It has become clearer over time that restorative justice is not performing to its potential for structurally or racially marginalized or under-represented sexual violence survivors (Burns & Sinko, 2021). Recently, scholars have also questioned the benefit of the expanded use of restorative justice on university campuses to address Title IX sexual violence (Koss, et al., 2014).

Still, after decades of concern about potential re-traumatization and structural inequality built into the justice process for disempowered or marginalized individuals, research has shown promise for the adoption of restorative justice for survivors of sexual violence when best practices are honoured. Certain tenets are necessary for better outcomes (Burns & Sinko, 2021). These include voluntary participation, confidentiality for all disclosures unless express permission is granted, trained and experienced facilitators (specifically with sexual violence, trauma, the legal system, social justice and the underlying causes of inequity, cultural awareness, and empathy), thorough education ahead of time about what to expect, safety (before, during, and after), psychological/mental health support, and post-process evaluation/opportunity for feedback. When offenders participate, the list expands to also necessitate responsible parties to admit to causing harm and commit to repairing it; parties should not first meet face to face, and formal redress agreements or letters of apology should be in writing and screened by facilitators.

These guarantees form the foundation for restorative justice processes that invite survivors to safely voice their needs, feel seen and heard, and seek different justice. With them, restorative justice holds significant potential. Even as a collective work in progress, a rigorous comparative review of existing practices for domestic violence in the United Kingdom, Finland, Germany, Austria, Greece, and Denmark determined that despite major variations in the methods and processes used, most participants (victims and offenders) found it valuable and satisfying, having felt

"listened to, understood and taken seriously" as well as feeling secure and safe in the process based on the conduct of the practitioner (Gavrielides et al., 2015, p.7). Framed differently from earlier research,

> Advocates of its use state that restorative justice is particularly well suited for this survivor group, as they need to tell their own stories about their experiences, obtain answers to questions, experience validation as a legitimate victim, observe offender remorse for harming them, receive support that counteracts isolation and self-blame, and above all have choice and input in the resolution of their violation (Koss et al., 2014, p. 246).

Still, to fulfil this potential, research and practice need to continue to develop and address gaps. Based on a scoping review, achieving the benefits of restorative justice for sexual violence survivors and the resultant systemic change depends on 1) addressing the research/programme evaluation gap for restorative justice efforts specific to sexual violence survivors, 2) balancing the benefit of standardized guidelines for programmes with honouring survivor-centred evolution, 3) ensuring financial barriers are removed for participants, and 4) designing restorative justice programmes that meet the needs of under-represented communities (Burns & Sinko, 2021).

Survivor Voice, Public Witness, and Peace Psychology

How can the justice system be in the right relationship with the victims and survivors of sexual violence? Answering this builds a bridge between peace psychology and restorative justice; it is imperative to bring survivor voice and public witness to the forefront to change the justice system. Positive peace building within this context means reforming culture, justice processes, and systems where survivors can seek accountability for sexual violence. Both peace psychology and restorative justice depend on individual curation of empathy, personal accountability, trauma recognition, and alternative approaches to violence. Structural peace building focuses on a system approach: the underlying causes of violence and its cultural contexts are addressed while building new channels for peace and the well-being of humans (Christie & Morrison, 2021). One shift in thinking that accompanies structural peace building is the *creation* of the attributes of justice (i.e. social, economic, and individual freedom and equality) as compared to a focus on the elimination of injustice.

Structural justice in the legal system addresses victims' rights as well as their direct and indirect experiences within the system. At a minimum, victims' rights include being seen and heard, being treated with dignity and respect, and being provided with privacy and process safeguards (National Crime Victims Law Institute, 2021). Sexual violence arises from structural injustice and power imbalances between perpetrators and victims. It persists and deepens harm because it is more complex than the one-on-one relationship between two individuals. Rather, it requires and flourishes among layers of systemic isolation, stigma, and silence, which affect people on an individual, familial, social, cultural, and economic basis

(National Sexual Violence Resource Center, 2021). Both the negative and positive aspects of victims' experiences within the justice system or a larger culture of seeking accountability and repair can be addressed to create change. Victims' experiences of secondary trauma in the courts can shift to empowerment when survivors can use their voices for advocacy.

The first author and LOTUS Legal Clinic founder, attorney Rachel Monaco, created the Untold Stories programme to address the observed unmet needs of survivors witnessed through the clinic's legal work. Rooted in empowering survivors of sexual violence and human trafficking as change agents, the clinic, based in the US city of Milwaukee, provides free legal services, community education, and advocacy. The programme addresses individuals' experiences within the justice system beyond the transactional outcomes of their legal matters. Untold Stories uses creative writing, community art therapy, and the cultivation of advocacy skills and opportunities tailored to the direct desires of the participants. As an amplified restorative justice model, Untold Stories is a creative writing workshop that includes art therapy as a response component to deepen the survivors' experiences of feeling authentically seen, heard, understood, and acknowledged, or what the authors define as being witnessed. The year-round cycle of the programme promotes building a community of survivor-advocates. The result is a more complete restoration of a sense of "justice" for victims and builds towards positive peace. A re-balancing of equity and autonomy occurs for survivors in their perspective of other people, their communities, and the larger society they live in. The institutions transformed by programmes like Untold Stories include universities and other educational settings and all branches of the legal system, including courts, law enforcement, and corrections.

Creativity, empathy, witness, and the drive towards empowerment and advocacy mark a shift from restorative justice approaches often used with survivors (e.g. victim-offender dialogues, circles, mediation) and non-restorative justice legal system approaches (e.g. individual therapy, working with a victim advocate, or testifying in court). This contrast raises the question, what forms of testimony have the *most* impact to transform institutions that have historically perpetuated inequity, disempowerment, and secondary trauma? To address that question, in this chapter the authors seek to demonstrate how an innovative restorative justice model can foster impact and institutional transformation and to make the case that it works particularly well for survivors of sexual violence and exploitation through human trafficking.

Building Peace Through Personal Narrative, Trauma Healing, and Restorative Justice

It is possible to build positive peace by giving survivors a strong voice and advocacy skills to address structurally and culturally unjust and harmful aspects of the justice system. Transformation can take place at the individual, interpersonal, and societal levels.

The desire to share one's story is arguably as old as humanity itself. Untold Stories falls within a modern movement where personal narratives have exploded into daily life across all mediums – from memoirs to memes to blogs (Warner, 2020). The reasons for sharing painful personal experiences are complex and unique but often involve a survivor's desire to speak their truth for therapeutic or self-empowering reasons (Delker, et al., 2020). The hope is that others will benefit from finding resonance, learning, or being inspired to action. The goal includes motivation for both inner and outer changes.

The term "restorative writing" is loosely defined as using the writing process to engage with one's pain in a transformative way (Batzer, 2016). Restorative writing and personal narratives have a place in peace psychology and adaptations to restorative justice processes for sexual violence survivors because both prioritize writing as a healing act alongside community engagement and social change. Survivor advocacy is both a motivator and an outcome of personal narrative and/or restorative writing. Individuals may find power and meaning in becoming publicly known as a survivor and in advocating for themselves and others (Delker, et al). Identifying as an advocate means committing to using one's voice to restore dignity, create change, and unite others who share similar desires or needs.

The leap from personal narrative to advocacy is an action of positive peace building. Survivors reflect, asking, "When I write about my experience of violence, what is happening within me? What changes when I turn my awareness towards an outer audience, versus my inner one? And lastly, does my lens shift in any way when specifically speaking with, to and about sexual violence survivors?"

The process of creative writing serves restorative justice and peace psychology tenets for a proactive change towards a more just society. Writers express their most difficult thoughts, emotions, and memories in a non-linear manner that supports honesty, trauma healing, and resilience (Knieling, 2016). Writing increases empathy towards others; helps individuals communicate across cultures, understand causes of harm, conflict, and violence, and think critically about local, communal, and global systemic problems; and gives individuals new or different tools to build a community and foster social change (Duckworth et al., 2012).

Specifically acknowledging a story and personal narrative as a stage in the trauma-recovery process is not new. As Herman (1998) posed, retelling the story falls in the second of three stages of trauma recovery, after establishing safety, and before reconnecting with others:

> When safety and a secure therapeutic alliance are established, the second stage of recovery has been reached. The survivor is now ready to tell the story of the trauma, in depth and in detail. This work of reconstruction actually transforms the traumatic memory, so that it can be integrated into the survivor's life story. The basic principle of empowerment continues to apply during the second stage of recovery. The choice to confront the horrors of the past rests with the survivor. The therapist plays the role of a witness and ally, in whose presence the survivor can speak of the unspeakable (p. 147).

Although Herman discussed recovery within individual psychotherapy, the stages mirror the values and effects of peace building, restorative justice, and Untold Stories. Requiring safe spaces for disclosure and honesty, an invitation to speak

clearly to harm done, and experiencing being seen, heard, understood, and acknowledged through another bearing witness to an individual's narrative are common among all three. For restorative justice and Untold Stories, however, there is an added goal that redress or accountability for the harm will result in either short- or long-term outcomes of participation.

The restorative justice, peace psychology, and trauma recovery continuum takes survivors from interior examination to choosing communal engagement, advocacy, and systemic change in four stages:

1. Safety
2. Story
3. Connection, and
4. Impact

At each stage, it matters to ask who, what, where, when, and how. For example, ask with whom/when/where/and how do I feel safe, share my story, decide to connect with, and wish to make an impact on or for? When survivors are empowered to explore their trauma and make decisions about it, there is a movement towards a sense of justice likely inaccessible within traditional legal systems, restorative justice processes, or treatment paradigms alone (Fig. 7.2).

However, in all the modern hopes for the current examples of the democratization of story sharing and the amplification of unheard voices, others continue to raise concerns about whose stories are not being shared, either because they do not fit the preferred formats (e.g. TED talk, blogpost), do not share the same cultural values, or it is unsafe for some to tell their stories (Wånggren, 2016). Power exists in who is allowed to tell their stories of sexual violence and what control is exercised over how, when, to whom, and why. In her TED Talk, Adichie (2009) stated, "the Palestinian poet Mourid Barghouti writes that if you want to dispossess a people, the simplest way to do it is to tell their story and to start with, 'secondly'". The stories of marginalized sexual violence victims are often told by others. The irony is

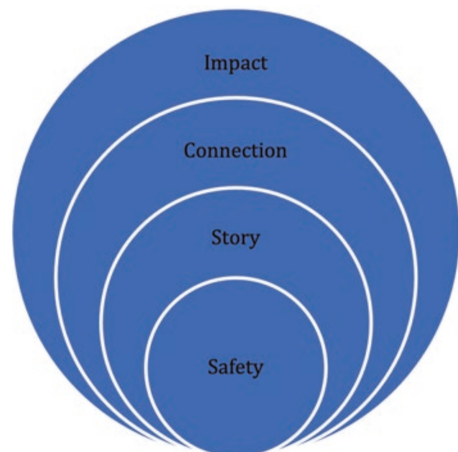

Fig. 7.2 First author's visual depiction of survivor's internal to external movement through a restorative justice and peace-psychology-based trauma-recovery process

that to create more social change surrounding sexual violence through personal narrative, systems must be deconstructed and rebuilt to allow all storytellers to emerge.

One example from Untold Stories is with its first mother and daughter participants, Sandrea and Roxanne (names used with permission). Their impact on the programme was significant. Half of Native American women have been sexually assaulted or exploited during their lifetime (Indian Law Resource Center, 2021). The lived experience Sandrea and Roxanne testified to as Ojibwe women and the healing that occurred through Untold Stories were inextricably intertwined with their identity and relationship to each other:

> It was day 2 of the workshop and I was listening to my mother recite her assigned work, a poem. She then was given the space to reflect on this piece. She said it was inspired from a suicide attempt before I was born, when she was in a place where she felt so alone and unloved that death was the only way out. It hit me like a ton of bricks: the times as a child where I had rubbed that scar and she flinched, or when I wondered to myself about it given the "off" mood it would put her in when attention was drawn to it. It all made sense in that moment. That tragic moment of disclosure in a space that was safe enough and encouraging enough to do so. It made my understanding for my mother as a person--from her experience, in translation to her parenting-- that much clearer. I have never felt closer to her than in that moment. Not many spaces had been afforded prior to the workshop for such vulnerability on her part. She was one to make it happen and make silent vows to herself to not let history repeat its vicious cycle of abuse and addiction with me. I feel lucky and honoured to have been afforded such an opportunity with my mother (Personal communication, September 5, 2021).

Creating safe, respectful, and nurturing spaces for stories to be told requires a constant process of listening, experimenting, and course correcting with humility. Sandrea and Roxanne each testified within their written work and verbally within the cohort as to why their stories had not been told up to this point, even to each other. They also helped the programme gain insights into why and how it had opened a way for that testimony to be shared.

Survivor Social Movements, Conscientization, Systemic Change and Positive Peace Through Personal Narrative (Fig. 7.3)

In our current culture, online disclosures from sexual violence survivors have exploded within social movements such as #MeToo and #TimesUp™ and in media focus on high-profile cases such as those of Larry Nassar, Bill Cosby, Jeffrey Epstein, R. Kelly, and Harvey Weinstein. As more stories have been added over time, there has been a shift within these movements to move beyond the public's need to assign individual blame for perpetrators and, instead, harness personal narratives to address systemic inequalities, which allow sexual violence to exist:

> One perpetrator can be dismissed as a "bad apple," but a chorus of survivor voices worldwide has drawn attention to a whole social system of inequality that enables interpersonal violence. For instance, prominent women in the entertainment industry have identified as

Fig. 7.3 Art Therapy response to survivor's writing for Untold Stories, 2021. Artist, Rylee Krumrei

> survivors of sexual violence and have used their privileged platforms to collectively advocate for women in more vulnerable positions, such as undocumented immigrants and low-wage workers (Delker et al., 2020).

A recent study examined personal narratives from 168 victim impact statements by USA Gymnastics survivors in Dr. Larry Nassar's trial. The study used textual analysis to compare the narratives to online personal disclosures associated with the #MeToo movement (Eiler et al., 2019). In victim impact statements, victims disclose their experience of sexual assault, its effect on them, their thoughts on culpability, and their desires for restitution. Of interest is how the USA Gymnastics study used personal narratives from victim impact statements and online voluntary disclosures from survivors of sexual violence to literally testify to whether athletes process and recover from the experience of sexual violence differently or exhibit more post-traumatic growth compared to others who have experienced sexual assault and abuse. Explicitly or implicitly, survivors' personal narratives are being sought, heard, and used to create change.

What if the survivors whose words formed the basis for this study and its recommendations were aware of the difference they are making? How would their narrative have been different if they knew where it would go? Taking a more intentional participatory approach with the victims would impact not only the justice system but also the survivors' experience within it.

One by-product of such a participatory, integrative approach would be conscientization. In systemic peace building, emphasis is placed on the importance of conscientization, or the psychological process in which individuals and groups are politically transformed by building a common consciousness that embraces the value of active political non-violence (Christie, 2006; Freire, 1973). Active

non-violent movements become increasingly powerful as conscientization becomes broadly networked domestically and internationally.

Conscientization within and among survivors takes place in Untold Stories when participants shape their own testimony via art and creative writing, ask for the public to bear witness, and seek sexual violence policy and culture change. The process of conscientization is ongoing, thus creating a robust foundation for new transformative non-violent social justice movements or participation in existing ones.

Redemptive Storying Risks and Rewards, the Ethics of Telling and Sharing

Even the most private disclosure of journaling has its risks, once on paper, words work differently to shape memory and emotion. This expression may also set events in motion that would otherwise have remained dormant. Still, the effects can be positive, supporting post-traumatic growth: vulnerability and truth telling can lead to empathy, connection, greater self-confidence, and relief for the sharer. This is sometimes referred to as redemptive storying (McAdams, 2006). In a redemptive story, experiences of trauma lead to positive transformation when someone finds healing, growth, new freedom, or other mental health benefits like long-term resilience and stability.

Negative consequences of publicly sharing any story can also occur. These potentially devastating effects can include blaming, shaming, denial, outright attack, accusations of slander or defamation, and the bitter response of total silence for a survivor who discloses a traumatic experience. Even within recent positive developments (e.g. mainstream culture's changing attitudes and increased empathy), the truth remains that "when interpersonal violence victimization and the need to heal are stigmatized within mainstream American culture, the act of publicly identifying as a survivor can be stigmatizing in and of itself" (Delker et al., 2020, p. 243). The risks are ever more compounded for those who come from oppressed communities.

Indications suggest that public disclosures do a great amount of cathartic and impactful good for some survivors and those they reach. But for some, the costs outweigh the benefits (Delker et al., 2020). Based on the authors' experience, whether public disclosure is positive or not depends on the readiness of the survivor for varied responses, their support system, the ability to control the medium, the potential audience and distribution method of disclosure, and the reasons they choose to disclose. In our current era where there are many and variable venues for disclosure, it is the responsibility of those who help survivors share their personal stories to raise awareness of choices available if, and when, they are ready to publicly share. Figure 7.4 below presents a conceptualization of different venues for such storytelling, placed in order of how likely each is to bring risk of further trauma to the sharer.

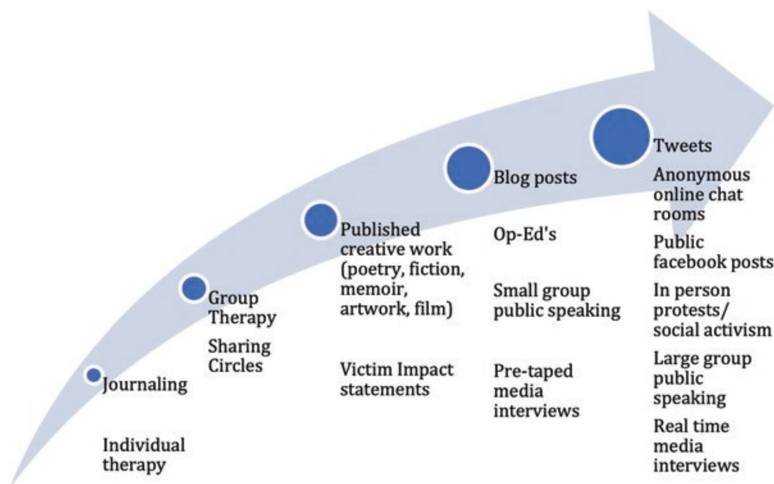

Fig. 7.4 Example venues for story sharing, from lower re-traumatization risk to high risk

In the authors' experience of running the programme and advising survivors as to the legal, personal, and practical short- and long-term consequences of the types of disclosures, lower-risk venues have common traits: having a limited or pre-screened audience; employing a trauma-informed structure or process; putting confidentiality safeguards in place; ensuring that trained facilitators/publishers/agents are familiar with sexual violence; reducing as much as possible the cultural, linguistic, ability or other constraints to clear communication; giving survivors control over the duration and scale of exposure post-sharing (i.e. no "going viral" or staying viewable until eternity); structuring the timeline to offer survivors a chance to prepare, revise, and change the form and content of their story, get advice, or stop. Additionally, it is important that the venue or host has a known degree of familiarity, education, or expertise with the subject matter of sexual violence and/or personal disclosures (i.e. within support groups for substance abuse or addiction, group therapy, specialty publications in print or online). If a venue involves a higher risk, it does not mean individuals should not choose to use their voices towards positive peace and justice. Survivors are better served when they are aware of what might happen after sharing and have a support system in place if things devolve. Over time, survivors gain experience and a sense of what sharing venues work best for them. They also cultivate a sense of how much and how often they can realistically engage. No matter how great the benefits of sharing one's story is, for oneself and towards systemic change, it can be exhausting and may lead to burnout.

