

**DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PORTRAYAL OF
RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IN THE B.C. NEWSPRINT
MEDIA**

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Simon Fraser University, 2003

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

MASTER OF ARTS

In the
School of Criminology
of
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Spring, 2007

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ABSTRACT

Portrayals of restorative justice in British Columbia newsprint media are subjected to a descriptive content analysis. Fundamental aspects of the restorative justice perspective, and its many manifestations, are examined to assess how this perspective is portrayed to the public as a series of processes and as an international social movement. The study contains three primary research objectives designed to assess what the articles portray, how they do this, and who is included in their coverage. The findings suggest restorative justice has been presented as an ill-defined construct, with articles frequently failing to adequately canvas the array of values needed to provide an accurate understanding to the reader about the construct. The findings suggest the articles overwhelmingly demonstrate support for restorative justice by way of including predominantly positive themes. The majority of articles do not perpetuate myths regarding the participants normally involved in restorative processes.

*I dedicate this book to my wife, whose love and support reminded me of how this accomplishment was not just for myself but for our future together;
my parents, who taught me the importance of an education;
and my friends who showed me that I could still have fun while pursuing a post-secondary education.*

Thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This achievement would never have been made possible were it not for the support and contributions of my thesis supervisors, Professor David MacAlister and Dr. Liz Elliott. A special thanks goes to Jeff Scott and Chris Taccogna for helping me stay grounded and never forgetting the importance of pursuing one's educational goals; as students themselves, they understand the sweat, tears, and commitment that is required.

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**PART I:
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS**

Introduction

The field of criminology encompasses a wide variety of competing theories, philosophies, and perspectives, each trying to explain something different about the subject of crime and justice. This thesis will examine the attributes that constitute one of the more profound perspectives within criminology, a perspective that seeks not to explain the causes of crime, per se, but rather provides an explanation as to how best to respond to crime and conflict within society. Although it does indeed contain elements associated with a theory, or philosophy, or even a paradigm; it is probably best described as a perspective on the subject of crime and justice. The perspective in question is that of restorative justice. It is not a new phenomenon, at least not in terms of its underlying values, but it is viewed by most to be a new perspective within the larger field of criminology. It promotes changes to the institutionalized responses to crime that are persistently punitive in nature; and whose effectiveness has long been in question, despite its prevalence as a response to crime (McElrea, 1996). To some its contentions about appropriate responses to crime are construed in a manner consistent with the urge for radical reformation of social justice; to others, it is articulated as a refreshing alternative to traditional theories that cling to the notion that crime and justice are responsibilities of the state, to which punitive sanctions are inevitable. Advocates of retributive forms of justice see crime as "...the state's proper responsibility, and our responsibility as citizens, to bring criminal wrongdoers to suffer the punishments that they deserve" (Duff, 2002:82-83). This is antithetical to the views of restorative justice, which seeks to reintegrate offenders by appealing to their intrinsic desire to maintain a position within society (Braithwaite, 1999; Leibrich, 1996).

Restorative justice is a relatively new perspective within criminology, and yet the empirical literature on the subject is limited in scope, with an overrepresentation of program evaluations, which seeks to evaluate the success of individual restorative justice programs in various countries. As contributory as such research is there are far more questions about restorative justice than simply how it translates into practice. Notwithstanding the significant distinctive qualities of restorative justice, qualities that transcend academic perspective towards actual physical practice, there are more questions about restorative justice than those explained through existing literature. The goal of this thesis is to contribute to the limited research that currently exists on this unique perspective, by providing answers to questions that are not encompassed by a focus on effective programmatic implementation. This thesis will instead provide answers to questions that pertain to the subject of social acceptance and understanding about the perspective, and the extent to which information presented to the public conforms to the fundamental characteristics of the prescribed perspective. Research has shown that restorative justice, in practice, can have positive impacts on victims, offenders, and their community. In order to influence government policy initiatives to reflect restorative justice principles, it is essential to convince communities, who are primary stakeholders in state policies, of its benefits (Marcus, 1996; McCold, 1996). While effective implementation of restorative justice is a positive step towards a larger social acceptance of this new criminological perspective, society's perceptions and knowledge of the subject have not yet been empirically described. This thesis takes as its underlying assumption the pronounced influential powers that media sources have on public knowledge, public perceptions, and general societal understandings of social

issues. With this assumption in mind, the focus then is understanding how restorative justice is portrayed by the media, which permits generalizations about the public's perceptions of its effectiveness as a response to crime, and the quality of knowledge inferred from media articles.