One further consideration is whether the process allows for authenticity and difference, even if the story itself is not a "redemptive" tale of resilience. Support for this point comes from Delker, Salton, and McLean's study (2020) on American mainstream media. They demonstrate how these sources promote a "master narrative" wherein people overcome adversity, rise above, learn lessons, and become stronger. Although the journey from victim to survivor to advocate/change agent

may be the experience of some who share their personal narrative, for others, it may not be as advantageous. American overarching narratives abound with values and expectations that come from the dominant culture/s.

For many victims, redemption on a personal level is a tall order when they are seeking legal justice by traditional means. Often, personal stories are prompted as a case moves through the justice system, for example when survivors give statements to the police or to healthcare or social workers or give victim impact statements, testimony, or depositions. These standard criminal justice settings are far from ideal for a redemptive story: delays abound, safety is not guaranteed, trauma-informed and culturally appropriate support is sometimes unavailable, and victims often have little to no control over decisions. When narratives serve the purpose of motivating change, sometimes giving a strong voice of outrage rather than redemption from within the broken machine is an action many survivors consider worthy of the risks. Arguably, the most necessary voices for change against the root causes of sexual abuse, assault, exploitation, and other violence are those seldom heard because they do not fit the master narrative model.

Trauma, Memory, the Brain, and Exploring Poetry Instead of Narrative

Despite all the potential to heal individuals and transform traumatic experiences into personally and socially powerful advocacy towards a positive peace over sexual violence, the traditional narrative sharing of one's story remains difficult for many survivors. Where survivor-advocates often state they have "found a voice", the implication is that at some point, they had lost it. Sexual violence and trauma are known for their effects on memory and impairing the ability to craft a coherent, linear, logical narrative of events in the order they happened, with details provided on demand (Caiola, 2021). This is particularly true in the acute aftermath of an event.

In the past, poor understanding of trauma's impact on the brain has caused a mistrust of the victims' truthfulness or the questioning of their usefulness as witnesses to their own experiences. These false preconceptions fed into numerous issues in the justice system: low rates of sexual violence prosecution, even lower rates of conviction, and many victims choosing not to report at all (Caiola, 2021). New methods of training law enforcement, advocates, and health care workers are slowly being adopted to acknowledge what research shows about how the brains of victims of sexual violence process and recall their experiences.

These new methods incorporate a growing awareness that language can be used to convey an experience (especially a traumatic one) more completely while building resilience and capacity for choice and meaning making within complex circumstances. Poetry is one such method, rooted in centuries of human expression and now backed by recent functional MRI research (Kiger, 2021). Autobiographical poetry, endemic to the writing workshop's process in Untold Stories, has

demonstrated a potential for addressing the writer's traumatic experiences, promoting awareness of sexual violence, and shifting societal views of sexual violence and exploitation (Hand, 2021). Hand's work reviews the research to date on the use of poetry in this manner, as well as describing a televised poetry creation and sharing campaign with survivors of sex trafficking in which the lenses of strengths-based recovery, empowerment, and feminist autobiographical theory are incorporated for analysis. Furthermore, poetry is a conduit for survivors who participate in creative writing workshops with others to explore their own and others' poetry connected to their experiences. In these ways, incorporating the use of poetry in working with survivors can bolster the capacity for empathy, which is at the core of peace psychology and restorative justice as well.

Community Art Therapy and Witness for Social Change

Creative, empathy-focused, humanities-based dialogue in a setting tailored towards the needs of survivors can address the structural roots of sexual violence. By engaging a community art therapy component, the public becomes accountable to bear witness and specifically implement cultural peace building around sexual violence while building empathy with the issues, victims, and perpetrators.

Art therapy is defined by the American Art Therapy Association (2017) as "an integrative mental health and human services profession that enriches the lives of individuals, families, and communities through active artmaking, creative process, applied psychological theory, and human experience within a psychotherapeutic relationship". Art therapy is used to attend to many types of concerns, both personally and communally, that support peace, growth, healing, and transformation. Art therapy began in the early twentieth century to respond to the treatment of those coming home from the war and has continued to develop alongside psychological theory and community practices (Gussak & Rosal, 2016). Today, art therapy is practised in a variety of community and clinical settings and addresses many personal and societal issues. Art therapy in community programming centres on social justice through critical consciousness and building a personal and collective sense of agency and power (Fig. 7.5):

> Art is a transformational act of critical consciousness. Not only is art the making of things; it also awakens new ways of thinking and learning that things can change. On the macro level of community practice, art therapy looks outward as well as inward, engaging a people's collective dream life, their hopes and images, their histories and current realities, and their discovery of new ways to go forward (Kapitan et al., 2011, p. 64).

Using art with survivors invites the internalized material of a social problem to return to community peace building via healing through witness. Art therapists have the responsibility to understand the macro-perspective of the system in relation to the personal experience of trauma, especially at the hand of political and social regimes. "[T]herapeutic work is centered on validating responses to societal

Fig. 7.5 Art Therapy response to survivor's writing for Untold Stories, 2021. Artist, Kylie Gritt

oppression and trauma, externalizing oppressive messages, and building a sense of agency and power" (Karcher, 2017, p. 123). The impact of working therapeutically in the community increases the chances of obtaining potentially positive outcomes for social progress, in other words furthering positive peace. Community, in this sense, refers to the surrounding social environment of the art therapist.

Response art is an artistic process or product made in reaction to an experience, a person, or a situation. It helps reveal what Bollas (1989) described as the thoughts a person has but has not yet brought into explicit awareness. In art therapy, responding through art helps clients visually organize and externalize an understanding of experiences. Additionally, creating art in response provides art therapists and witnesses an avenue to process information about what they have observed and their own emotional material. The artwork and process help people externalize internal

material and then work productively with what comes out, many times encouraging engagement in peace, compassion, and self-compassion through empathetic processing.

Goleman (1995) espoused that empathy is the ability to understand another's emotions. Empathy has three components: emotional, or to resonate with another person; cognitive, or to understand another person's mental models and view of the world; and compassionate, or care for others. Response art helps develop all facets of empathy as a reflex to survivors' experience of sexual violence. The empathy first developed is the survivors' own, through writing and art making, which then expands to develop empathic concern in the artists who respond to the written work of the survivors. Further, the viewers who see the artwork and read the material from the Untold Stories or a similar programme are invited to deepen their understanding of the survivor experience. Finally, the circle widens as the written work of the survivors and the response art are published and circulated (see Fig. 7.6).

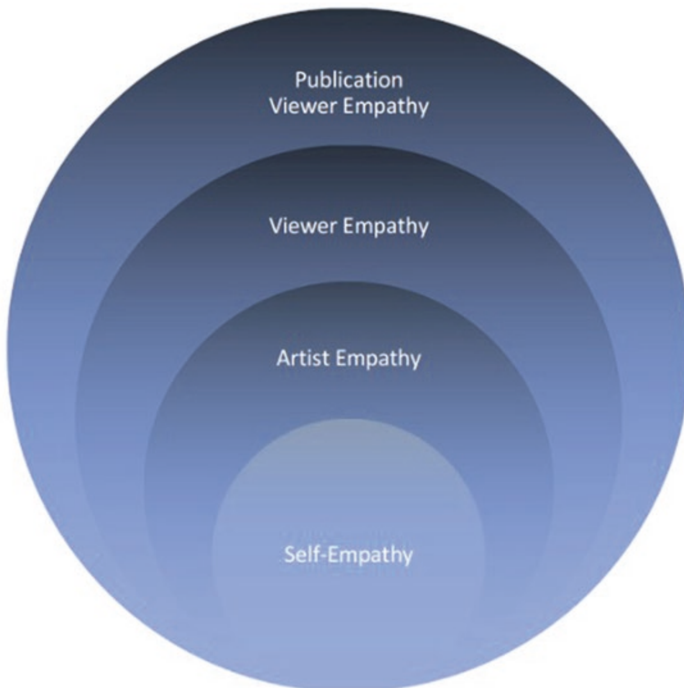

Fig. 7.6 Art response builds positive peace, expands empathy, and bears witness to the stories of the survivors

What Is LOTUS's Untold Stories?

Untold Stories endeavours to restore a sense of justice and build a community of thriving, powerful change agents. It is a trauma-informed, humanities-based programme addressing sexual violence and is "nationally recognized for its innovative approach that combines art therapy, creative writing, and law to help survivors process trauma, reclaim their autonomy, and emerge with a sense of purpose and strength" (Lotus, 2021). In each programme cycle, eight to 15 survivors participate in LOTUS Legal Clinic's carefully designed writing workshops. Their literary art (poems and creative non-fiction) is paired with response artwork by university students. The combined writing and visual art are shared with the broader community throughout the year through LOTUS-organized poetry readings, art exhibitions, a community showcase, and literary magazines. The overall goal is to help survivors "generate literary and visual art that provides an opportunity for creative expression, personal healing, and genuine community. It stands for the belief that personal transformation, empathic connection, and catharsis through art are a necessary part of empowering survivors" (Lotus, 2021) (Fig. 7.7).

The programme is evaluated at each stage of participant completion by gathering direct feedback from the survivor-writers, the visual artists, alumni volunteers, and the facilitators. Direct feedback and anonymous surveys are used. The programme director collects demographic information about the participants as well as the number of community members reached by the work. As of the publication of this chapter, Untold Stories has over 150 survivor-writer alumni.

Fig. 7.7 Visual depiction of Untold Stories programme cycle

The focus of the evaluation is to both assess the programme and be formative for the participants, with a unique focus on each of the groups impacted by the work. The programme asks *survivors* to examine the following: Why would/do I share and how? Who do I most wish would read my story or creative work? What if I could adapt and shape my message depending on what I want most to accomplish? Can my experience of trauma be transformative for others as well as for me? What would change for me if I knew I was heard and understood? Untold Stories also asks the *witnessing community* to reflect on the following: What is the value of bearing witness? Am I/have I been responsible for harm from gender-based violence? Will my listening/witnessing change me? What is within my power as an individual and community member to do? If I work in the justice system, what am I hearing that helps me understand something I can change about how my part of the system is failing survivors?

Acknowledging the danger in perpetuating single stories (Adichie, 2009), Untold Stories has worked hard to bring varied voices to the table whenever possible. Over the years, workshops averaged roughly 50% white, 20% African American, 20% Latinx, and 5% Native American, mixed race, or Asian/Pacific Islander and approximately 10% non-binary, LQBTQ, or gender non-conforming. In their feedback, participants have pointed out the value of hearing others' perspectives and what it means for them to bear witness to others from diverse backgrounds and experiences:

> I loved my AMAZING fellow writers. The workshop really helped me to appreciate all the different ways that someone can come out of such experiences - all the lenses, all the personalities, all the quirks, all the values, all the takeaways - and reignited my creative energy around finding solutions and support that allow survivors to tailor their healing —BD (personal communication, October 20, 2019).

In general, the evaluation has demonstrated that the programme gives a safe, powerful space for individuals to express, acknowledge, and seek redress for the root causes of their experiences; these include cycles of violence, early childhood trauma, systemic poverty, shame, isolation, and oppression based on race, gender, class, ability, religion, or sexual orientation. The programme asks each participant, "what is needed to restore justice for me?" and allows authentic and resonant answers for each person. For individuals in the programme, the core goals of Untold Stories embody hallmarks of post-traumatic growth (Collier, 2016):

- Appreciation of life
- Relationships with others
- New possibilities in life
- Personal strength
- Spiritual change

These aims connect with core elements of peace psychology, specifically the ability to engage in and promote cooperative relationships through systemic, culturally anchored, and community-supported trauma mitigation (Christie et al., 2001).

Aside from observing offender remorse directly and immediately, Untold Stories honours the benchmark restorative justice best practices for sexual violence listed

earlier in this chapter and confers the noted benefits of a well-considered restorative justice process tailored to survivors of sexual violence. Arguably, the element of offender remorse is met, albeit tangentially, by empathy cultivated in members of the public via the community art therapy component discussed later in this chapter. The art therapy component of Untold Stories grew out of using response art to create empathy and raise critical consciousness. Art therapy in Untold Stories builds critical community awareness of sexual abuse, assault, and human trafficking as well as the emotional ability to witness and respond in kind. The survivor and artist creation process and the community witness element in person and through the publication of the magazine catalyzes systemic change, multiplying empathy and compassion within our communities. Survivors can use creative methods to share their stories and know they have impacted change, empowering *them* to continue healing and *the community* to enact change within the system that allows harm to continue. In this way, the programme delivers a consistent process that communities can use to build positive peace and to change harmful patterns for how sexual violence occurs and holds those who perpetrate it accountable.

Additionally, some participants are motivated to dialogue with those who have been part of the harm, thus taking the restorative justice dynamic out of the workshop and into the world:

> Sunday night, for the first time in my life I told my mom everything. I gave the names of all 5 family abusers from the time I was four until I turned thirteen. Her response was less than perfect, but I didn't care. I told her anyway. I'm not afraid anymore. Thank you from the bottom of my heart for providing this space, this safety, for me to live again – JR (Personal communication, October 20, 2019).

Ultimately, Untold Stories results in systemic change because empowered survivors impact their own networks of interpersonal relationships. Survivors question and condemn the cultural norms and biases that create and foster sexual violence and take up responsibility for directly addressing gaps in justice processes that cause secondary trauma and structural or cultural violence.

A key transformative moment in the programme is an annual capstone presentation to the community, which has evolved from an in-person keynote and art showcase to a virtual exhibition due to the COVID-19 pandemic. No matter what the format is, the central intention is to illustrate how the programme and restorative justice can address cultural violence, shame, stigma, isolation, and denigration, which many survivors experience. For example, in 2019, Untold Stories' Spring Showcase set up a photo booth for rapid-capture and creative feedback on what public viewers thought. After touring the artworks that were paired with artist statements and survivor writings, attendees were asked to write a word or phrase that captured their feelings in response to the exhibition and then pose for a snapshot to be taken. A few responses included "Real People. Real Stories. Powerful"; "Hope Fulfilled"; "Strong Women"; "Powerful images and beautiful writings. Such a phenomenal way to raise awareness and advocacy!"; "Unbelievable and moving"; "Full Heart: Hands Ready for change"; "We are Not Alone". Given that the audience for such events is likely already sympathetic to survivors, the authors point out that the

primary goal of this type of public witness is to galvanize more people to give sanctuary to the complexity of survivor experiences – in other words, *empathy* is different from *sympathy*. Individuals moved by the work and words of survivors provide a safe haven to survivors and become change agents themselves as they reintegrate with their communities, having been themselves changed.

Impact of Public Witness On Systemic Change

Through Untold Stories, survivors and artists have voluntary opportunities to share their work publicly. Through Untold Stories' programme director, LOTUS oversees and organizes opportunities, providing safety, ethical oversight, and structure to assist participants at varying stages of experience with public disclosure. A broad-reaching vehicle is through publications of the Untold Stories Magazine, which is published by LOTUS once a year either in print or digitally. Its intended audience includes the artists and writers themselves who have created featured work and extends to other survivors, family members, victims' rights advocates, attorneys and judges, classes studying issues of sexual violence, or the subjects of victims' law or restorative justice, and the art therapy community. Some programme alumni have gone forward to transform their communities. This advocacy can occur through either the work created or the direct voice of the survivor in real time. Examples include gallery exhibits and works publicly read by state Department of Justice officials during National Crime Victim's Rights Week ceremonies; open-mic/Poetry Slam/art viewing at local centres for poetry and the arts; Ted Talks, keynotes, and other public speaking opportunities for survivor alums, usually by invitation of organizers to the survivors; presentations at national workshops and conferences on victims' rights, human trafficking, trauma, and art therapy; participating in training for professionals in law enforcement, courts, corrections and legal services, health and human services, and education; legislative testimony about sexual assault, victims' rights, and human trafficking-related bills; Op-Eds and contributions to print and online media; survivors' post-programme individual memoirs, novels, plays, curricula on sexual violence prevention or healing, poetry, or other creative work; examples of survivor-entrepreneurs who create business or non-profit ventures.

Beyond fostering empathy, when victims of sexual violence participate in collaborative creativity rooted in the *principles* of peace psychology and the *process* of restorative justice, their writing and artwork can become a transformative force for systemic change. By conservative estimates, Untold Stories magazines published since 2018 have reached an estimated 4,000 individuals across the United States through print and online distribution. The dissemination of physical copies happens year-round. The physical issues are full of images, and people love to hold them in their hands, pass them on to others, and take their time digesting them. The power of the work via the magazine extends to academic conferences, public presentations, or continuing education for practitioners in legal, academic, and health care

fields (see Table 7.1). Copies have even appeared in the waiting area for the US Attorney's offices.

The goal of the magazine, and Untold Stories generally, is to foster justice through witness. Specifically, this entails identifying gaps in justice, addressing cultural and intergenerational trauma patterns, giving voice to the marginalized, equipping survivors with tools for powerful communication, developing survivor-advocacy skills and identity, and building a community capable of prevention, compassion for survivors, accountability for harm, and addressing sexual violence's root causes. The magazine has amplified the voices of survivors, articulates what needs to change, and builds empathy. People crave beauty, even (or perhaps, especially) when its portrayal of trauma and injustice has the heart resonance of real testimony, authenticity, and passion.

Survivor Reflection: Positive Peace for Self and Others

The words of programme participants are the best evidence of how restorative justice principles that ground and govern it work directly towards the building of positive peace, empowering individual survivors to heal from trauma through acts of creative testimony that are witnessed, and which then transform communities and entrenched systems of injustice surrounding sexual violence. Untold Stories participant Jeanne Suarez del Real (name used with permission) movingly articulates what positive peace means for her as a survivor:

> LOTUS Legal's Untold Stories programme provides a key that unlocks the door for victims to find their voices thereby freeing them from their thought-prisons. This programme is helping to create a brave community of survivors walking a healing path together.

Table 7.1 Community uses of untold stories magazine

Audience reached	How the magazine is/can be used
Advocacy community	To advocate for policy change and awareness
Service providers (social services, health care, legal services, youth intervention)	Training on trauma-informed practices, resulting in better victim services
Media	To shape awareness articles or events that more accurately and ethically portray survivors' stories
Churches, schools, community task forces	To build a community that embraces survivors, prevents sexual violence, and shapes community engagement and its response to harm
Academia/research	As qualitative data about the nuance and details of survivor's experiences, and which represents unheard voices
Survivors	To share with their family, friends, and other survivors, who in turn will share with others In the words of one participant: "It's my responsibility to give light & visibility to many survivors!"

> Like so many others, I had storehouses filled with shame, grief, pain, secrets, and self-loathing—all sorts of monsters born from abuse, which I endured alone. It is a desolate place to live. This programme with its writing workshops filled with fellow-survivors was the first place where those back-room, head-hanging secrets were ever invited into the light. I won't pretend that it was easy. As our trust in the process and each other grew, the collective agony of participants transformed into something more manageable. We were no longer alone with our pain. Being seen and heard felt like a healing balm on invisible scars, and this created a profound shift inside. It was like being taken out of a dark cell into the light.
>
> I'm learning to integrate the difficult reality of my forfeited dreams and the horrific loss of my potential by bravely making the most of what is left. Personally, I am encouraged and emboldened when I listen to an overcomer's story. Stories of broken, messy lives pulled from the ashes and resuscitated are an inspiring testimony of the indomitable spirit living within each of us. I realize that telling my painful story can be used for a similar good to fan an ember of hope in another, and this breathes fresh purpose into my weariness and helps me live a more meaningful life.
>
> Since going through the programme, I have participated in poetry readings and taken a semester-long poetry course. Each time I look up from the words I've written and make eye contact with those listening, I see a quiet integration, a sense of private agony endured, an understanding, and empathy. I am no longer alone with those imprisoning secrets. Some have confided after hearing my words that they too have pain-filled stories but feel less isolated now. Many have gone on to share their stories. My instructor for the poetry course said my writing raised the gravitas of the class so that we all wrote more meaningfully. I feel like a cheerleader for victims mounting their defense. This is the kind of healing practice that cascades to others, bringing hope.
>
> For me this has been a profound healing journey. I feel myself blossoming into a more authentic me, someone who trusts their own voice and tells their story. I now have the capacity to establish a safe place for others who see themselves in my words. The real impact? Profound. Instead of being a victim, I now see myself as a survivor, nay, a thriver. How does one say, "thank you" for so great a gift? (Personal Communication, September 10, 2021).

For Jeanne, positive peace is the freedom to be open, authentic, and honest in the community about the harm that happened and to walk alongside others in doing so. She claims the language of justice: "I feel like a cheerleader for victims mounting their defence. This is the kind of healing practice that cascades to others, bringing hope." Personal healing, bravery, and the pursuit of a better society for others are intertwined. Her reflection itself is a redemptive, creative act towards positive peace.

Conclusion

As explored in this chapter and bolstered by recent scholarship and publication, artistic expression, advocacy, and creative writing are powerful tools for systemic change and for promoting positive peace when targeting how sexual violence is prevented, prosecuted, punished, and healed (Gavrielides, 2022). Within this context, the Untold Stories programme centres on human creativity as the impulse that moves the restorative justice process, where public witness is the forum and empathy is the substrate that eases suffering and sets the spark for survivor-centred policy change and peace building. Within this work, the *survivors* can be understood as

building positive peace each time they take active control of their own personal isolation and trauma and use their voice to implement political, cultural, and/or communal change.

The case for Untold Stories intends for readers to see how creative restorative justice work can be dynamic and scalable, transforming individuals, communities, and systems that have traditionally failed survivors. The authors hope that others are inspired by the model and adapt it to their own communities wherever silenced voices seek to be seen, heard, and understood.

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Chapter 8
Creating Peace by Restoring Relationships for Hawai‘i’s Imprisoned Women with Cooperative Learning and Restorative Justice

Lorenn Walker and Leela Bilmes Goldstein

> As Horace Mann once said, education is ‘the great equalizer,’ but this only works if the most vulnerable individuals have access to it (Bender, 2018).

Introduction

In the last 20 years, the worldwide incarceration rate of women and girls has increased by 50%, far surpassing the increase in male incarceration rates (Walmsley, 2017). Imprisoned women have suffered from domestic violence (DV) (Gilfus, 2002). Peace for them includes the prevention of violence that especially affects their gender (de la Rey & McKay, 2006). This chapter focuses on how an educational model for incarcerated women can increase inner and relational peace by using cooperative learning methodology and restorative justice to increase women’s personal agency and promote peaceful relationships, including repairing any damage caused by their past behaviour and incarceration. This peace education and restorative methodology can help address structural violence the women have experienced.

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The successful re-entry for formerly incarcerated women can be supported by giving them opportunities to increase personal agency, which helps decrease domestic violence (Huecker et al., 2021), and by giving them opportunities to help others. Research shows that being of service to others is something that many formerly incarcerated women find helpful for their reintegration into the community (Heidemann et al., 2015, p. 22). Education provided while incarcerated can offer these opportunities to increase personal agency as well as help others.

Caring about and helping others promote peace in relational ways (Jarstad et al., 2019). "Peaceful relationship[s] entail deliberation, non-domination, and cooperation between actors in the dyad; the actors involved recognize and trust each other and believe the relationship is either one between legitimate fellows or between friends" (Soderstrom et al., 2021). These concepts are incorporated by the peace education and cooperative learning methodology applied to the programme described in this chapter.

The programme is a collaborative effort led by a non-profit, Hawai'i Friends of Restorative Justice (HFRJ), and four other community stakeholders: the Hawai'i State Women's Community Correctional Center (WCCC), Windward Community College (WCC), the University of Hawai'i at Manoa College of Social Sciences (UH), and McKinley Community School for Adults (MCSA).

The chapter begins with the research that establishes the need and basis for the programme. It describes the programme's operational philosophy, including peace education, cooperative learning, and restorative justice. Throughout, links to peace psychology are discussed. A description of the programme is followed by its early results in Hawai'i's women's prison. A discussion of how the programme illustrates connections between restorative justice and peace concludes the chapter.

Research Support for Educating the Incarcerated

Research shows that higher and continuing education benefits the incarcerated in many ways. Frequently, the incarcerated are literally those who suffered structural violence by becoming entangled in the school-to-prison pipeline. Youth who suffer from learning and literacy difficulties are often failed by the education system and are more likely to be expelled from school and eventually land in the adult prison system (National Council on Disability, 2003).

Education also helps the incarcerated by reducing repeat crime (Rand, 2016) and domestic violence (DV) (Huecker et al., 2021) and by realizing personal agency through increasing self-esteem (Spreitzer, 1995) and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997).

Reducing crime and DV can promote inner and relational peace. Galtung described peace in two ways: "positive" and "negative". Positive peace is the "absence of structural violence", which reducing crime and DV can help accomplish. Negative peace is the "absence of personal violence", which increasing self-esteem and self-efficacy can provide (p. 183, 1969). This programme addresses the

structural violence and systemic injustice the women have suffered due to their failed early school experiences, their race, and their exposures to domestic violence.

Increased Levels of Education Reduce Repeat Crime

Research shows that higher and continuing education reduces recidivism (Esperian, 2010; Jancic, 1998; Vacca, 2004). The US Department of Justice reports: “Inmates that participate in academic and occupational training programmes are 43 percent less likely to return to prison” (2016, p. iii). Higher education levels are linked to higher levels of employment, and employment is one of the “most important predictors of post release recidivism” (Lockwood et al., 2012, p. 380). The ability to find employment is directly influenced by an individual’s education level, whether that individual has or has not previously been incarcerated.[1]

Additionally, HFRJ’s experiences working with women incarcerated at WCCC since 2006 demonstrate how the benefits of higher and continuing education include the potential of making positive systemic changes. Incarcerated women that HFRJ has worked with have gone on to college, and some have completed graduate school and then have worked to improve the corrections system. One example is Daphne Ho‘okano, MSW, who currently serves on HFRJ’s board of directors. Ho‘okano had a substance use disorder and was in and out of jail numerous times and was finally imprisoned for about four years. After release from her last incarceration, she obtained bachelor’s and master’s degrees in social work. She worked as a child protective service investigator for the state of Hawai‘i. In 2021, she began working as a social worker at WCCC, where she was previously imprisoned. Complementing the broader research, Ms. Ho‘okano’s story illustrates the power of education for incarcerated persons to build peace and address structural violence. Her current position enables her to motivate and help other incarcerated women find pathways to inner and relational peace.

Increased Levels of Education Empower Women and Reduce Domestic Violence

Education helps imprisoned women find peaceful lives by empowering them. “There is an inverse relationship between education and domestic violence [DV]. Lower education levels correlate with more likely domestic violence” (Huecker et al., 2020, p. 2). Women who exercise personal agency are more successful in

[1] Reducing repeat crime not only betters the lives of incarcerated individuals, but it also reduces overall prison costs because reduction in recidivism contributes to a reduction in prison populations over time (Richardson & Walker, 2021).

staying out of abusive relationships (Snyder, 2019). DV is a serious structural violence problem. "Fifty thousand women" worldwide were murdered by DV in 2017, and "*fifty* women a month in the United States are killed by their intimate partners using guns alone" (Snyder, 2019, p. 6 & 11, emphasis in original). Since the COVID-19 pandemic, DV has further increased worldwide (Boserup et al., 2020), which is consistent with research demonstrating that violence against women often increases after disasters (Parkinson, 2019).

HFRJ's experience at WCCC for over 15 years confirms the findings that most imprisoned women have been affected by DV (ACLU, n.d.-a, n.d.-b). The imprisoned women have been involved in DV either as people who have been harmed or as people who caused harm to others. The "victim-offender overlap" is a well-known phenomenon in criminology and violence against women (Walker & Tarutani, 2017, p. 71). Those who harm others often harmed themselves previously, and those who have been harmed can go on to harm others. Healing that occurs from restorative processes and education can help break this cycle. Restorative justice helps people heal from the harms of crime and injustice by providing learning experiences for acknowledging and addressing what is needed to repair the harm (Zehr, 2015). Healing leads to peace. When people affected by injustice and wrongdoing have the opportunity to engage in restorative practices, they are likely to experience understanding, empathy, and forgiveness (Fehr & Gelfand, 2012). For these reasons, restorative justice is recognized as a "peace building" practice (Zehr, 2008, p. 1). Likewise, education promotes peace. Women all over the world in DV relationships share one commonality: they each suffer from a lack of "agency in their own lives" (Snyder, 2017, p. 5). Agency is the understanding that one has choices in directing their life to become self-reliant. Understanding is learning, which is the main benefit of education. Marginalized women, especially those incarcerated, need opportunities to increase their personal agency, which education helps achieve. "[E]qual opportunity and justice are essential for creating peaceful societies" (Nelson, 2021, p. 117). Moreover, research on programmes and interventions to educate people how to be more peaceful is needed (Nelson, 2021).

Programme Philosophy: Cooperative Learning, Restorative Justice, and Montessori Peace Education

This prison-based education programme applies a cooperative learning methodology both for and by peer educator tutors. Cooperative learning gives students the opportunity "to experience success behaving peacefully" (Nelson, 2021, p. 113). The program trains tutors via cooperative learning, and the tutor trainees learn how to use cooperative learning methods for tutoring their peers. Cooperative learning is based on an understanding that "[t]he construction of knowledge and effective learning require a student-centred learning environment so that students can actively participate in the experiential learning activities" (Karacop, 2017, p. 421).

Cooperative learning can empower incarcerated women to improve their well-being and live more peaceful lives by allowing them to work with others toward shared goals. Similarly, cooperative learning methodology increases education. After release from prison, 95% of women reported needing educational assistance (Visher & Travis, 2011). Cooperative learning allows students to learn from experiences instead of simply being told information, which is consistent with restorative justice. A hallmark of restorative practices is allowing participants to experience for themselves, by interacting with others, how best they can address the harm caused by injustice (Zehr, 2015). Cooperative learning allows participants to engage more directly in the learning process than traditional passive methods. Cooperative learning is distinguished from *cooperative education*, where individuals learn from on-the-job training in internships or as practicum students (Raelin et al., 2011). Cooperative education and cooperative learning each provide students with experiences, rather than purely oral and written information, to gain knowledge.

This programme specifically applies cooperative learning through the following:

1. A focus on Montessori approaches.
2. Using the jigsaw method to engage and centre students; and.
3. Providing financial incentives for motivation.

Montessori, Student-Centred Learning, and Peace

Maria Montessori was one of the first educators to develop and apply a cooperative learning methodology. She was one of Italy's first female medical doctors and developed the Montessori method of education (Frierson, 2015). She is recognized as a "moral philosopher" who believed education leads to peace (Frierson, 2021, p. 3). Her educational methodology challenged competition as a means of learning and focused instead on creating learning environments that promoted cooperation and peace (Pandey & Upadhyay, 2016). The Montessori methodology allows students to choose and control what they learn and when they learn it. Students learn how to cooperate and live in peace by working together. A student learns through experience that "he must respect the work of others, not because someone has said that he must, but because this is a reality he meets in his daily experience" (Montessori, 2007, p. 202).

"The foundation of Montessori philosophy is respect" (Coe, 1991, p. 2). Respect is also a core value of restorative justice (Zehr, 2013). Philosophers have long studied the concept of respect and found that it "has great importance in everyday life" (Dillion, 2018, p. 1). While a human might kill an insect without thought, respect for human life keeps people from indiscriminately killing other humans.

Philosophers give credit to Immanuel Kant for the assertion that human life itself is worthy of respect. He also believed that humans have a duty and moral

responsibility to respect themselves. Kant held that self-respect is a natural function of life for moral societies and that one must have self-respect to respect others. Contemporary philosophers see self-respect as a "part of political wisdom" and believe that "unjust social institutions can devastatingly damage self-respect" while "robust and resilient self-respect can be a potent force in struggles against injustice" (Dillion, 2018, p. 1). John Rawls expanded on the necessity of self-respect for justice. He believed that justice was the "first virtue of social institutions" (1970, p. 3). He argued that "justice requires that social institutions and policies be designed to support and not undermine self-respect" (Dillion, 2018, 2). Unlike Kant, who saw self-respect as more of an individual duty, Rawls believed institutions have the duty to treat people with respect and dignity for themselves, which in turn would create just societies, consistent with Montessori's approach. This programme addresses how cooperative learning increases respect for oneself and others and how students can learn to be peaceful.

Restorative justice practices also respect all participants, as illustrated by several of restorative justice's features. First, restorative processes are democratic. Individuals affected by specific incidents of wrongdoing are invited to actively participate in processes to find how they can best address harm without authority figures controlling the process or speaking for them. Second, restorative justice processes are voluntary. Every individual's choice to participate is always respected. Restorative processes are private and not open to members of the public unless the participants agree otherwise. Third, participants of restorative processes are respected for having the capacity to communicate for themselves, unless they want a representative, and they are considered able to solve their own problems without the assistance of professionals or authority figures speaking for themselves (Braithwaite, 2000). According to Howard Zehr, restorative justice is respectful overall because it "empowers all participants – treats them as moral agents with choices" (Zehr, personal communication, January 3, 2022). The restorative justice philosophy has as its "underlying values … the three R's – respect, responsibility, relationships" (Zehr, 2018, p. 4). Zehr sees these three values "intertwined like a triple helix". He argues: "Restorative justice is not just nonviolent but involves the positive act of caring for one another and our needs and relationships." Zehr (2018) further asserts:

> Respectful relationships imply a responsibility for our actions and for each other. This goes beyond passive responsibility, as when we accept a judgment that we have done something wrong. Rather, it calls for what John Braithwaite and others have called "active" responsibility to put things right, an approach to justice as promoting a better future (p. 4).

Respect includes self-respect, and "[t]he possession of self-respect is one of our most treasured personal attributes" (Middleton, 2006, p. 59). Middleton identifies three dimensions of self-respect: "worth (human self-respect), successes (appraisal self-respect) and belonging (status self-respect)". These three parts create a whole of self-respect, which he says is a "recognition concurrently of our humanity, our capabilities and our status" (p. 75). Middleton finally claims that the "challenge for

those committed to social justice remains the task of creating an environment where every individual can construct and maintain their self-respect" (p. 76).

Before Rawls's ideas about respect were articulated, Montessori stressed the importance of respect and suggested it is respect that leads to peace:

> Peace is at the center of Montessori's philosophy. She believed that tolerance was not enough for the world to be peaceful – rather, respect for everything and everyone is needed. For this reason she promoted a global outlook and diversity in education. She believed that a global and diverse outlook, when combined with personal responsibility, would lead to peace (Akinyoade, 2011, p. 11).

Montessori's methodology is highly "student-centred" and respectful. "Student-centred means we have programs that make children feel good about themselves: to acknowledge and celebrate everyone's uniqueness, strengths, weaknesses, and cultural diversity. We have programs in which student[s] cooperate with each other rather than compete for who is best, and thus, lay the foundations for world peace" (Coe, 1991, p. 3).

Based on this intersection of respect, student-centered education, and laying the groundwork for a peaceful world, Montessori is credited with founding a peace education movement (Manzo, 2018; Kester, 2012; Akinyoade, 2011; Duckworth, 2006). She was "an influential mid-twentieth century theorist who found new connections between peace and education. She linked teaching methodology to peacebuilding, hoping to help the next generation avoid the violence of authoritarianism" (Akinyoade, 2011, p. 1). Her pedagogical theory and practice focused on supporting the development of peaceful individuals and societies through the student-centred approach. Her methodology provides students with the opportunity to engage in hands-on participatory learning experiences and includes peer tutoring (Rathunde, 2001).

The programme described in this chapter embraces Montessori's assertion that education is a sure pathway to peace. Montessori's methodology respects the student's, not the teacher's, passions and interests in determining what to learn. Her methods are recognized as an application of "positive peace" (Duckworth, 2006, p. 2). A cooperative education student – and one in a Montessori classroom – is expected to learn virtues and the value of peace through her own experiences.

Cooperative Learning with the Jigsaw Method

The pilot project described in this chapter brings a coordinated, communal effort to help groups of imprisoned women engage directly in the learning process to further their education and increase peace. It draws on cooperative learning because this framework reflects the "essential role of peer interaction and relationships in socialization and learning" and "builds upon the *'dynamic whole'* of a group and creates a team motivation and movement toward shared goals" (Johnson & Johnson, 2009, pp. 365 & 366). One specific cooperative learning technique employed in the

programme is the jigsaw method, which empowers students to be sources of knowledge, as opposed to the traditional idea that they are empty vessels to be filled by teachers. This perception shift is useful in aiding the mastery of content and encourages a sense of authority. The jigsaw method was developed by social psychology professor Elliot Aaronson and a group of his graduate students in 1971 (Aaronson & Bidgeman, 1979). After schools were desegregated in Austin, Texas, in 1971, conflicts occurred between different racial groups of students. Aaronson and his students studied the situation and determined that the high level of competition in the classes caused conflict. They developed the jigsaw method based on cooperative learning with students sharing goals instead of competing, thus creating more peaceful learning environments (Gilbert, 2001).

The jigsaw method is based on the concept of student interdependence (Meng, 2010). It is structured so that each group's diligent work is necessary for the whole class to have a complete understanding of the studied material. Another jigsaw hallmark is personal experiential learning and individual student participation. Large classes are divided into smaller groups, where each masters one aspect of a subject and then teaches what they learned to the other groups. In the end, groups present their findings to the whole class for students to learn from each other. This strategy works to effectively "develop students' metacognitive awareness and learn the content while teaching it to peers in the small group" (Meng, 2010, p. 502).

Jigsaw and the cooperative learning approach are consistent with Kurt Lewin's work on how management styles affect behaviour, with a focus on using psychological insight to promote peaceful interpersonal relations. Lewin's research showed that democratic management creates more peace and cooperation among participants compared to authoritarian and laissez-faire managed groups, which resulted in increased hostility (Lewin, 1997).

Financial Incentives

Research shows that financial incentives work to motivate people to further their education (Ortagus et al., 2020; Ziegler & Ebert, 2002). Most imprisoned people are not naturally motivated academically, and many have histories of poor school performance (Sarrett, 2021). Engaging in academic work for the incarcerated includes studying various materials for General Educational Development (GED) examinations and increasing grade levels. It can be extremely challenging, especially for adults with poor academic skills, to engage in academic studies. Learning difficult material takes persistence and determination. As Maria Montessori described, "Independence is not a static condition; it is a continuous conquest, and in order to reach not only freedom, but also strength, and the perfecting of one's powers, it is necessary to follow this path of unremitting toil" (1995, p. 90). Focusing on academic materials, for those lacking academic skills, can be extremely challenging and requires some "toil". Financial incentives can motivate imprisoned women to

take classes and improve their academic standing, including studying for and passing a GED test.

Programme Description

The programme provides higher and continuing education to incarcerated women in four parts: 1) hire and train imprisoned women as tutors to help their less-educated peers study for and pass the GED and/or to help their peers improve their grade levels, 2) support a state community college to continue providing classes at the prison, 3) provide correspondence courses for incarcerated women pursuing college degrees and explore how these courses might be provided by a university in Hawai‘i, and 4) provide the incarcerated women restorative re-entry planning circles to address transition needs upon release from prison and how they might meet their needs while they are incarcerated. Details on the four programme parts are discussed below.

Train and Hire Imprisoned Peer Educator Tutors

Imprisoned women who apply to be tutors for the higher and continuing education programme are vetted by the WCCC education staff. Women are selected for tutor training based on their education and communication skills. Those selected are coached and trained as peer educators to tutor less-educated women studying for the GED and/or to improve their grade levels (e.g. from grade 8 to grade 9). The tutors are compensated at $3 an hour, which is the highest hourly rate of compensation paid to the incarcerated at the prison (most prison jobs pay between $0.25 to $1 an hour).