The promise of just rule by the people, or democracy, cannot be fulfilled in the absence of communication systems that allow people to know one another's thoughts, aspirations, experiences and desires. Whether publicly or privately controlled, the media have an undeniable public function in democratic societies. If media fail to provide us with meaningful knowledge of ourselves and the world around us, they fail as democratic institutions (Stein, 1999: 8).

In order to study any criminological perspective, it is pertinent to first describe its most fundamental basis. In Chapter 1 of this thesis, the reader will gain an understanding of the various aspects of restorative justice. That chapter presents a version of the perspective that focuses on transcending beyond most theoretical assertions about crime and justice, providing a framework for resolving crime and conflict through direct human interaction. Furthermore, the reader will come to understand restorative justice as an international social movement that promotes a reformation of criminal justice systems away from a reliance on punitive sanctions, and towards the greater acceptance of restorative processes as mechanisms for combating social disorder. The problems associated with characterizing restorative justice as a social movement are exemplified by the notion that the goal of this movement is a paradigm transformation. Like all social movements, restorative justice must contend with a complex relationship with the media, as promotion of the movement is dependent on the public influence heralded by media sources; the difficulty facing the movement is to overcome "... or at least coping

creatively with their asymmetrical dependency on the media if they are to be successful” (Carroll & Ratner, 1999: 26).

Restorative justice espouses revolutionary ideas on crime and punishment, and it is because of the juxtaposition of foundational elements in restorative justice and traditional theories that critics of restorative justice have referred to it as radical (Acorn, 2004). Restorative justice is an alternative form of justice that does not rely on punishment as a primary solution to crime and injustices. A non-punitive response to crime may clearly be viewed as radical in our society. While some agencies of social control simply view restorative justice as an alternative program that may result in the avoidance of imprisonment, not all alternatives to incarceration imply alternatives to punishment (Sarnoff, 2001). Restorative justice promotes a genuine alternative to a punitive response to crime. Restorative justice will be presented on the basis of underlying values, from which the reader is able to determine the worth of the perspective relative to their beliefs on the subject of crime, punishment and justice.

The second chapter of this thesis will be a review of empirical literature on the subject of restorative justice. After providing an understanding of how restorative justice is said to be applied in practice, the chapter provides insight into how well such programmatic practices operate, based upon three evaluative indicators. The empirical literature on restorative justice is monopolized by studies seeking to evaluate individual restorative justice programs in different countries. These studies rely on similar measurements of effectiveness, namely surveys on client participation, completed by victims and offenders and some of the research analyzes recidivism rates. The research

conclusions presented in chapter two shows the value in establishing alternative processes for responding to crime in society.

Part II of this thesis examines the methodological approaches employed in the present study. This outlines an empirically-based descriptive study of the portrayal of restorative justice in the newsprint media. The purpose is to study what restorative justice is being portrayed as, how it is said to operate, and who the key actors are depicted to be in media portrayals of restorative justice. These three aspects of the study purpose will be outlined in detail in Chapter 3. In addition to the study's purpose, Chapter 3 will identify and describe the specific objectives of the study. The first objective is to examine *what* restorative justice is. Newsprint articles are measured to assess the extent to which their depictions of restorative justice are accurate in light of the key values generally recognized as inherent in restorative justice. As values are at the cornerstone of this perspective, accuracy of article descriptions are measured by the frequency of eleven fundamental values arising in the media. The second objective seeks to assess how supportive newsprint articles are of the restorative justice perspective. This is accomplished by identifying positive and negative themes within each article, determining the comparative frequency levels of the various attitudinal themes, and assigning an overall attitudinal score that permits aggregate analysis allowing inferences regarding the level of support for restorative justice provided by the articles. Key attitudinal themes were identified through exploratory readings of the articles, and frequency comparisons of these different themes are used to categorize articles as positive, negative, or neutral in their overall attitudinal inferences. Lastly, the third study objective seeks to answer the question of *who* is being asserted to be most appropriate for

restorative justice programs. This objective is measured by examining the frequency of occurrence of three pre-conceived myths about restorative justice processes and the types of offenders and offences that are portrayed as most appropriate for inclusion into restorative justice programs.

Chapter 4 and 5 of Part II reveal the processes by which the above objectives were achieved from an empirical standpoint. Chapter 4 looks at the units of analysis for the study, which are individual news articles, and how they were obtained. This information reveals the origins of the data, instructions for data extraction from the source database, and the replication process. Chapter 5 outlines the preliminary exploratory process that occurred before the full study could be undertaken. With no prior standards for measuring the various objectives, an exploratory reading of a sample of articles was required to establish operational definitions, and to identify patterns of presentation of attitudes for the formulation of categorical themes. This was eventually finalized into a coding scheme. To conform to acceptable social scientific standards for maintaining reliability and validity of the results, the researcher employed an inter-rater reliability test; the results of which were positive and allowed for a continuation of data analysis using the established coding scheme developed through the preliminary exploratory analysis.

Part III of this thesis examines the results of the content analysis. Results are presented on demographic variables (Chapter 6), and each of the three primary research objectives (Chapter 7). Results show some interesting facets of how restorative justice is portrayed in B.C. newspapers. The quantitative data suggests that the majority of articles are inaccurate in their depictions of the restorative justice perspective, yet there is

overwhelming praise for its successes and benefits. Results are mixed with respect to for *whom* restorative processes are articulated to be most appropriate, with an almost 1:1 ratio between articles incorporating myths about participant offenders and offences, and those that do not specify any offender or offence type. These results lay the groundwork for a discussion of the larger impact that this study could have on the restorative justice movement in the province of British Columbia. In Chapter 8, generalizations are made from the aggregate statistical data to answer the larger question of how the restorative justice movement in British Columbia might be influenced positively or negatively by the study results. This discussion interprets the study results from the standpoint of two competing views on restorative justice, each reflective of distinct movements believed to be in operation in this province. The discussion will outline how the subjective interpretation of the study results from the position of each movement demonstrates opposing positions on the acceptability of the media's portrayals of restorative justice, which reflects the general polemic views of each movement.

Finally, in Part IV the researcher will summarize this body of work, with an examination of some of the study's design limitations and future considerations. It is hoped the reader will have a much more thorough understanding of the perspective of restorative justice and how it is portrayed in the B.C. newsprint media. In particular, the thesis reveals how the perspective has been studied in the past, how it is being portrayed in the B.C. newsprint media, and how the competing movements in B.C. may or may not be influenced by the study results.

PART II:
LITERARY CONSIDERATIONS

Chapter 1: Restorative Justice: Multiple Identities

In order to accomplish the larger goal of conducting an empirical research study on the portrayal of restorative justice in the newsprint media, it is essential to first understand exactly what restorative justice is. The easy answer is that it is a perspective within the broader field of criminology and victimology (Strickland, 2004). It is a criminological perspective that does not seek to explain the causes of crime but rather elucidates a response to crime-causing harms in society through a focus on personal interaction amongst the stakeholders as owners of crime (Christie, 1977). The purpose of this chapter is to outline the fundamental characteristics and unique attributes of this perspective, while setting the stage for an analysis of its portrayal in the newsprint media.

In this chapter, restorative justice will be examined to reveal its essential elements. Restorative justice "...as a concept...means many things and contains varied practices" (Daly & Immarigeon 1999:38). Two primary manifestations of restorative justice will be discussed revealing a transformation from academic perspective to praxis, and characteristics inherent in the notion of restorative justice as an international social movement will be identified. In addition to parlaying the qualities of adaptability of the perspective to practical application, this chapter will present restorative justice as a criminological perspective that is grounded on core restorative values. "The research agenda of refining the principles and values of restorative justice has wider relevance to developing the values of a richer democracy" (Braithwaite & Strang, 2001:13). A foundation built on core values, may be viewed as restorative justice's greatest attribute.