The tutor training is provided by HFRJ for over 20 hours. For 16 hours, the women are trained by cooperative learning as peer tutors on specific sections of the Princeton Review GED Test Prep 2021 book (2020). After completing 16 hours of in-class training, the trainees begin to tutor their peers. Their tutoring is observed for the last 4 h of their training to ensure they meet competent tutoring criteria, including communication abilities, skills in explaining materials, and use of cooperative learning methodology.

To motivate the less-educated incarcerated women to commit to an education programme – and to engage in the academic challenges that it requires – financial incentives are provided. Both students who earn GEDs and their tutors, as well as students who move up grade levels, are given financial rewards. The tutors were originally offered $50 for any woman they tutored who passed the GED. But on their own, because they explained they "wanted to eliminate competition between themselves as tutors", they collectively requested that the $50 incentive be split among all of them to increase their cooperation. Currently, the first cohort of WCCC

tutors is training a second cohort of imprisoned tutors[2] via jigsaw, which they were trained to use after a two-hour training.

Women who complete the training receive certification from McKinley Community School for Adults (MCSA), a state of Hawai‘i school that provides adult education. As part of their collaboration in this pilot, MCSA prepares certificates of completion signed by its principal. This certification can help the women obtain jobs in education after release and thus increase their chances of successful re-integration. Tutors and all the women passing the GED test are encouraged to take college classes while in WCCC, especially if they are interested in a subject not offered in person at WCCC or if they work during the day and cannot attend in-person classes at the prison.

Keep Windward Community College (WCC) at the Women's Prison

Windward Community College (WCC) is part of the University of Hawai‘i. WCC obtained a grant to provide a five-year college programme for women incarcerated at Hawai‘i's women's prison, which is scheduled to end in 2022. Keeping WCC at the women's prison is essential for the incarcerated women who already have a high school diploma or high school equivalence (GED). Maintaining WCC classes at the prison allows the women (many of whom will hopefully become peer educator tutors) to continue their education. WCC currently provides several college classes for first- or second-year students at the prison each semester. This project includes keeping WCC's college programme at WCCC to provide classes to incarcerated women. Funds from this education programme pay for work-study positions for women in WCCC who are taking college classes and are on “work furlough”. These students are able to work at WCC earning $13 an hour in the work-study positions.

Provide Further College Correspondence Courses for Imprisoned Women

For women who exhaust all courses that WCC provides, individual correspondence courses from another university to help them stay on the path of earning college degrees are provided. Imprisoned people in Hawai‘i are not permitted to take online college courses. Ideally, the incarcerated women would be able to take classes at a Hawai‘i state university. No university or college in Hawai‘i offers correspondence classes for imprisoned people, but through the programme, WCC will provide

[2] Because the tutors are released from prison when their sentences are completed, new tutors need to be trained every 6 months or so to sustain the programme.

several. Until sufficient correspondence courses can be provided, they are being purchased from Adams State University in Colorado (ASU), whose prison correspondence course programme was ranked first among five prison education programmes (Zoukis, 2018). More opportunities to take courses and obtain education increase the likelihood of decreased recidivism after release and increase individual peace and well-being.

Transition WCCC College Students into College in Community After Release

The fourth part of HFRJ's programme supports the women in WCCC who are taking courses to transition to college after their release. Women who want to continue their education are offered a re-entry planning circle (Walker & Greening, 2010). The re-entry circles are known as *Huikahi Circles* in Hawai'i state prisons. The circles have been researched and shown to reduce repeat crime (Walker & Davidson, 2018) and to bring healing benefits to children of incarcerated parents (Walker et al., 2015) and to other family members of incarcerated people (Walker & De Reu, 2021). The circle provides an opportunity for incarcerated individuals to make specific goals and plans and to choose who among their loved ones and supporters they would like to invite to participate in their re-entry planning process and repair any damaged relationships with.

Provide the Incarcerated Women Restorative Re-entry Planning Circles

Preparing for re-entry and making transition plans for adults and young people to meet their educational needs and continue their education back in the community prior to leaving correctional institutions are vital for their ongoing educational success (Clark, 2018; Tolbert, 2012). Educational assistance is likewise vital for employment opportunities that prevent repeat crime after release (Petersilia, 2003). The re-entry planning circles provided to women in this programme have been successfully replicated in other states and countries and in the US federal court in Honolulu (Walker & Kobayashi, 2020). The circles are restorative and solution focused (Walker & Greening, 2010). The process provides the opportunity for the incarcerated person to address how they can repair damaged relationships with loved ones, along with finding ways to meet their other basic needs for a successful transition. Assisting women to seamlessly transition from incarceration back into the community is necessary to help them maintain the educational momentum they began in prison. As they benefit from educational opportunities and re-entry planning circles, the women are more likely to successfully transition into the

community. This contributes to reduced repeat crime and domestic violence and increases peace for the individual, her family, and the community.

Early Experience with the Programme

While the average grade level for incarcerated people in Hawai'i is the fifth to sixth grade, some imprisoned women have even lower educational levels and have tested at only the first-grade level (M. Keane, personal communication, June 21, 2021). The peer tutors help the less-educated women learn the skills they need to pass the GED test. The tutoring programme helps the women being tutored learn and the women tutoring also learn from teaching. This approach to tutoring is supported by Albert Bandura's work. His study of personal agency, self-efficacy, and how people learn is seminal (1997). Bandura's research confirms that people learn best by observing others and from their experiences participating in what they are learning about; e.g., bike riding is best learned by watching someone riding one and by getting on a bike and trying to ride it.

Case studies from similar programmes provide evidence for the potential of this approach to support incarcerated women to excel in higher education. One example is Curtis Carroll, who is incarcerated at San Quentin, a maximum-security prison in California. Carroll has been imprisoned for about 25 years since he was age 17. He learned to read in prison at age 20, taught by his bunkmate. Carroll, also known as "Wall Street" at San Quentin, is a respected stock market trader who is motivated to help others attain financial literacy. He believes if he and his family had financial resources to meet their basic needs, he would not have been involved in a robbery that led to a person's death and his imprisonment. Carroll wants to make amends for his crime after he is released by helping community members with economic challenges learn how to become financially secure and independent. He plans to assist people who were formerly incarcerated to become taxpayers capable of meeting their financial needs in legal ways. He says: "When I look at how Bill Gates and Warren Buffet have made these pledges to give 90% of their wealth away, I thought what better way than to go back and help the things I've destroyed" (Carroll, 2016). Carroll's desire to repair the harm that his crime caused illustrates the power of education to ultimately create peace. His education led to his ability to generate income. In turn, he plans to use this knowledge to create peace and well-being in the community through financial stability.

Finally, preliminary evidence speaks to the programme's potential. Prior to this programme, an average of three imprisoned women a year passed the GED. After 12 weeks of providing peer tutoring at WCCC, five tutors worked with over 20 of their peers to assist them in passing the GED. There is currently a waiting list for more students to participate in the programme to be tutored to pass the GED. To date, the tutors have assisted ten women to pass the GED. Many of the women only had an average of fourth- to fifth-grade education level before beginning their GED

studies. Additionally, 11 more women have passed sections of the GED and are expected to completely pass the test soon.

Restorative Justice and Peace Psychology

The pilot education programme illustrates the connection between restorative justice and peace psychology. Restorative justice, a major component of the programme, works to help people who have been harmed and those who harmed them have dialogues that can lead to understanding and often reconciliation. The prevention of violence and restoring peaceful relations are made possible by restorative justice. This is a goal of peace psychologists: "Embedding reconciliation processes in community structures is crucial for building peace" (Christie et al., 2008, p. 546). In addition, the powerful effects of building cooperation between the tutors and students is an aspect and important value of peace psychology.

Conclusion

A disproportionate share of Native Hawaiian women is incarcerated in Hawai‘i (C. Beale, personal communication, December, 2021). Incarcerated women in Hawai‘i average a fifth- to sixth-grade education level, with some much lower, while the 12th grade is the standard secondary school achievement in the United States. These women have suffered systemic inequity because of their race and because of schools' failure to sufficiently educate them, among other contributing factors. The programme outlined in this chapter presents an effort to support these women, despite their low academic achievement, in passing the GED test with tutoring through cooperative learning provided by their more educated peers. This programme respects the tutors and the women studying for the GED and promotes their learning peacefulness and how they can increase their well-being through education and restorative re-entry planning circles. Further research of the programme will be undertaken to determine longer-term outcomes, including decreased DV involvement; increased personal agency and well-being, as reflected in the women's achievement of educational goals; and recidivism reduction after their release from prison. This chapter illustrates the power of cooperative learning and restorative re-entry practices to create relational peace for individuals, their loved ones, and their communities, while also addressing structural violence.

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Chapter 9
Coping and Resilience Through Peace Psychology and Restorative Justice

Thomas Toscano

Introduction

The Western social world is characterized by signs of strife at the intrapersonal level. Globally, there are 800,000 suicides every year, twice the number of homicides and making it one of the leading causes of death in young people (Ritchie et al., 2015). At the interpersonal level, there has been an upward trend in divorces globally since 1970 and lower marriage rates, perhaps indicating that people are less willing to commit to a relationship that may be doomed to fail (Ortiz-Ospina & Rogers 2020). The world has also seen increased international conflict and mental health issues, perhaps exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Knipe et al., 2020). It is in this context that it is important to consider ever so urgently how best to develop resilience, coping abilities, and inner peace.

This chapter has as its central theme the pivotal importance of personal growth and development for achieving a state of happiness and inner peace, which in turn help develop resilience and coping abilities. In order to achieve this, the chapter will first outline what makes for a person who is truly happy and at peace and then draw on the concepts of peace psychology and the principles of restorative justice that can guide the attaining and maintaining of a state where one is truly comfortable and happy with who they are and, as a result, will have fulfilling and lasting relationships. This does not mean that there will never be a conflict, whether intrapersonal or interpersonal. Therefore, the chapter then will look at the tools of peace psychology and restorative justice to deal with conflict, restore peace, and promote happiness. The achievement of this state will ensure that personal growth is maximized as

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well as, with it, one's ability to cope and be resilient to adversity, particularly in intrapersonal and interpersonal relational contexts.

Happiness and Inner Peace as the Foundation for Personal Growth

The quest for happiness is a key desire that keeps human beings engaged in work, relationships, and the pursuit of self-actualization. In defining happiness, Argyle (2001) makes a distinction between subjective well-being (SWB) and objective well-being (OWB). SWB is a measure of happiness that considers how people feel about their life. OWB is a measure of observable variables, such as life expectancy, that are considered important for a good life. Happiness, in the context of this chapter, fits with the concept of Argyle's SWB because happiness is inextricably linked to internal peace, which in and of itself has core values for human psychological well-being. Many religious philosophies and leaders have been strong proponents of inner peace, including the Buddhist philosophy, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Dalai Lama. Simply put, inner peace is the absence of fear and chaos, a state of psychological and spiritual calm, which results in being happy and contented even in the face of external stressful events that often cause fear and upheaval. To be truly happy, therefore, it is vitally important to be at peace with oneself. The focus of this chapter is the endeavour of a peaceful existence through forgiveness and reparation.

The work of psychologist Abraham Maslow provides a starting point to help understand what human beings need to truly strive to attain fulfilment and inner peace. Maslow (1943, 1954) suggested that human motivation is based on people seeking fulfilment and change through personal growth. As Maslow's hierarchy of needs suggests, human beings will strive to meet their physiological needs (e.g. food and clothing) and their need for safety (e.g. job security), love, sense of belonging (e.g. friendship), esteem, and self-actualization. These needs can be understood as building on each other in that only once a lower-level one is fulfilled that one can move to a higher level (e.g. safety needs must be met before love). Self-actualized people are those who are fulfilled and are doing things they are capable of doing. Maslow (1970) identified 15 characteristics of a self-actualized person.

Some of the key characteristics are very relevant to a consideration of inner peace. For example, Maslow suggests that self-actualized people accept themselves and others for what they are with no conditions and can tolerate uncertainty. Uncertainty for many people causes turmoil and disrupts their internal equilibrium, thus affecting inner peace. Further, self-actualized people have a genuine concern for the welfare of humanity and will play their part in trying to ensure this. Maslow also opines that a deep appreciation of basic life experiences coupled with strong moral and ethical standards are hallmarks of self-actualization. The final characteristic relevant to the context of this chapter is that self-actualized people can establish deeply satisfying interpersonal relationships with a few people, as opposed to a

"Facebook friend" culture, where quantity is of the essence. Quality relationships are tied to both inner well-being and interpersonal harmony, with roots in the evolutionary explanations of the social basis of our species (Cords & Thompson, 2017).

In this context, one might say that a self-actualized person is at peace with themselves through being comfortable with who they are and accepting themselves, others, and the world as they are. Further, a self-actualized person develops and maintains deep interpersonal relationships with others (Roberts, 2007). Still, there is no relationship that is perfect and that is not fraught with some misgivings from time to time. The key to healthy relationships is the ability to heal relationships, but healing relationships with others is nigh impossible without first healing relationships with ourselves (Hammer & Hammer, 2015).

With this in mind, introspection is important to identify what it is that perhaps causes one to feel unpeaceful within. Carl Rogers' (1959) concept of congruence helps deconstruct some of the dissonances that leads to loss of inner peace and, consequently, stressful relationships with others. Congruence refers to the consonance or dissonance between ideas one holds about oneself and the messages about oneself from outside. A person's "ideal self" may not be consistent with what actually happens in life and with the experiences of the person. Hence, a difference may exist between the ideal self and the actual experience. This is called incongruence and can undermine feelings of agency and self-worth (Ismail & Tekke, 2015). Where a person's ideal self and actual experience are consistent or very similar, a state of congruence exists. Rarely, if ever, does a total state of congruence exist; most people experience a certain amount of incongruence because of the need to follow societal norms and act in socially acceptable ways.

At times, differing messages across social groups and systems may also feed into nuanced feelings of congruence and incongruence. For example, where a person is brought up in a religious culture where being homosexuality is considered sinful and against nature but lives within a broader a social context where such positions are considered discriminatory at best and illegal at worst. Depending on this person's sexuality and experience in different contexts, they would have to grapple with accepting homosexuality to fit a social context or rejecting it based on belief systems they were socialized to embrace. Another example is a person who believes that the earth and all its resources belong to all creatures (human and otherwise) but lives in a capitalist society where the right to private property is enshrined in law. These examples speak to the interpretive element of identity congruence and incongruence as individuals build understandings of themselves by engaging in and making meaning of everyday life (Spencer et al., 1997).

For a person to "grow", they need an environment that provides them with genuineness (e.g. openness and self-disclosure), acceptance (e.g. being seen with unconditional positive regard), and empathy (e.g. being listened to and understood; Rogers 1959). Without these, relationships and healthy personalities will not develop as they should, much like a tree will not grow without sunlight and water. People need to be in an environment where inner peace and peaceful relationships can be fostered through genuine dialogue and acceptance of one another with their faults and failings. This perspective on self-actualization mirrors theoretical work in peace

psychology, highlighting the coupling of environmental and personal influences on peace as intra- and interpersonal states (e.g. Christie, 2006; Nelson, 2014).

In fact, Rogers' ideas can be connected more deeply to these frameworks on peace. He suggests a number of ways in which human beings can work towards personal growth and development, with the extension being that these strategies can also promote peace across levels. The first of these is being open to experiences in life, especially both positive and negative emotions. Accepting negative emotions may be a bit more of a challenge; nonetheless, working through negative feelings and not resorting to ego defence mechanisms will lead to personal growth. Further, Rogers recommends that individuals make the effort to be in touch with experiences in life by undergoing them without prejudging and having preconceptions. This, no doubt, can be difficult because of socialization that may promote a set of values, beliefs, and frameworks on the world that are entrenched in the psyche. In relation to Galtung's conceptualization of violence (1990), people often internalize systems and norms that are antithetical to personal growth and development from the cultural violence that pervades their social environments. Being able to live in the here-and-now experience would help a person be able to live and fully appreciate the present without giving in to the urge to think about the past or forward into the future. Such present-centred mindfulness has proven benefits and promotes more peaceful inner states, as well as offers an important component of peace education amidst violent social contexts (Grossman et al., 2004; Salomon, 2014; Waelde et al., 2019).

Continuing on a theme of mindfulness, Rogers encourages individuals to trust their feelings and instincts and to be confident that their decisions and choices are right. To this end, choices and decisions are an expression of who one really is. In contrast, decisions and choices based on external forces could lead to feeling incongruent and could stifle growth.

The last two characteristics suggested by Rogers as hallmarks of people who are fully human and alive are creativity and a fulfilled life. Personal growth is not achieved by playing it safe all the time but is characterized by creative thinking, taking reasonable risks, and being open to change and seeking new experiences. These would help achieve a happier and more satisfied life, as well as serve as a crucial component in negative peace through supporting pluralistic understandings that can be the basis of an effective conflict resolution (e.g., Arai, 2009).

Fully functioning, congruent people are well adjusted, well balanced, and interesting to know (Rogers, 1951, 1959). This would include acceptance of oneself while having well-developed mindfulness of one's own inadequacies. This would be particularly important for interpersonal relationships where one may consciously or unconsciously have caused hurt to another or be hurt by another. A congruent and fully functioning person would be able to recognize the hurt and seek forgiveness or offer forgiveness, which would both lead to a freeing experience within. The act of forgiveness here is not lip service but includes a desire and call to action to heal the harm done in line with principles of restorative justice. It is only when the harm done is made good to the extent possible that inner peace can be achieved, which can achieve genuine personal growth and, in turn, true happiness and interpersonal harmony.

Coping, Resilience, and the Psychology of Forgiveness

The previous section reviewed some characteristics of a self-actualized person and the conditions for personal growth, including being creative, open to new experiences, and able to develop and maintain strong interpersonal relationships. This strength of character promotes resiliency in the face of adversity and helps individuals cope more effectively with the unexpected curve balls that life inevitably presents. This section will detail how developing resilience and coping strategies is very much linked both emotionally and practically to restorative justice through forgiveness, which would in turn lead to inner peace and happiness.

Coping is typically defined as "ongoing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the results of the person" (Lazarus, 1993, p. 237 as quoted by Konstam et al., 2003). Coping is the ability to manage difficult situations by thinking through events rationally and coming up with a behavioural response (where necessary and appropriate) to meet the demands of the event and restore a state of equilibrium. That is why it is both a cognitive and a behavioural effort.

Further insight into this by Lazarus (1993) suggests that there are two major types of coping: problem focused and emotion focused. The function of problem-focused coping is to change the relationship of the individual vis-à-vis the environment by acting on the environment or on the individual. The function of emotion-focused coping is to change either (a) the way the stressful relationship with the environment is attended to (as in vigilance or avoidance) or (b) the relational meaning of what is happening, which mitigates the stress even though the actual conditions of the relationship have not changed (Lazarus, 1993). This is perhaps succinctly put, in the words of Reinhold Niebuhr (quoted by Shapiro 2014), as follows: "God, grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, to change the things I can and the Wisdom to know the difference." To cope means knowing when it is possible to change the environment to mitigate against the stress it causes but also recognizing that it is not always within one's ability to change the external environment. This is where working on oneself can build resilience and coping mechanisms to minimize the emotional impact of the external stressor.

It is therefore important to consider what helps develop resilience and an ability to cope. Many stressors are emotional and need a rational and emotional response, particularly when the stressful event is hurt caused by a relationship. This is where the concept of forgiveness bears thinking about and being discussed in more depth. Forgiveness thus provides an entryway for considering the role of restorative justice, including how it can serve to promote inner peace.

There is some empirical work on the connections between forgiveness, resilience, and inner peace. For example, Konstam, Holmes, and Levine (2003) conducted a study on empathy, selfism, and coping as elements in forgiveness with 92 university students. The uniqueness and innovativeness of this research was its effort to integrate the social and psychological literature related to forgiveness. They found that fostering empathy for the perpetrator's perspective aided in the process

of forgiveness. The findings also emphasized the potential significance of emotional coping and detachment in influencing the reduction of selfism (or ego), which is usually a key factor in high-conflict interpersonal situations. An undue focus on self-importance often impedes forgiving because forgiveness would be interpreted as a sign of weakness and hurt to one's pride. In contrast, a self-actualized person will not shy away from taking responsibility and looking at their own role in causing the stressful situation. Thus, the ability to forgive and make good harm done serves to enhance and achieve inner peace and, ultimately, happiness. Also, forgiveness shows an ability to be comfortable with who one is, recognizing that forgiving is truly an act of strength coming from a congruent person.

It is important to understand forgiveness, therefore, as an inherently internal and external phenomenon at the same time. Forgiveness is a rational choice; it is not about forgetting or condoning the wrongdoing (Worthington & Wade, 1999). Rather, forgiveness is a hallmark of a self-actualized person who has achieved personal growth and development by transcending the feelings of hate, anger, and bitterness towards the offender and developing feelings of empathy, love, and compassion. Its benefits can thus be both for personal well-being and interpersonal relationships (McCullough et al., 2000).

Scholars like Enright (2001) also assert that forgiveness is a choice. The act of choosing to forgive requires inner strength, but there are immense benefits to the rational choice of forgiveness. Meta-analyses have shown that forgiveness can reduce anxiety and depression and increase self-esteem and hopefulness (Wade et al., 2013). In this sense, genuine and correctly given forgiveness can replace destructive emotions (which can perpetuate inner or interpersonal violence) with unconditional positive regard and compassion. The benefit to the forgiver can be both a repair to relationships—in line with restorative justice—and inner peace. Forgiveness thus does not simply attend to negative peace and does not simply mean accepting continued abuse or even reconciling with the offender. Rather, giving the gift of forgiveness helps build inner positive peace by facilitating confronting and letting go of pain while reprising a victim's life, which may have been crippled by hurt, and setting themselves back on the path to a fulfilled life.

Empirical research demonstrates that forgiveness helps make individuals stronger and rise above the hurt and pain experienced from transgressions committed against them (Konstam et al., 2003; McCullough et al. 2000; Wade et al., 2013). Practising and striving to perfect the "art" of forgiveness can help continue to build inner strength, thus helping promote resilience and cope with other challenges that life will inevitably present. Practising forgiveness is a way of training oneself to achieve higher levels of self-actualization and be genuinely happy with who one is.

Restorative justice is typically understood as something that an offender has to "do" to restore the damage done to the victim by the offending act. Nevertheless, there is a part for the victim to play as well. Being able to have empathy for the perspective of someone—connect with their thoughts and feelings—who offends by transcending the natural feelings of hurt is a key element for developing coping abilities and resilience. Scholars have argued that empathy must play a pivotal role in reparation by centralizing how the act of harm and the harm itself were experienced by various parties, as well as bringing to the forefront the community and

individual factors underlying the offending (Warden, 2018). To this end, it allows for flexibility in understanding each person's and context's unique trajectory, which then allows for their perspectives and needs in relation to healing and resilience.

Another key element to achieving coping strategies and resilience is to deal with selfism through an ability to be detached, not in an unfeeling way but in a rational way that considers one's own mortality and transience in a world where relationships hold a greater value than ego and pride (Konstam et al., 2003). To this end, while restorative justice is inherently relational and about engaging with others, it does so in theory by re-conceptualizing relationships, power, and the individualization of harm and victimization (Johnstone, 2013).

Intrapersonal Forgiveness

While the previous section explores forgiveness as an interpersonal phenomenon that can promote inner peace, intrapersonal forgiveness is another critically important dimension. Perhaps much of the difficulty or even inability to forgive another stems from an inability to forgive oneself for both interpersonal and intrapersonal transgressions (Raj & Wiltermuth, 2016). Self-forgiveness can be understood as "a willingness to abandon self-resentment in the face of one's own acknowledged objective wrong, while fostering compassion, generosity, and love towards oneself" (Enright, 1996, p. 116). Hall and Fincham (2005) proposed another definition of self-forgiveness that is more focused on external manifestations: "a set of motivational changes whereby one becomes decreasingly motivated to avoid stimuli associated with the offense, decreasingly motivated to retaliate against the self (e.g., punish the self, engage in self-destructive behaviours, etc.), and increasingly motivated to act benevolently towards the self" (p. 623). In essence, self-forgiveness is the ability to show compassion and love towards oneself and avoid wanting to punish oneself (often exhibited through self-destructive behaviour). When one can forgive oneself, it makes it easier to be compassionate and forgive others because there is an implied acceptance of human weakness and vulnerability to do wrong (Raj & Wiltermuth, 2016). Self-forgiveness, however, can be difficult to achieve because when a person has a fully developed conscience, they tend to experience feelings of shame and guilt for wrongdoings. There is also a tendency to ruminate on the wrongdoing, thus prolonging the feeling of shame and guilt, making them more entrenched in one's psyche, and making it more difficult to forgive oneself.

Several scholars have established how important self-forgiveness is for one's mental health, with some making direct connections to the potential of restorative justice. As one example, Gavrielides (2022) proposes an extremely insightful theoretical perspective in disagreeing with views of restorative justice as a punishment. He introduces the concept of restorative pain: the pain a transgressor experiences for the harm committed. Experiencing that pain leads to cleansing or catharsis. Allowing oneself to experience self-inflicted restorative pain is at the same time punishment for the transgression caused while also promoting healing and cleansing within. A well-implemented restorative justice process can allow an individual

to tap into this pain and thus engage in self-forgiveness as well as interpersonal healing.

Empirical evidence also demonstrates the connection between forgiveness and psycho-social well-being. Mauger et al. (1992) developed scales to measure forgiveness of others and forgiveness of self as part of an inventory to sample personality disorders. The development of these scales was based on the responses of 237 outpatient counselling clients, and the scales had adequate internal consistency reliabilities and correlated with each other. In applying these scales to their sample, the researchers found a strong positive relationship between a lack of self-forgiveness and depression and anxiety. Feelings of guilt and shame can be psychologically crippling and lead to bitterness towards self, which can then be expressed in bitterness towards others, including loved ones. In turn, this bitterness can cause more feelings of intrapersonal guilt and shame, and the cycle can go on if not checked. Further, the more a person holds on to and ruminates over feelings of guilt and hurt, the heavier the psychological burden becomes and the more difficult and painful it would become to forgive and repair the damaged interpersonal or intrapersonal relationship. Other studies since the work of Mauger and colleagues have corroborated these close relationships between forgiveness and mental well-being (e.g. Berry et al., 2005; Brown, 2003; Macaskill et al., 2002).

There is evidence to show that the ability to forgive also has positive outcomes for physical health as well. An extensive research base supports these connections, suggesting that forgiveness and reparation have benefits for physical health and not only mental health (e.g. Toussaint et al., 2020). An example of this is a study conducted by Friedberg et al. (2007) examining the relationship between trait forgiveness and cardiovascular reactivity and recovery in 99 participants (mean age of 33.8 years) with normal cardiovascular parameters. Cardiovascular parameters were obtained during a normal period and then during an anger recall period. Participants filled out a self-report measure of forgiveness prior to the laboratory procedure. Although forgiveness was not related to cardiovascular reactivity, higher levels of trait forgiveness were predictive of lower diastolic blood pressure. The findings suggested that forgiveness may be related to overall reductions in blood pressure levels and may aid in recovery from stress. While peace psychology has traditionally and predominately focused on the psycho-social processes and mechanisms for positive and negative peace, the mind-body connection cannot be ignored and is salient in relation to forgiveness and intrapersonal and interpersonal peace (e.g. Toussaint & Webb, 2005).

Restorative Justice and Peace Psychology in Action

To develop resilience and coping, reparation using concepts of restorative justice and peace psychology becomes fundamentally important when it comes to both interpersonal and intrapersonal forgiveness. Integrating restorative justice, psychology, and peace can help promote fairness, respect, and dignity for all while making

violence less likely to occur and helping heal the painful and even harmful psychological effects of violence and hurt in relationships.

According to Zehr (1998), three key ideas support restorative justice. First, not only the direct victim but also the surrounding community have been affected by the offender's action. To this end, holistic restoration across multiple individuals and relationships is necessary. Second, the offender's obligation is to make amends with both the victim and the community involved. Third, and perhaps the most important, is the concept of healing, the process of unburdening the pain experienced in the context of the offence. This healing has transformative power. Rather than focusing on revenge, the purpose of restorative justice is transformation for the victim, offender, and relations between them and the community. For forgiveness to be truly meaningful and psychologically impactful, it needs to be accompanied by an act of restoration to make good the damage to the extent possible. As suggested earlier in the text, this healing could also involve catharsis or cleansing brought about by self-inflicted pain that is not masochistic but rather is in touch with and experiencing remorse for the harm done to oneself or others.

Illustrative Examples

Concrete examples can help define and extend the connection between restorative justice, peace psychology, and this framing of resilience and coping. In an intrapersonal context, this application could be an offence that is damaging to oneself. An example would be breaking a promise to oneself to reduce alcohol consumption to 3 days a week from daily consumption of alcohol. This transgression involves harm to oneself and undermines self-congruence as one's actions misalign with one's values and desires for the self. Reparation and restorative justice have a place even in intrapersonal contexts where the victim and the offender are the same person. The act of making amends is still relevant to help reduce feelings of guilt, shame, and doubt that may accompany the harm. Such a healing process would involve repairing by not only reducing alcohol consumption to make good the transgression of the previous week but also in acknowledging the emotional component and forgiving based on the reparative actions taken in the following week. The result would be experiencing healing and transformation; feelings of guilt would dissipate, and rejuvenated feelings of competence and self-worth would support strengthened commitment to reducing alcohol consumption. In this case, the relational reparation is with oneself.

Intrapersonal forgiveness could also be forgiving oneself for the harm caused to another, even if the other is not aware of the harm. An example is being unfaithful to a partner in a relationship. This can be a complex situation for restitution and reparation, but the principles remain the same: focusing on the relational meaning, setting aside selfism, and being accountable for the transgression by engaging in a meaningful act of reparation and restitution that involves confessing and apologizing. Making amends could involve a renewal of the formal commitment made to the

partner but would also depend on the relationship and the other person. If the right conditions for seeking and giving forgiveness are met, this could result in healing and transformation, which has the potential to take the relationship to a higher plane than where it was before the transgression.

A second, common example is a situation where one has spoken harsh words to a loved one. Using the conceptualization of restorative justice mentioned above in dealing with this situation, saying “Sorry” would not be sufficient because there is no empirical evidence of the remorse felt. There would need to be an accompanying action to repair the damage, such as telling the person how much they are loved and putting the harsh words in the context of a moment of anger. This involves putting away selfism and resorting to emotion-focused coping by centring on the relational meaning of what has happened. In other words, addressing the relational impacts and taking action to heal them demonstrate that the relationship is treasured and valued above the negative emotional outburst. This would result in healing and transformation for the offender and the victim, which could intervene in cycles of direct violence (negative peace) or help build more harmonious interpersonal relations (e.g. a culture of peace).

To this end, restorative justice appropriately applied can help transform a situation of hurt into a state of healing and cleansing. Such processes are critical elements of both intrapersonal and interpersonal peace (Christie et al., 2008; Nelson, 2014) and are fostered by a restorative focus on forgiveness. Still, emotions of guilt and shame must also be considered as they will invariably accompany a transgression by someone with a well-formed conscience.

Understanding Guilt and Shame

Emotions, like guilt and shame, can leave more lasting imprints on a person than an academic idea or a routine event. Memories of events evoking strong emotions selectively persist because emotion enhances event-memory retention (Wagner et al., 2006). Therefore, to build resilience and coping abilities, it is vitally important to be aware of emotions that can pose challenges to these processes while finding ways to recognize and harness them productively.

Shame is a powerful emotion that can cause people to feel defective, unaccepted, and damaged beyond repair, as well as to respond more aggressively (see Christie, 2011; Elison et al., 2014). Still, it is important to make a distinction between guilt and shame. On the one hand, guilt is a feeling caused when one did something wrong or perceived doing something wrong. On the other hand, shame is a feeling that one’s *whole self* is wrong, and it may not be related to a specific behaviour or event (Salters-Pedneault et al., 2004).

While shaming can be described as a reaction to a deviant behaviour that causes shame to the deviant, a theory in restorative justice offers a different perspective. Braithwaite (1989) expounds on two different forms of shaming. *Disintegrative shaming* has a stigmatizing effect and excludes a person from the community. It

results in labelling that is likely to result in re-offending and the perpetuation of violence because offenders may accept and act out the label. *Reintegrative shaming* involves not only disapproval of deviance but also signs of forgiveness and willingness to reintegrate the offender into the community. This section focuses on the concept of shame in its disintegrative aspect, though reintegrative shaming also offers insights into how restorative justice can contribute to re-establishing peaceful communal relations.

Some empirical studies explore guilt and shame and their impacts on offenders. One such study is by Kashdan and Ciarrochi (2013), who discuss an initiative undertaken with offenders through an Impact of Crime (IOC) workshop, an intervention rooted in restorative justice principles. Offenders are supported to engage with issues of responsibility and the question of blame. Offenders often experience feelings of guilt and shame. Kashdan and Ciarrochi highlight that guilt and shame (with its disintegrative connotation) are quite different as emotions, with divergent implications when it comes to coping and developing resilience. Shame involves a focus on self that is humiliating and in which the person considers themselves as a "bad person". Consequently, they feel small, worthless, and perhaps powerless. In contrast, guilt focuses on a specific act or behaviour and the understanding that "I have done a bad thing", rather than believing that "I am a bad person". Kashdan and Ciarrochi found that feeling guilt can generate regret and motivate one to take reparative action to address the harm caused and engage more meaningfully in restorative justice practice.

Theoretical arguments also articulate the unhelpful impact of the disintegrative understanding of shame and the possibility of channelizing guilt suitably to achieve restorative justice. Salters-Pedneault et al. (2004) argues that when one feels guilty about the wrong thing they did, they can take steps to make up for it and put it behind them. But feeling shame, or being convinced that *one* is the thing that is wrong, offers no clear-cut way to "come back" to feeling more positive about oneself. These self-perceptions are critical not only for self-congruence but also for laying the groundwork for internal peace (Nelson, 2014).

Although guilt can often have a negative connotation to it, it can be a useful emotion to harness, and when managed appropriately, it can result in reparation that strengthens coping and resilience. This strength emanates from having developed a more positive view of oneself after having performed the act of reparation, in keeping with principles of restorative justice of repairing hurt caused and transformation of both victim and offender.

Forgiveness in Eastern and Western Traditions

Until this point, the chapter has aimed to outline a framework for understanding how self-congruence, self-actualization, resilience, coping, and forgiveness are related to the psychosocial quest for inner and interpersonal peace and can be deepened through restorative justice as a key to humanizing relationships with others and

with oneself. This section moves on to the question of *how* one can achieve this by drawing Eastern and Western traditions to help understand how to engage in restorative justice and attain inner peace.

It is commonly believed that forgiveness came to prominence in Judaic and Christian thought and that the modern concept of forgiveness, in its full richness, did not exist in ancient traditions. While the idea of interpersonal forgiveness and the values and attitudes that accompany and define it emerged later (Konstan, 2010), the seeds of forgiveness are embedded in the long histories of many religious traditions that call for purity of heart and love.

In religious traditions (both formal and informal), forgiveness is an important concept. Major world religions have structures to promote forgiveness, and examples are provided below. Religious constructions present forgiveness as a value tied to compassion and empathy. These frameworks are often justified in religious scripture and translated into rituals to actualize forgiveness in concrete ways. In this sense, both Western and Eastern traditions suggest strategies to help human beings engage in giving and receiving forgiveness and thus live a more fulfilled life. These strategies include dealing with guilt and shame, which, as noted above, are important to enable one to be freed from the psychological distress these cause.

Some research has been conducted on religious frameworks and forgiveness. For example, Witvliet, Ludwig, and Bauer (2002) studied the psychological aspects of asking for forgiveness, as well as the role of religion in seeking forgiveness. Specifically, they assessed transgressors' (20 male and 20 female participants) subjective emotions and physiological responses. They found that when people sought forgiveness, they experienced increased hope, along with reduced sadness, anger, guilt, and shame. These emotions can be understood, in turn, as fostering inner peace from having engaged in a restorative justice process.

In another study, Krause and Ellison (2003) examined, in older adults, the relationship between forgiveness by God, forgiveness of others, and psychological well-being. The findings suggested that forgiving others enhanced psychological well-being more than only feeling the experience of being forgiven by God. Where participants expected transgressors to engage in reparation, there was more psychological distress than where forgiveness was offered unconditionally. Finally, participants who felt forgiven by God were less likely to expect transgressors to perform acts of contrition. One interpretation may be that they achieve inner peace and do not always need the transgressor to complete an act of restorative justice to bring about inner peace.

Specific Religious Frameworks

Human beings generally like to have concrete ways of expressing and experiencing abstract concepts like forgiveness and reparation. This is where religious rituals can play a part in helping people through ritualistic actions to seek and give forgiveness.

These acts of forgiveness can significantly help people achieve inner peace and engage in acts of restorative justice.

Judaism contains considerable writings and rituals devoted to emphasizing the need for a person who caused harm to sincerely apologize. The wronged person is then religiously bound to forgive. However, even without an apology, forgiveness is considered a pious act (Deot 6:9). Teshuva (literally "Returning") is a way of atoning, which requires the cessation of a harmful act, regret over the act, confession, and repentance. Yom Kippur is the Day of Atonement when Jews particularly strive to perform Teshuva. These various values, rituals, and institutionalized processes in Judaism point to the need for relational healing and the roles of the transgressor, victim, and community in these processes (Rye et al., 2000).

Turning to another major religion, the word Islam means peace in Arabic and is derived from the Semitic (Hebrew) word Salem, which means "peace" (Khan, 1988). In Islam, forgiveness is a prerequisite for genuine peace. Forgiveness is held as the preferred course of action whenever possible. This assertion is described in the Qu'ran: "Although the just penalty for an injustice is an equivalent to retribution, those who pardon and maintain righteousness are rewarded by God. He does not love the unjust" (Qur'an 42:40). Rasool (2021) suggests that from an Islamic perspective, repentance has to do with the relationship between the individual and Allah, the Almighty. There are inherent moral, psychological, and spiritual factors in the process and experience of repentance. This rooting in peace can be traced to *Tawbah*, an integral part of the practice within the Islamic psychological paradigm. Drawing on Rasool (2021) defines *Tawbah* as the process of turning one's heart towards the Divine Presence. This can be done by regretting past evil deeds, returning the rights or property of others that were unjustly usurped, and asking for the forgiveness of a person who has been wronged.

Forgiveness also figures prominently in the Christian religion. The basic tenets of this faith place an emphasis on repentance and seeking forgiveness from God (Brown, 1997). Moreover, a central message in the New Testament involves the importance of forgiving other people for things they have done (Rye et al., 2001). The Lord's Prayer in the New Testament of the Holy Bible (Matthew 6) best exemplifies this attitude with the line "Forgive our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us". Furthermore, the final words believed to be uttered by Jesus Christ on the cross demonstrate the importance of forgiveness within Christianity, which has resonated through time: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34). Finally, Jesus is also described in the Bible as having taught his disciples that they should forgive unconditionally and love their enemies, and if someone strikes them on one cheek, they should turn the other cheek (Matthew 5:9 & Luke 6:27–31).

The Catholic tradition of sacramental reconciliation extends from this textual focus on forgiveness and can be understood as having psychological benefits. The individual confesses their sins and transgressions in a safe and confidential space to a priest, facilitating an experience of unconditional forgiveness from God. Importantly, they are also required by the ritual to perform some form of contrition. This act could relieve the penitent from psychological distress of guilt and, perhaps,

shame while motivating them to, in turn, forgive their transgressors unconditionally. This thus has a dual benefit psychologically to the penitent, making them more resilient and promoting both internal and interpersonal peace.

Forgiveness, restorative justice, and peace can also be seen in Hinduism. The concept of forgiveness is found in Vedic literature in the Hindu *Kshama* and is often combined with *kripa* (tenderness), *daya* (kindness), and *karuna* (compassion). In Hindu Dharma, not only should one forgive others, but one must also seek forgiveness if one has wronged someone else. Forgiveness is to be sought from the individual wronged, as well as the society at large, through acts of charity, purification, fasting, and meditation. Forgiveness is essential for one to free oneself from negative thoughts and be able to focus on blissfully living a moral and ethical (a *dharmic)* life. In the highest self-realized state, forgiveness becomes the essence of one's personality, where the persecuted person remains unaffected, without feeling like a victim, and being free from anger (McCullough et al., 2001). The closest to a ritualistic celebration of forgiveness in Hinduism is perhaps the festival of Holi, which is the Hindu festival of colors. Traditionally, this celebration incorporates a restorative focus as a day to mark forgiveness, meet others, and repair relationships (Agarwal 2013).

In summary, this section has reflected on how various religious traditions have considered forgiveness and reparation as an integral part of being a good human being. They further emphasize that forgiveness needs restorative actions of contrition to truly restore oneself and one's relationships. Healing relationships with self and others brings about inner peace, which is the goal for a congruent and fully self-actualized person, while concurrently helping address dynamics that can perpetuate cycles of violence (Nelson, 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to discuss and reflect upon the concepts of restorative justice and peace psychology in the context of human relationships—both intrapersonal and interpersonal. Engaging in building peace across levels and in response to diverse forms of violence requires recognizing that human beings are not perfect and will inevitably engage in actions that hurt themselves and others. These actions can cause anger, bitterness, and fractured relationships, which stifle individual growth and prevent fulfilling one's true potential as a human being.

A vital component of a peaceful and self-actualized existence entails reflecting on the need to acknowledge the harm done and work towards repairing it. As laid out in this chapter, such a reflection sets a path towards inner peace while contributing to interpersonal harmony. Achieving inner peace can make individuals and groups stronger, more resilient, and more able to cope with adversities. To this end, the chapter has discussed psychological and religious tools available to help develop the ability to forgive and live a life characterized by compassion and love.

As has been emphasized throughout the chapter, the key is to first develop a genuine love for oneself and an ability to forgive oneself even if this means going through a process of restorative pain. Restoration may not be easy but can result in cleansing and transformation. Genuine and unconditional positive regard for self is the first step towards being able to have unconditional positive regard for others. In turn, this inward-out movement can then make forgiveness that much easier, building both internal and external processes to foster the development of congruent, self-actualized, peaceful, and truly happy people.

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Chapter 10
The Untreated Wounds of Crime Victims in Tanzania: A Psychological Consideration

Julena Jumbe Gabagambi

Introduction

The current formal criminal justice system in Tanzania involves institutional criminal justice agencies such as the police, prosecutors, courts, probation, and prisons. All these institutions are meant to ensure that justice is not only done but is also understood to be done by the populace. In other words, citizens should believe that the criminal justice system effectively identifies, prosecutes, punishes, and addresses wrongdoers. Irrespective of the perceived success in achieving their tasks, these institutions are still encumbered with challenges (Alemika, 2009). One of such challenges is attending to the psychological needs of crime victims. The United Nations (UN) defines crime victims as "persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those laws proscribing criminal abuse of power" (United Nations General Assembly, 1985). Close relatives of direct victims can also be considered indirect victims, who deserve the attention of the criminal justice system because they moral trauma or their human rights were violated (e.g. *The Beneficiaries of Nobert Zongo v Burkina Faso,* 2015). This definition also includes those who suffer at the hands of government institutions through acts or omissions that lead to the violation of individual rights as provided for in domestic, regional, and international legal instruments.

For a long time, criminal justice systems negated the needs of crime victims in the name of public interest (Kelly, 1984). Some scholars contend that what amounts to victims' interest has no clear definition and that such a loophole creates more

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questions about the practicability of victims' participation, leading to deep psychological harm for victims (Baumgartner, 2008; Waller, 2011). Within the Tanzanian context, this balance is acknowledged. For example, the Tanzanian Court of Appeal stated in *Kukutia Ole Pumbuni and Another v Attorney General and Another*: "In considering any act which restricts fundamental rights of the individual … the Court has to take into account and strike a balance between the interests of the individual and those of the society of which the individual is a component" (Tanzania Law Report, 1993 p. 159). As welcoming as the court's statement is, the reality on the ground is a different picture. The adversarial nature of Tanzania's criminal justice system—in which the interests of crime victims are "cared" for by the prosecutor's office and other similar institutions (Sect. 9, National Prosecutions Act, Cap.430, 2019)—is not assuring.

From the above, three issues arise: the extent to which the Tanzanian criminal justice system offers psychological healing to the victims of crimes, the possible approaches to be used in meeting the needs of victims of crime, and whether Tanzania complies with its regional and international obligations in meeting the psychological needs of crime victims. The focus on these three issues complements previous research on restorative justice practices in Africa, and Tanzania in particular. To be explicit, restorative justice as used in this context entails an approach to justice that connects victims, offenders, and communities aiming at finding the root cause of criminality, restoring victims, making offenders accountable for their actions, and involving communities in finding solutions to criminalities in their respective communities (Johnstone & Van Ness, 2007).

This chapter addresses these three issues through the restorative justice and peace lens. It begins with an introduction to victims' rights, psychological needs, and peace and restorative justice. The chapter proceeds by detailing the Tanzanian criminal justice system and institutions, as well as how victims of crime are treated in these systems and the psychological consequences. There is then a review of regional and international instruments related to this matter before a discussion is made on Tanzanian praxis on victims' treatment in the criminal justice system and the need for psychological healing. This framework provides insights into the criminal justice system in a developing country, with particular attention to restorative justice and its potential to propel peace among communities. Peace can prevail under such an implementation of restorative justice because fairness and respect for all allow the victim to have a say about what should be done to repair the harm. A culture of peace is fostered because the offender is not treated as an outcast but rather as a good citizen who has done a bad act and who can be assisted to understand the consequences of his or her actions to account for such actions. The international community and field of peace psychology can therefore learn from the Tanzanian experience that restorative frameworks in criminal justice systems can more effectively address the root causes of criminality (e.g. Gabagambi, 2021) and the psychological harm it creates. On the whole, the chapter advocates for consideration for the psychology of victims of crimes in Tanzania and suggests that for peace to thrive and prevail, restorative justice should be prioritized. The chapter seeks therefore to articulate the benefits of considering how the psychological

consideration of crime victims might inform the current era. The chapter opens new arenas for researchers, academicians, and policymakers at the intersection of peace psychology and restorative justice in Tanzania and beyond.

Victim's Rights, Psychological Needs, Peace, and Restorative Justice

The definition of crime as a breach of the penal code instead of a violation of an individual's rights has long led to the negation of crime victims' needs around the globe (Dearing, 2016). Specifically in the case of Tanzania, crime victims' voices are not heard in the current criminal justice system (Lugakingira & Maina, 2008). In the aftermath of a crime, victims usually seek assistance from justice system institutions such as the police, prosecutions, and courts to have their concerns handled and to receive needed protection. In turn, the criminal justice system is a means by which governments uphold social control by protecting communities, enforcing laws, and preventing crime by arresting, arraigning, and managing those who break social order or cause harm (Siegel & Worrall, 2018).

However, victims' encounters with such institutions may turn into duress when they are exposed to procedural legal technicalities that are complex and when psychological anxieties resulting from the crime are not addressed (UNODC, 1999). Such procedural hurdles can become traumatic experiences of their own. To this end, Elliot, Thomas and Ogloff (2014) opine that crime in itself is not the only source of psychological suffering for victims, and an important part of emotional recovery is how victims are treated by the criminal justice system. However, sometimes officials in the system might, in the course of delivering justice, overlook, ignore, or undermine the victim and their side of the story (Muganyizi, 2010). The interference may negatively impact victims' recovery from trauma and thus their inner states of peace (Orth, 2002). Furthermore, such an experience could be counter to the types of integrative solutions needed in conflict resolution and peacebuilding (Christie et al., 2008). In this way, considering victims' psychological recovery is critical to a holistic approach to peace in response to crime.

Criminal proceedings are inherently situated within the dynamics of violence and peace and have psychological implications: they are very stressful because of the confrontation between the victim and the offender. If justice officials are not enforcing the victims' rights, then justice and healing are illusory rather than real (Garvin & LeClaire, 2013). The negation of victims' rights is mostly perpetuated by criminal trials that inhibit prosecutors from seeing victims as survivors of crimes and equal participants in the process while also being influenced by a lack of mandate to offer holistic care to victims of crime (Bakers & Anderson, 2019). The adversarial nature of criminal proceedings does not offer an opportunity for crime victims to explain the extent to which the crime committed against them has psychologically affected them.

This opportunity could be provided using restorative justice practices such as mediation, conferencing, and circles. These practices allow the victim to tell their part of the story and play an active role in developing responses and modes of accountability that one believes could address the psychological wound (Worth et al., 2016). They also allow victims to hear from offenders as to why they were made targets in the first place. The offenders are also more likely to have to face the extent of the harm they have caused and are therefore enabled to engage in remedies rather than simply suffer punishment (e.g., Gavrielides, 2018). This whole procedure allows healing to take place and resolve conflicts and foster forgiveness and reconciliation between the conflicting parties. In contrast, through the conventional justice system, a victims' healing is assumed to take place through the criminal justice institutions, which often do not engage the "actual" victims and cannot easily relate to the pain suffered. From this misguided focus, the system perpetuates the pain of the actual victim.

Empirical evidence demonstrates the potential for healing and peacemaking offered by restorative justice. For example, Gavrielides (2018) speaks about a study that was carried out in ten London courts in which 446 of 1201 victims who were consulted expressed their interest in restorative justice. He found that 80% of victims were satisfied with the restorative justice procedures, describing these practices as fair and inclusive. More importantly, the victims in restorative justice processes showed satisfaction in terms of telling their part of the story directly to the offender. They indicated that this ensured that the offender understood the kind of victimization they went through. Interestingly, Gavrielides also found that 80% of offenders were ready to participate in restorative justice practices.

Part of the potential of restorative justice lies in the fact that victims and offenders are usually juxtaposed as antagonists but deconstructing this framework can bring about peace. Engaging the victims in this process of deconstruction need not be tied to legal professionals only; rather, psychologists, health professionals, and social workers need to be involved so that victims can be empowered (Gavrielides, 2022).

International and Regional Instruments and Institutions Affecting the Treatment of Victims of Crime

Regional and international instruments on victims of crime rights stress the need to repair and compensate individuals whose rights are violated by either state institutions or other individuals. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention Against Torture, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. However, such efforts have not been able to remedy the psychological torture often endured by victims of crime, particularly in Tanzania. The instruments discussed in this section highlight the potential grounding of the treatment of victims of crimes in relation to restorative justice in the Tanzanian context.

The Statute of the International Criminal Court

The International Criminal Court (ICC) provides an opportunity for victims to actively participate in matters of their concern. Article 43 of the ICC Statute on Victims and Witnesses Unit stipulates:

> The Registrar shall set up a Victims and Witnesses Unit within the Registry. This Unit shall provide among other things, counselling and other appropriate assistance for witnesses, victims who appear before the Court, and others who are at risk on account of testimony given by such witnesses. The Unit shall include staff with expertise in trauma, including trauma related to crimes of sexual violence.

Furthermore, the Rome Statute specifically deals with crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes, opening to a great extent a new window for victims' active participation.

Nevertheless, scholars like Zegveld (2019) claim that there are still some challenges within the ICC's legal framework. Zegveld argues that the interests of crime victims are not given the credence they deserve. She stresses that apart from seeing perpetrators punished, victims have other psychological needs, which the ICC seems not well suited to meet. Still, the ICC incorporates retributive and restorative justice models all together in its functioning. Perpetrators are punished and sentenced to serve their jail terms, but victims are also given the chance to actively participate in the proceedings and, where possible, be granted reparations. Such a mending is believed to be in the interest of both the affected communities in post-conflict situations and also the victims of crimes (ICC, 2012). In both cases, the goal is to promote positive peace, whether creating conditions to prevent the recurrence of violence or supporting forgiveness and reconciliation with attention to victims' psychological states.

All in all, the ICC stresses the need for compensation, reparation, and restitution. Such a move could awaken East African countries like Tanzania to review their laws and approaches to handling victims with an eye for how the lack of restorative approaches deepens victims' psychological suffering and feeds into cycles of violence (Olugbuo & Wachira, 2011).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention against Torture

As Van Boven (2009) argues, victims are human beings, and governments and other actors must work to uphold their human rights as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948). Unfortunately, victims in most cases do not enjoy these entitlements because of a gap between what they are entitled to and what they experience. The gap is created by social and political obstacles, such as reluctance of the society and authorities to acknowledge that wrongs were committed, financial hurdles, biased distribution of resources, and victims'

marginalization because they lack the knowledge and capacity to present and pursue their claims (Van Boven, 2009).

In support of the realization of crime victims' rights, the UN has urged member states to formulate mental, social, educational, and economic policies that focus on preventing victimization and assistance to crime victims. For instance, the wording of Article 18 of the UDHR (1948) provides that *everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted to him by the constitution or by the law.* A literal interpretation of the word "remedy" incorporates the psychological needs of crime victims. This point is further clarified in the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power (1985), which emphasizes under Article 14 that psychological, social, medical, and other necessary materials should be readily available to victims.

Moreover, the UN Convention Against Torture (1984) gives room for a crime victim to be compensated because of torture and to be assisted in the rehabilitation process. In case the tortured person dies, his or her relatives should be given compensation instead. This Convention is relevant in restorative justice processes because one of the outcomes is compensation. Compensating and rehabilitating victims of crime complement the restorative justice paradigm by increasing the reparation and satisfaction of crime victims (Ghoreishi, 2016).

At the time of writing this chapter, Tanzania had not signed or ratified the Convention Against Torture. The Tanzanian constitution does address torture under Article 13 (6) (d), stating that "No person shall be subjected to torture, cruel or inhumane and degrading treatment". Still, the practices of the conventional criminal justice system and institutions to a greater extent could lead to crime victims' psychological duress because of the complexities involved while seeking justice. Worth noting, however, is that the Tanzanian courts' interpretations are to a great extent not in line with internationally ratified conventions (Makulilo, 2020). Thus, although the Convention Against Torture sets an important precedent and framework (De Wet, 2004), its enforcement for the time being is more illusory than real.

The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights

The establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights aimed to protect human rights in Africa (African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, 2021). A demonstrative case of the Court's purpose is *Lucien Ikili Rashid v. The United Republic of Tanzania*. Here, the Court was of the view that the complainant, who was alleged to have been in Tanzania illegally, had his dignity as a human being violated by the actions of the government officials who bent him over in front of his children and performed a bodily cavity search. As such, the Court ordered Tanzania to significantly compensate him (Application No.009/2015).

Interesting to note is the fact that the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, which is currently hosted in Tanzania, operates with the spirit of reparation

and restoration of crime victims. Certainly, the praxis of the African Court demonstrates care for the physical, economic, and psychological harm caused to crime victims. One example is the case of *Nobert Zongo* vs *Burkina Faso*. Family members brought a suit to the court following the death of their relative, who was believed to have been murdered by state officials. The family claimed to have suffered emotionally because of both the depth and the complexity of handling the matter through the Burkina Faso justice system. They waited 8 years for notification from the court to be able to provide a judge with information likely to help track down the perpetrators. They spent endless hours in front of the chambers of counsel and investigating magistrate in search of updates and information. They passed many sleepless nights brooding over the difficulties encountered in the quest for the truth. For the beneficiaries, all of this had been a trying ordeal. Thus, the court ordered Burkinafaso to pay significant amounts to the spouse, children, and parents as reparation for the death of their loved one. Losing a close family member cannot be calculated monetarily; nevertheless, when criminal justice institutions acknowledge their fault and agree to offer compensation, they validate the psychological tensions that family members as crime victims might experience (*Nobert Zongo v. Burkina Faso*, Application N.013/2011). This process represents an acknowledgement of their humanity and a respectful culture of peace played out through institutions.

In understanding the rights of victims of human rights violations, one example is the Tanzanian case *Alex Thomas v. The United Republic of Tanzania* (2019). The plaintiff claimed that he was a victim of human rights violations by the Tanzanian criminal justice institutions, which did not grant him a fair trial. In this case, the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights decided that the Tanzanian government should compensate the plaintiff and make reparations for the psychological harm he and his family endured.

Sadly, on November 21, 2019, Tanzania withdrew from Article 34(6) of the African Charter's Protocol, the provision by which states accept the court's competence to receive cases from individuals and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Such a move appears to be a politically motivated attempt to silence the rights of NGOs and individuals in the region.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides for every individual whose rights have been violated to seek remedy irrespective of the fact that the violators are working on behalf of the state. Officials in criminal justice systems have long been blamed for violating the rights of individuals, such as wrongful convictions and other outcomes that impinge upon several human rights of the concerned victim. These actions undermine not only citizens' rights but also trust, equity, and democratic procedures that are foundational for peaceful societies (Moghaddam, 2019).

Nevertheless, there is often a gap between the ICCPR and what happens in practice. Holding accountable criminal justice officials who violate victims' rights is challenging in a country like Tanzania, which lacks the rule of law and transparency (Makulilo, 2008). Even though Tanzania is a signatory to the ICCPR, such violations are not addressed. While the state should be the main protector of human rights, in this case, the victim's rights are violated by state actors. Human rights violations by state institutions linger because citizens are not given the room to challenge such violations and hold state institutions accountable (Omnkalu, 2003). Furthermore, Tanzania withdrew in 2017 from the Open Government Partnership, an initiative meant to promote transparency, citizens' participation, and accountability (The Citizen, 13 November 2017).

Overall, citizens' participation could prevent violence and its reverberations because, in most cases, they are better placed to know the causes of violence and possible ways of propelling peace, unlike when they are excluded in the process. Accountability and having procedures for citizens to advocate for their rights are also critical elements of the connection between democracy and peace at a societal level (Moghaddam, 2019). In relation to this issue of victim participation, some scholars maintain that reparative justice prevents a victim from taking the law into his or her own hands (Zedner, 1994). To this end, it helps prevent the victim from becoming a criminal themselves and contributes to negative peace by ending cycles of violence. This framework is valid in the Tanzanian context because in some incidents, citizens decide to take the law into their own hands, claiming that when crimes are committed, law enforcement officials do not take serious action against the offender (Tanzania Human Rights Report, 2015).

Moreover, peace is likely to flourish when a victim's mind is at peace knowing that procedures were just and fair. Indeed, Tyler (2007) observes that for institutions to be considered fair, people must perceive the procedures as satisfying their needs. Since restorative justice is meant to heal the wounds of crime victims, its incorporation in the conventional criminal justice system must entail prioritizing the victim's perspective and needs.

The Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power

Articles 19 to 23 of the UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse (1985) require that victims of violations of human rights and humanitarian laws should be restoratively compensated, such as in employment and property, whenever possible. Moreover, victims need to be renumerated for any economic loss, mental and physical harm, and legal or psychological services.

Tanzanian Victim's Experience with the Criminal Justice System

The current Tanzanian criminal justice system borrows much from the British legal system as the country was under the British administration from 1919 to 1961. In 1920, the British introduced the Tanganyika Order in Council and passed the Native Courts Ordinance of 1920 to govern the administration of justice in the territory. Currently, criminal justice processes and institutions in Tanzania borrow much from the British legal system, including an adversarial and retributive focus on justice (Mashamba, 2014).

The British imposition of their adversarial system in African colonies was predicated on their conviction that wherever the English King had sovereignty, English common law had to be implemented (Hulsebosch, 2003). Indeed, when they were adjudicating criminal cases, the colonialists never considered local customs or laws. Instead, they relied on their self-appointed assessors and used their case laws. This practice localized understandings of justice and weakened indigenous institutions, which in the end caused the justice systems to lose legitimacy in the eyes of the colonized peoples (Sanders, 1987). This legacy has had lasting effects in Tanzania, and challenges to promoting positive peace because of the lack of attention to citizens' psychosocial needs and victims' voices continue more broadly to this day.

The current Tanzanian justice system treats a victim as a witness, but in actuality, their perspectives are not given credence. They are ignored and, as some scholars argue, they are forgotten by the system (Lugakingira & Maina, 2008). Prior to the introduction of common law in Tanzania, criminal wrongs were regarded as private wrongs, with victims actively participating in the resolution of a conflict and suggesting consequences and responses (Kuwali, 2014).

The rest of this section demonstrates the ways that a more restorative approach across the criminal justice system could support cultures of peace in Tanzania. The argument is laid out across the roles of different factors, from prosecutors to police to legal procedures.

The Role of Prosecutors

In 2019, the Tanzanian government enacted the *Plea Bargaining Act* in an effort to ensure that a victim is made an active participant in the criminal justice system. This act highlights the victim's interests in a criminal trial. Additionally, rule number 7 of the Tanzanian 2021 plea bargaining rules requires the prosecutor to consider the victim's interests. Such a step is creditable. However, what amounts to a victim's interests is not explicitly articulated. For instance, rule 10 indicates that the agreements reached by the victim and offender must be endorsed by the prosecutor if they are in line with achieving justice. Following this logic, what might interest the victim might not be in the prosecutor's interest or understanding of what justice entails.

The prosecutor's inability to respond or the lack of response to the victim's needs affects the trust the victim might have in the criminal justice system. In such a scenario, the prosecutor's limited engagement also hinders the prosecution's effectiveness (Bakers & Anderson, 2019). This stands in contrast to a restorative approach, which would inherently incorporate and address various stakeholders' views on the aptness of the processes and outcomes.

The issues in Tanzania concerning the gap between prosecutors' prerogatives and victims' needs may stem from legal questions that extend beyond this national context. Van Ness and Strong (2015) argue that irrespective of the belief that victims' interests are cared for by the prosecutor, the prosecutor's function includes the conviction of offenders, guarding the accused's rights, and protecting the public interest. They observe that the victim's interests may at times be covered under public interests but argue that the two are not equivalent. They thus conclude that in such a scenario, it is clear that the victim lacks representation.

Furthermore, victims of crime should be provided information relating to the progress of their cases. These updates include information regarding the prosecution, trial, plea agreement, or other diversion programmes. Sadly, many crime victims in Tanzania are not offered such an opportunity. For example, sometimes the public prosecutor might decide to terminate proceedings without informing the victim about the reasons for such a decision.

The Role of the Police

Police officers can also play a role in addressing victims' needs and psychological healing. Some guidance is provided for Tanzanian police officers to address these concerns, especially from the Statute of the African Union Mechanism for Police Cooperation. Article 5 stipulates that the African Police (AFRIPOL) shall perform their functions in respect of democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law, and good governance by considering the African Charter on human rights, the Constitutive Act of the African Union, and the UDHR. The AFRIPOL further states that in the course of performing their duties, police officers shall ensure that they abide by the ethics, neutrality, integrity, and presumption of innocence principles. In situations where police officers are not acting in accordance with regional and international instruments, there is a greater likelihood of abusing the rights of offenders, victims, and community members. An example is when a victim reports an incident to the police officer, who later takes a bribe from the offender. Such an act leads to the denial of the victim's needs and could perpetuate violence by motivating a victim or their relatives to take the law into their own hands (Sherrington, 2007). Furthermore, the police are entrusted with peacekeeping or delivering justice. If they abuse their positions while performing their duties, violence can increase as mistrust and animosity grow between these institutional forces and the community they serve (Giffords Law Center, 2021). In this sense, police neglecting these principles can feed into cycles of violence.

Having received allegations from the victim, police officers are normally tasked with investigating the matter (Criminal Procedure Act, Revised Edition, 2019). They may do this alone or with the assistance of the victim, especially in situations where the victim is aware of details about the offender. In practice, victims in Tanzania are rarely informed of the framed charges against the offender and are sometimes not called again to be updated on the progress of the case. The lack of information frustrates the victim and could lead to psychological distress. If the justice system was to consider the perspectives of crime victims, there would be efforts to alert them in each and every stage of the trial. Such communication would clear doubts in the mind of the victim about any malicious intentions or unfairness (Kilekamajenga, 2018).

Police officers are required to ensure that victims, offenders, and community members are treated with respect and dignity whenever they report matters to the authorities. In Tanzania, there is evidence that police officers often do not perform these duties. For instance, a 2020 Tanzanian human rights report detailed how police forces abused their positions, tortured citizens, and conducted arbitrary arrests and extrajudicial killings. The human rights report was further validated by the response of the then President of Tanzania, Samia Suluhu Hassan, who publicly warned police officers about problematic behaviours like fabricating cases against innocent citizens (Francis, 2021). This warning was followed by the release of many persons who were wrongly accused of diverse crimes.

The President's warnings and actions demonstrate awareness of issues in the criminal justice system, but psychological healing for crime victims was not considered within this discourse or efforts. Such a warning could have had a stronger potential for healing if focused on restorative approaches. For example, the police authorities could publicly apologize, release a statement about their actions, and/or collaborate with victims in implementing steps to hold accountable those police officers who had arrested and falsely accused innocent citizens. These restorative reforms would align with promoting cultures of peace. In turn, freeing the wrongly accused without offering an apology could undermine efforts at restoration and peace as it could lead to revenge against police officers and diminish public trust in the police.

Personal stories support these connections. In an interview conducted by the author with a victim of wrongful accusations, the victim described how the pain he had gone through made him think of revenge and violence. The police actions against him tarnished his image in the community, and some members no longer trust him. To this end, the lack of a process of healing and reparation did not address the relational harm he experienced in his community. Such pain is psychologically disturbing and creates further tension and a possibility of violence between community members. In this sense, healing with a focus on restoration should not be ignored if the aim of criminal justice institutions is preventing violence and promoting peace.

The Role of Legal Procedures.

In addition to the roles of prosecutors and police, the actual procedures of the criminal justice system in Tanzania also leave victims'psychological pain unaddressed. The public interest is to see fairness in a criminal trial for all the parties involved. Such a practice should not preclude addressing the victim's interests but rather incorporate them into the process. One example has already been described: the 2021 Tanzania Plea Bargaining Rules. The rules guiding these practices matter. For instance, mandating prosecutors consider that the victim's interests might be difficult to achieve partly because the rules allow the prosecutor to disregard the victim's wishes if they believe such an interest does not meet the ends of justice. What might interest the victim as justice might not fit within the prosecutor's framework, hence denying justice to the victim.

Broadly, the Tanzanian government has no policy on psychological healing for crime victims within police or judicial processes. In an interview with Mutasingwa a Tanzanian psychologist, he opined that, currently, the government does not engage psychologists in the criminal justice system, claiming that it is expensive to employ them. In practice, some individuals, such as police officers or prison officers, are allowed to study psychology, but at the end of their studies, they are not fully trained or hired as psychologists. They continue serving in their previous positions and are sometimes called on to provide services without formal psychological credentialing or resources.

It is important to underscore that allowing a victim an opportunity to explain the extent to which a crime has affected them can in itself be therapeutic, or at the least can prevent further psychological harm. Wemmers (2008) reasons that legal professionals speaking on behalf of the victim deprive victims of their sense of being in control of their lives and the ability to voice their concerns. Allowing citizens to share their views on issues that matter to them can also be understood as minimizing violence and promoting positive peace by building confidence in the criminal justice system (Auerbach, 1983). Tanzanian government officials themselves recognize the importance of giving voice to citizens in the legal system if peace is a goal. Lord Diplock, in the Tanzanian case of *Attorney General v. Times Newspaper*, posited: "Such a system for the administration of justice by the courts of law, and the maintenance of public confidence in it, is essential if citizens are to live together in peaceful association with one another."

Apart from the police, prosecutors, and courts, prisons are other places where a victim can be given an opportunity to engage in a restorative healing process. This stands in contrast to a lack of healing and closure, which may lead to revenge after release. It would complement, not replace, traditional systems. Gavrielides (2014) argues that restorative justice is most effective in prisons if all parties accept and trust that restorative justice is not a replacement for the current conventional justice system and, more importantly, accept that restorative justice is not a panacea.

Broadly, restorative justice allows victims and communities to take part in healing criminal acts, something that is generally not prioritized in the conventional justice system (Zehr, 2002). A restorative justice framework centres on these

interests and includes victims' needs and voices. It can provide a space for victims' perspectives to be heard and valued, thus supporting this peace and confidence. As Garry Shewan, an Assistant Chief Constable in the British police force, noted: "It is clear that, done well, restorative justice cannot be done to (or even for) victims, it must be done with them" (Restorative Justice Council, 2015). The value of the restorative justice approach is that it can more adequately serve the goals related to interpersonal and intrapersonal peace through a resolution that is attentive to the perspectives and experiences of all. The solution to address criminality should bring together those affected to deliberate on how to resolve a conflict and allow justice to be served. The direct participation of victims in criminal trials helps their healing, which includes their psychological distress (Miller & Hefner, 2015). Likewise, the offender's direct participation in informal means can support their understanding of the negative impact they have caused and their ability to rectify the situation. This reduces the likelihood of the offender to commit further offences, which is a goal of restorative justice and contributes to positive peace through building a culture of peace (UNODC, 1999).

The Quest for Psychological Consideration of Tanzanian Crime Victims

Tanzania is one of the East African countries that is recognized for its role in preventing violence and enabling other neighbouring countries to promote peace. Efforts to amicably handle potentially violent situations and reconciliatory approaches have been led by traditional and religious leaders in the country. Still, this promotion of peace could be better integrated into Tanzania's criminal justice system. Hence, this chapter is intended to show how psychological consideration of crime victims will propel peace that lies at the heart of the country.

Psychology refers to somebody's mind and what makes one think or act the way he/she does. Certainly, victims think and behave in various ways after experiencing a crime. Irrespective of the fact that crime victims in Tanzania are treated as witnesses for the prosecution side, their psychological needs are mostly ignored or overlooked. Sometimes these victims have even suffered at the hands of agents of the state, thus further deepening their psychological distress.

One concrete example can be found in the case of Tete. Tete was arrested and charged with murder, a crime he never committed. He spent 17 years in jail awaiting execution before he was released. Tete had two children and a wife before he was arrested and wrongly convicted. Being released from jail after an advocate volunteered to have his case reviewed, the court found Tete innocent. As a result, he was set free but without any help from the state that had wrongly accused him of murder. Following his release, Tete could not find his family and his house had been demolished by road rehabilitation programmes in Tanzania. Tete has since lived a lonely

life without any help to heal from such burning wounds. His struggle has in reality ended in vain and with significant psychological consequences (Gabagambi, 2020).

Tete's experience demonstrates secondary victimization: his mental anguish was not only a direct consequence of a wrongful act (being falsely accused) but moreover due to the way the act was handled by the criminal justice institutions. This pathway to trauma can occur by means of how these institutions sometimes conduct their affairs in a way that impinges on victims' human rights. Similarly, police actions while handling matters reported to them might cause secondary victimization. Police officers may harshly handle a victim's report of being raped instead of providing psychological support to calm the victim (Muganyizi, 2010). Such a treatment could cause more trauma, instead of the healing that is in line with the victim's human rights. Similarly, the very procedures of handling criminal cases can be frustrating and harmful when they focus more on offenders while ignoring victims (UNODC, 1999).

Important to note is the fact that there are multiple effects of crime on victims. Both primary and secondary victims are likely to suffer from mental health concerns (Shapland & Hall, 2007). The psychological effects of criminal victimization can range from non-existent to extreme and from short to long term, depending on the type of victimization, amount of loss incurred, and trauma suffered (Wallace, 1998). Common psychological reactions include anger, fear, and resentment against the offender and the justice system, which may also feed into struggles with anxiety or depression. Also, crime victims may have trouble sleeping or concentrating, be easily startled, not participate in activities they once enjoyed, and experience lowered self-esteem (Shapland & Hall, 2007). Socially, they may experience a lack of trust in the community to which they belong. Victims are at a higher risk for these consequences to remain long term when they are not offered psychological counselling services (Shapland & Hall, 2007). Victim compensation is sometimes considered one mechanism for addressing these harms. Still, if the primary goal of the criminal justice system is the preservation of public safety (Dvoskin, 2011), psychological healing should be given credence, with a focus on healing the relational bonds impacted by harm (Van Ness & Nolan, 1999).

In the case of Tanzania, magistrates reported to the author that there were no psychological services in their courts. While some institutional actors, like the police, have been offering psychological counselling to crime victims, mostly they are for victims of gender-based violence. Magistrate interviewees reported that they think that other crimes do not affect individuals psychologically. Still, even victims of other crimes face trauma. Since the system assumes that they are not affected, they are, in practice, denied such full realization of their healing (Bakers & Anderson, 2019).

Victims need healing because it helps them reconnect with the world, their communities, and themselves. The reason behind reconnecting with oneself lies in the fact that in some cases, experiencing crime disturbs how one views himself or herself. For instance, with sexual crimes, one might end up blaming oneself, which can lead to self-rejection and powerlessness (Sinko & Saint Arnault, 2020). An experience of disorganization of self and one's perspective on the world might make one

think that life has no meaning at all and could lead to behavioural responses that may have the potential to foment interpersonal direct violence, such as excessive use of alcohol and social withdrawal. Therefore, efforts need to be made by criminal justice systems to ensure that victims are given opportunities to rebuild their lives, which can include the use of restorative justice practices such as mediation or conferencing. These practices create spaces for victims to have their questions answered, which can foster a sense of normalization and adjustment to what had happened (UNODC, 1999). Such a process could more effectively lead to inner peace and motivate positive and prosocial engagement with others.

The interpersonal element touches on the broader goal of building cultures of peace. The involvement of the community through restorative justice conferencing in meeting the psychological needs of the victim is of paramount importance because these community members can be agents of healing (Zack, 2019). In situations where a victim feels neglected by the community, cycles of violence become more likely, especially when communities are not equipped with peaceful skills to support a crime victim in the journey towards healing. In contrast, restorative justice can be a supportive way to re-integrate and rebuild connections. Some restorative frameworks already exist within the ethos of indigenous cultures in Tanzania. For example, the Kinga ethnic group has a saying called *Tuvembanile Pamwi*, which literally means “let us cry together”. More broadly, in many cases, Tanzanians relate with one another in the spirit of brotherhood. When a community member faces challenges, it draws the attention of others, who often offer a helping hand. Sadly, modernity and the current justice system promote and socialize individualistic and punitive thinking. Restorative justice offers an opportunity to institutionalize processes that remind one another of the importance of upholding customary principles that brought communities together and could feed into collective cultures of peace.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that irrespective of the available legal instruments, regionally and internationally, on the psychological treatment and care of crime victims, there are still many loopholes in the Tanzanian criminal justice system that undermine peace building at the personal and community levels. Overall, incorporating greater consideration of victims’ psychological healing could transform institutions to support peace more effectively.

First, a focus on restorative justice and victims’ healing in the criminal justice system aligns with psychological processes preventing cycles of violence and promoting personal and interpersonal harmony. If care is not taken, victims face numerous possible consequences, including developing feelings of anger and anxiety, as well as losing trust in the justice system. Avenues where victims of crime can share their experience should also be integrated into the system. Second, the current practices place the victim in the position of a witness, who is often guided about what to say and how to say it in court. Such a practice limits the victim’s ability to describe

their perspective and psychological harm. The untreated and unacknowledged wounds are in themselves injurious to the victims and the family and the community around them. They can also drive cycles of violence as revenge and justice are taken into individuals' hands.

Third, in Tanzania, victims are, in most cases, forgotten by the criminal justice system. They may have experienced deep trauma, like losing a loved one from homicide. Such experiences create impacts for the rest of their lives, especially without adequate psychological services. It is worth noting that there is a glimmer of hope in the Tanzanian criminal justice system, especially with the 2019 Plea Bargaining Act and 2021 Plea Bargaining Rules. These efforts have tried to prioritize victims and communities. Irrespective of the existence of such laws, there are not, in their totality, in tune with the principles and values of restorative justice, which offers effective pathways to building cultures of peace.

This chapter's objective was to demonstrate how the negation of victims' psychological needs in the Tanzanian criminal justice system adds more salt to their untreated wounds, which in turn can perpetuate more violence and inhibit internal processes of healing. The latter are direct concerns of peace psychologists and key psychological processes to building more peaceful societies (Christie, 2011; Christie et al., 2008). There are many links between this gap and international frameworks on the intersection of legal processes and peace. For example, the United Nations' 2030 Sustainable Development Goal number 16 insists on the inclusion of all for peace maintenance and development. With these guides for building more peaceful societies, there are concrete steps that the Tanzanian state and others can take, with restorative justice as one approach with significant potential. They can be guided in this reform, not by concentrating on punishing the offender as a means of justice but rather by taking a leaf from the restorative justice system, which views justice as healing and inherently requiring attention to victims' voices and experiences.

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Epilogue

Gabriel Velez and Theo Gavrielides

Peace Psychology and Restorative Justice Across This Volume

Across the contributions to this volume, a unifying thread has been the demonstration of how restorative justice and peace can be seen as interconnected across various levels of psychology, from inner attitudes and processes outward to social groups and institutions. Often, the takeaways, theory, and arguments presented in these chapters speak to the cross-cutting nature of restorative justice initiatives: shaping minds and orientations to the world, impacting conflict resolution and interpersonal relations, and addressing inequities in society that are based on the systems and institutions that guide social life and structure power dynamics and ways of relating. While schools and educational settings are certainly not the only places where the latter plays out, they are central to socialization and can perpetuate or reshape norms and underlying structures that feed into violence or peace (Bajaj, 2008; Freire, 1973).

To this end, the first group of chapters in this volume articulates how the theory and practice of restorative justice in educational settings have the potential to contribute to both negative and positive peace. The various chapters detail how school-based restorative justice in particular can disrupt unequal systems of discipline, create school climates that are more peaceful and also foster respect, tolerance, and constructive conflict resolution between individuals (Deutsch, 1994), and contribute to moral and identity development in line with building cultures of peace. There is much literature in peace psychology on the psychosocial impacts of violence, peace education programmes, and inter-group contact interventions. The work here

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extends these understandings by highlighting the potential that restorative justice holds for offering young people new ways of engaging with others and experiencing their schools. Multiple chapters also complement this potential for internal and interpersonal peace by detailing the effect school-based restorative justice can have on structural violence (e.g. inequities in disciplinary systems).

The educational lens also extends beyond the K-12 setting in considering the multiple levels at which restorative justice can foster psychological processes in building peace. Lyubansky and colleague's chapter lays out principles and a reflective perspective on the educator-student-institution dynamic and challenges and opportunities for promoting positive peace. As so much of traditional Western educational practices and systems are rooted in colonial and oppressive frameworks (Freire, 1970; Peters et al., 1973), restorative justice alone may not be able to counteract these systems. To this end, Alexander and her co-authors detail a vision for a pedagogy of transcendence that integrates these practices into a broader vision of more justice-oriented education that deconstructs the motivators of structural and cultural violence.

Building cultures of peace is a complicated process requiring stakeholder engagement and multiple strategies that vary depending on context. Effective restorative justice in schools involves more than using circles and may face obstacles in being thoroughly implemented and in building buy-ins from all stakeholders. In higher education, it entails recognizing and addressing disconnects between the restorative procedures and norms within the classroom and discordant institutional procedures and norms. Across these systems, the local implementation of restorative justice may help promote cultures of peace, while broader inequities and unjust norms and policies may continue. This challenge is considerable, but as the chapters demonstrate, it does not undermine the potential of restorative justice; instead, it demonstrates the need for nuanced, thoughtful, and reflective further development of restorative justice to foster psychosocial correlates of peace at personal, communal, and systemic levels.

The second group of chapters in the volume focuses on the therapeutic potential of restorative justice. In general, there is a dearth of empirical work addressing mental and emotional correlates of engagement in restorative justice as part of comprehensive therapeutic services. The existing literature tends to focus on questions of victims' forgiveness, satisfaction with how criminal cases are handled, and a sense of safety or control, as well as perpetrators' sense of control, respect, and recidivism (Beven et al., 2005; Hartmann, 2018; Obi et al., 2018; Peterson Armour & Umbreit, 2006). These are important questions for peace psychology, speaking to psychological processes linked to violence and peace. Still, the existing work generally does not address broader potential links between restorative justice and mental health. In this volume, multiple chapters attend to this broader framework while specifically detailing how a therapeutic lens to restorative justice can promote healing and resilience in line with peace psychology work centred within individuals. Walker and Goldstein, in turn, describe a programme in Hawaii that brings education and restorative justice together in the incarceration system, thus interrupting cycles of violence and also addressing injustices within the institution that feed into

structural violence. Nolan and Monaco-Wilcox detail a programme with survivors of sexual violence that describes how restorative justice can serve an integral part in the process of recovery, with a focus on building cultures of peace through connecting with others and telling their stories.

These chapters thus contribute to a small research base bringing together reconciliation (with others and oneself), healing from trauma, and therapy (Ingabire et al., 2017; Randall & Haskell, 2013). In line with peace psychology focused on inner peace, these chapters detail different conceptions of restorative justice as part of individual healing processes linked to communal dynamics in therapeutic settings.

The Hawaiian programme described by Walker and Goldstein serves as a bridge between educational and therapeutic foci with the third group of chapters, which discuss restorative justice in justice and penal systems. This application of restorative justice has been one of the most salient and well known in recent decades in the West and perhaps most clearly connects with research, theory, and the practice of peace psychology. Justice systems inherently deal directly with harm, and the ways that they process, treat, and adjudicate can influence the internal psychosocial processes of those involved as well as interpersonal peace and create conditions for equity in societies (Gavrielides, 2016). There has been a recent growth in research and the theoretical development of restorative justice in this setting, which may offer a way to make these institutional structures and systems more attuned to humanity and psychosocial needs of victims. Gabagambi's chapter on Tanzania makes this argument within a particular context, demonstrating how the criminal and legal systems can perpetuate and deepen victims' psychological issues. She presents restorative justice as an opportunity to centre victims and their needs but also to interrupt cycles of direct violence and build cultures of peace through a more humane treatment of these people across the system. Her contribution, along with that of Walker and Goldstein, highlights the depth of the challenge: structural and cultural violence in legal and justice systems are deeply rooted and play out across many factors inside and outside of these institutions (e.g. poverty, community violence, policing, international and regional mechanisms), and thus change can be difficult.

Difficulty generating broader change emerges as one of the main themes across the chapters in this volume. The theme important takeaways for researchers, theorists, and practitioners as the intersection of restorative justice and peace psychology is expanded. As a whole, the work demonstrates that restorative justice holds the potential to address conditions of inequity and inequality that underlie structural and cultural violence. At a systemic level, justice, incarceration, and education systems in many areas of the world play out unequally along lines that mark social groups (e.g. race/ethnicity, class, majority/minority). At other times, they are simply set up not to adequately address the psychological needs of those who encounter these systems. It is evidence that programmes, policies, and individuals across sectors must be attentive to the humanity of individuals and the importance of their relationships to authentically implement restorative justice as a foundation for cultures of peace.

There are rich theoretical reasons to see how restorative justice can contribute to the psychosocial attitudes, processes, and dynamics that address violence and promote positive peace. Still, as noted across the literature on restorative justice, implementation can be a significant challenge. The chapters here demonstrate how these obstacles can be the preconceptions and worldviews that individuals and groups hold (e.g. school leaders and educators); the social, political, and historical factors that motivate violence or trauma (e.g. feeding into sexual violence); or the depth of institutional inertia and complexity (e.g. justice systems). On this issue, restorative justice can be considered an opportunity for peace psychology to better understand how to build peaceful individuals and societies, but also peace psychology may offer insights into how to motivate engagement with these processes. For example, much work in the field has focused on questions of forgiveness, reconciliation, intractable conflict, peace building, and other psychosocial phenomena that would come into play when engaging collectively in restoration and reparation processes (Christie et al., 2008; Christie & Wagner, 2010; Hamber, 2007).

Peace Psychology and Restorative Justice: A Joint Venture

Overall, the contributions in this volume point more towards the potential of more in-depth consideration of the intersection of peace psychology and restorative justice, rather than serving as an exhaustive repository. Across different contexts and levels of focus, these chapters demonstrate shared goals of restorative justice and peace psychology. In compiling this volume, we have sought to offer Galtung's framework as a concrete and useful guide for practitioners, theorists, and researchers of restorative justice to consider various levels, dynamics, and possible contributions to building more equitable, just, and ultimately peaceful societies. Restorative justice is a tool with a rich history and indigenous roots, which addresses key concerns in peace psychology: strengthening relationships, individual and collective psychosocial healing, and accountability. Further work in this area by restorative justice researchers could more closely explore the alignment of these processes with inner, inter, and institutional peace, both in their positive and negative conceptualizations. In turn, peace psychology has much to offer in the implementation and evaluation of restorative justice. This latter connection is considerably underdeveloped. The rich literature and work in peace psychology on the overlapping psychosocial processes (e.g. forgiveness, inter-group contact) could inform more effective procedures, evaluation, and understanding of the potential of this work. As one concrete branch of possible exploration, peace psychology could contribute to considering and studying what the experience of participating in restorative justice is like and how it shapes individuals' identities, worldviews, and understandings of their agency in relation to peace building.

Returning to how restorative justice may support the construction of cultures of peace, there is much opportunity for empirical research investigating these potential benefits. Applied research questions are critical in the modern world as peace psychologists try to address pressing issues like psychosocial effects of violence, threats of war, minors engaged in armed conflict, effective peace education, and more (Christie et al., 2008). How might restorative justice promote resilience and stronger social connection in the face of conflict and oppression, such as in transitional and post-conflict settings? How might engaging in processes of forgiveness, reconciliation, and conflict resolution via restorative circles and conferences promote inner peace and end cycles of violence? How does a restorative focus on creating productive spaces for dialogue that uphold the humanity of all participants reshape institutions to be more socially just? Can and how does restorative justice within institutions promote social justice in the face of deeply embedded social inequity? There is also room for expansion of both fields into new areas, such as considering what the neurological correlates might be of engaging in restorative justice and how might these relate to the development of capacities for peace and a commitment to social justice in children and young adults (Christie et al., 2014).

These questions are salient to fundamental challenges facing modern societies, as well as to pressing current issues. Values of respect, equity, and rights to participation and well-being are core elements of human rights. They are linked not only to restorative justice in legal and carceral systems but also in relation to social justice, power imbalances, norms, stereotypes, and inter-group conflicts (Skelton, 2018; Zehr & Toews, 2004). Extending this framing, the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), released in 2015, lay out a number of key areas where the intersecting goals of restorative justice and the field of peace psychology can make contributions to "provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all" (SDG 4 on Education), to reduce inequalities (SDG 10), and to promote peace, justice, and strong institutions (SDG 16). Given the multitude of de-stabilizing challenges in the world post-2020—including authoritarian governments, internal and multi-state warfare, the COVID-19 pandemic, and racial injustice—it is even more necessary to consider how restorative justice can contribute across settings and levels to addressing all forms of violence and promoting cultures of peace and harmony in the world. Restorative justice will almost certainly not solve these questions, but along with other tools within a peace psychology repertoire—like peace education, therapeutic practices, social biases, and more—it can contribute to these lofty goals.

Restorative Justice: Where Do We Go from Here?

As editors of this exciting volume, we set off on an unknown path that was marked by many challenges, including a life-changing world pandemic, our different disciplines of study and practice, as well as the geographical distance between us. We barely knew each other, yet we felt connected in ways we could not understand,

given that our backgrounds, histories, and academic training were different. Yet our shared vision of exploring new paths of learning and shedding light on grey areas of theory and practice united us. We overcame the challenges and found ourselves discovering new adventures, people, positive and not-so-positive experiences, rewards, and occasional stress. But we got there in the end, and it is with great pride and pleasure that we offer what we feel is a unique collection of papers that we strongly believe make their unique contribution to our joint ambition and vision.

The shared denominator has been restorative justice. We must admit that our starting points were not the same. A legally trained mind, Gavrielides started from a social science and philosophical position. A psychologically trained professional, Velez embarked from an applied and yet humanistic perspective. Almost 2 years later, we can safely claim that restorative justice transcends all these spaces of study. We might even be brave enough to argue that restorative justice must be developed as an independent field of study and as a discipline that transcends science. We will also humbly add that we welcome the potential relationship between restorative justice and science.

However, the depth and breadth of restorative justice do not stop with science. Just like the notions of hope and faith, the restorative justice ethos is to be found in the way we chose to lead our lives and develop our relationships. It is not a mere method of controlling or punishing bad behaviour. The Collectivists, Utilitarians, Communitarians and many normative theorists, including Aristotle, Mill, Bentham, Hegel, Foucault, Descartes, and religious and spiritual leaders, would vehemently disagree with the assertion that peace and our interconnections and relationships are the results of humans being neurobiological entities. Individuals and collectives are far more complex than that; what draws humans towards each other has metaphysical relevance and challenges.

Put another way, the answers as to how to restore peace, how to create peace, why social interconnectedness exists, why it can be broken, and how it can be restored may exist in realms beyond neuroscience and psychology. Applied science approaches should work alongside other normative, spiritual, cultural, historical, and philosophical understandings of restorative justice. We hope that this book has taken a step in helping us achieve a truly interdisciplinary dialogue for restorative justice and peace psychology.

Justice is a value not for psychological, biological, and neurological treatment. It is a virtue beyond scientific reach. It is central to human existence and interconnectedness. The contributions in this volume all point towards where to look to understand and progress restorative justice: in individuals, groups, and institutions. This is the true power of restorative justice, which has the potential to collapse power structures that surround us.

Of course, this conclusion is not a dismissal of the role and contribution of psychology and other sciences. These can all serve as tools for evaluation and observation. They can also serve in helping us channel and safeguard this power within and what surrounds it. While science should be used as a tool for understanding and controlling these powers, it is important to remember that the underlying values and

norms making the restorative justice notion exist beyond scientific interpretation. These lie within the collective and individual ethos, hearts, and communities.

And community is the missing word here. How can individually focused disciplines claim a prominent role in the delivery of the virtue of justice? It is in the very DNA of restorative justice to depend on the existence of others. Restorative justice assumes the existence of a “social liaison” that bonds individuals in a relationship of respect for others’ rights and freedoms (Gavrielides, 2005, 2021). Restorative justice assumes that this liaison has always been a part of human society because it is innate in human beings. It cannot be seen but can be felt in moments of danger or of extreme happiness. Individuals are not really strangers, and that is why the victim and the offender are not enemies. The pre-existence of this social liaison that restorative justice aims to restore elevates its practices and values to spheres that are beyond science. Alexander Pope, at the end of the first Epistle of the “Essay on Man”, said: “each of us, like any other natural object, is a part of the universe; it is folly to deny the fact – and folly to wish it changed … for our good is determined and our moral comportment should be governed by our partial statues in the universal All” (Mack, 1950). On the other hand, each person is not only a part but also a system or a whole. Each individual is what Barnes (1988) calls “partial whole”. “We are interdependent parts of an organised whole, and our mutual dependencies determine our nature and our function” (Barnes 1991, p. 7). The broken social liaison, or what Barnes called the “special relation”, between individuals and individuals and their community is the focus of restoration.

In restorative justice, all people are treated as free individuals, responsible for their actions and decisions. They are not strangers but related because of the “social liaison” that connects them. As free individuals, they have rights that need to be respected and protected. But they also have obligations (Braithwaite, 2002), among which include restoring the balance that harm caused to our community. What restorative justice calls people to do is to restore the broken liaison that used to bond them. Restorative justice makes one more assumption. It takes people to be dependent on their communities; lives gain meaning from the aggregation, and happiness is linked to the existence of the aggregation that witnesses it. The existence of a community is a prerequisite for the liaison that relates individuals. The community strives to instill a sense in individuals to respect and protect the liaison. It attempts this by keeping a liaison between itself and the individual, not a liaison of control and power but of care. The liaison is also based on the recognition that each is impacted by the other.

Restorative justice lives, to some degree, beyond the realms of criminology, social sciences, applied sciences, and the like. In an attempt to understand, serve, and apply it, various tools should become available. Here, there is plenty of room for everyone, including psychologists, peace psychologists, lawyers, neuroscientists, sociologists, criminologists, etc. However, it is incomplete to believe that applied sciences alone can give clarity and meaning to restorative justice. Restorative justice must also be considered an autonomous field of study that can be explored and developed through a multi-disciplinary approach, such as the one adopted for

this volume. Its strong ethical foundations as well as the need to use the power within to control and fight the power structures that could bring its demise are what make it a special field of investigation and application.

With this volume, we welcomed this challenge and call the restorative justice movement to focus its energy on developing its emerging, independent field rather than continue to justify it through superiority dialogues and by comparing it with what is not.

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Index

A
Accountability, viii, x, 6, 24, 27–30, 34, 36, 48, 52, 53, 65, 81, 90–92, 97, 100, 134–136, 138, 151, 196, 200, 216
Agency, 33, 47, 50–53, 55, 90, 157–160, 168, 169, 177, 193, 216
Authority, 19, 23, 26, 31, 32, 50, 54, 80, 89, 99, 121, 162, 164, 197, 203

C
Cognitive justice, 108, 117–120, 122, 125
Community art therapy, 136, 144, 149
Conversation, xvii, 10, 24, 30, 33–35, 54, 83–86, 89–91, 93–96, 101–103
Cooperative learning, 157–169
Coping, xxiv, 175–189
Creative writing, 132, 136, 137, 141, 144, 147, 152
Crime, xviii, xxi, 63–65, 83, 133, 135, 150, 158–160, 167, 168, 185, 193–208
Critical pedagogy, 79–81, 122
Culturally responsive pedagogies, 118, 119

D
Developmental psychology, xii, xxiv, 56

E
Education, 9, 10, 23, 24, 27, 29–33, 54, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71–74, 79, 80, 83, 96, 97, 157–161, 163–169, 214, 215, 217
Empathy, ix, xxiii, xxiv, 9–12, 16, 33–35, 56, 118, 134–137, 141, 144, 146, 149–152, 160, 177, 179, 180, 186
Engagement, x, xvii, xxiii, 9, 11, 12, 14, 23, 24, 33, 34, 37, 47–56, 62, 64, 74, 84, 85, 87, 91, 99–101, 118, 137, 138, 146, 151, 202, 207, 214, 216
Evaluation, x, xvii, xxiii, xxxi, 5, 18, 26, 47, 87, 92, 102, 134, 135, 148, 216, 218

F
Forgiveness, ix, xvii, xxiii, xxv, 29, 30, 56, 160, 176, 178–189, 196, 197, 214, 216, 217

H
Harm, xvi, xxi, xxii, 3–7, 11, 12, 15, 23–37, 46–50, 52, 56, 62, 63, 65, 67–71, 73, 74, 81, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96–100, 102, 108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 116, 120, 121, 124, 131–135, 137, 138, 148, 149, 151, 152, 160–162, 168, 178, 180, 181, 183, 185, 187, 188, 193–196, 199, 200, 203, 204, 206, 208, 215, 219
Healing, vii, xvii, xviii, xxiv, 48, 51, 54, 62, 83, 108, 120, 136–139, 141, 144, 147–152, 160, 167, 177, 181–184, 187, 188, 194–196, 202–208, 214–216
Higher education, xxiv, 54, 80, 84, 92, 98, 100, 101, 159, 168, 214
Human trafficking, 136, 149, 150

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I
Inner peace, xvii, xxiv, 55, 175–181, 186–188, 207, 215, 217
Intercultural dialogue, 116, 118–121

M
Moral development, 25, 26, 34, 56
Moral judgments, 26

P
Peace education, xvii, xxiv–xxvi, xxxi, 23, 24, 27, 29–33, 69, 71, 73, 74, 83, 87, 89, 107, 108, 118, 124, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 178, 213, 217
Peace psychology, ix–xi, xvi–xix, xxiii–xxvi, 4, 30, 47, 55, 56, 80, 133, 135–138, 144, 148, 150, 158, 169, 175–189, 194, 195, 213–220
Peer education, 160, 165, 166, 169
Personal narrative, 86, 136–140, 143
Psychological consideration, 193–208

R
Relational peace, 157–159, 169
Relational pedagogy, 68, 112, 114, 124
Relationships, viii, ix, xviii, xxi, 3–7, 9, 11–18, 23, 24, 26, 29, 33, 34, 37, 46–55, 61, 62, 64–71, 73–75, 81, 83–87, 95, 99, 100, 107–111, 113, 115–117, 119–124, 133, 135, 139, 144, 148, 149, 157–169, 175–188, 215, 216, 218, 219
Reparation, xvii, 6, 28, 30, 34, 36, 67, 176, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 188, 197–199, 203, 216
Resilience, xxiv, 57, 137, 141–143, 175–189, 214, 217
Restorative justice, vii–xiii, xv–xxv, xxxi, 3–5, 11, 15, 18, 19, 23–37, 45–57, 61–75, 79–103, 107–125, 132–139, 144, 148–153, 157–169, 175–189, 194–198, 200, 204, 205, 207, 208, 213–220
Restorative principles, 15, 19, 71, 74, 80–85, 93, 96, 103
Restorative re-entry planning, 165, 167, 169
Retributive justice, 197, 201

S
School climate, xxiv, 4, 6–10, 15, 16, 19, 32, 33, 47, 48, 53, 55, 61–75, 213
School discipline, 31, 34, 66, 68
Schools, x, xi, xix, xxiii–xxv, xxxi, 3–19, 23–37, 46–57, 61–75, 80, 81, 83, 90, 99, 108, 109, 112–116, 123, 151, 158, 159, 164, 166, 169, 213, 214, 216
Sexual violence, x, 131–153, 197, 215, 216
Social-cognitive development, 27
Subtractive schooling, 112
Survivor empowerment, 136, 137, 144

T
Tanzania, xxiv, 193–208, 215
Teachers, xix, xxiv, 4–19, 25, 26, 49–52, 54, 61, 62, 64, 65, 69, 73, 79–81, 84, 102, 107, 108, 111, 114–116, 118–124, 163, 164
Teaching, xxiv, 18, 28, 51, 79–103, 107, 118, 123, 163, 164, 168
Testimony, 131, 136, 139, 141, 143, 150–152, 197

V
Victims, vii, x, xi, xviii, xxi, xxii, xxiv, 5, 28, 30, 32, 34, 67, 68, 97, 131, 133–136, 138, 140, 142–144, 150–152, 180, 183–185, 187, 188, 193–208, 214, 215, 219