As a perspective restorative justice depicts the social significance of crime and justice, by identifying the true stakeholders in criminal events, showing how these

stakeholders could contribute to a process for achieving reparation, and shows what the preferred outcome of any restorative process should be. Crime, according to this perspective, is not a violation of prescribed laws; rather, crimes create harms to the interpersonal relationships that exist among people in a community (Zehr, 1995; Van Ness & Strong, 2002; Galaway & Hudson, 1996). For most people crimes are violations against the state, or government, as defined by law (Boutellier, 2002). Crimes, therefore, are acts that create injury and harm that requires reparation. “In its pure sense, restorative justice takes a flexible approach to the definition of harms. Thus, what should be restored will depend on the concerns and abilities of those who participate in conferences” (Roach, 2000:10).

Howard Zehr (1995), a pioneer of restorative justice, describes restorative justice’s views on crime in relation to three key questions. Who has been harmed? What are their needs? Whose responsibility is it? Harms can be inflicted through acts legislated as ‘criminal’, and otherwise. The emphasis is not on establishing whether the action actually took place, and if so whether it can be designated as ‘criminal’. Rather, restorative justice transcends the focus on guilt or innocence and places an emphasis on repairing the harm caused to the relationship of the parties involved. Restorative justice supports the idea that humans are all interconnected, or in the words of the South African people, “Ubuntu: *Umuntu ngumuntu ngababtu*. This means that a person is a person through other persons” (Hewitt, 2002:450).

What are their needs? This question places emphasis on the victim of harmful acts, as it is they who have suffered the injury, whether physical, psychological or both. Restorative justice places significant emphasis on ensuring that the person who has

suffered harm receives all necessary support and resources to ensure that they are on a path towards healing. This healing journey involves questions that the victim will seek to have answered. As Zehr (1995:26-27) notes, the healing process is largely contingent upon the victims' ability to obtain answers to six basic questions:

1. What happened?
2. Why me?
3. Why did I act as I did at that time?
4. Why have I acted as I have since that time?
5. What if it happens again?
6. What does this mean for me and my outlook (my faith, my vision of the world, my future)?

What really defines restorative justice in terms of its views on crime in society is this emphasis on healing. Crimes are viewed from this perspective to be akin to a wound; much like a cut or scrape causes us pain and suffering requiring ointments to help heal the wound, so too does crime require attention to be paid to healing the harms caused by the wound of crime. Clearly restorative justice offers a unique perspective within criminology, emphasizing healing over punitive responses. Its uniqueness is not limited, however, to views on victims of crime as injury sufferers. The perspective posits that the offender too has a significant role to play in achieving healing (Bazemore, 2000).

The offender is the person who has brought harm to the victim through some action or omission. Ironically, according to restorative justice, it is the offender who has the ability to help the victim heal from their injuries. This seemingly paradoxical element of restorative justice posits that the answers to the questions posed by Zehr, and indubitably the victim, can in most cases only be provided by the offender. Only he or she knows why they did what they did, and why they chose the victim as the individual to whom their actions were to be directed. Restorative justice approaches the issue of

offender involvement from the position of complete inclusivity (Zehr, 1995; Van Ness & Strong, 2002; Braithwaite, 1999). It recognizes that the offender plays a significant role, not only in the actual circumstances of the offence, but also in terms of their potential contribution to the healing process of the victims (Bazemore, 2000).

As a key participant in the healing process, the offender is recognized as possessing needs that require attention, and this may include the need to heal (Strickland, 2004). Injuries suffered by offenders may not have been caused by the crime in question, but may arise from life's experiences and traumas, which often have their lingering effects. These may have a direct influence on an individual's propensity to inflict harm on others. As participants in the same injurious act, restorative justice sees the victim and offender as having an established relationship: one that requires repair (Pavlich, 2005). Each of them holds a different historical background that is essential for the others' healing journey to begin (Strickland, 2004). The victim often holds a story of emotional trauma and heartache caused by the offender's actions, and the physical and psychological pain that may have accompanied that harmful act. Her or his story of trauma and emotional experience needs to be shared with the offender, for both to begin the healing process. The offender also has a story to tell and that story involves how they evolved from an innocent child, to the present person who has caused pain to the victim. The offender's story is not meant to be considered in any way an excuse for harmful actions; rather, the story is meant to give understanding to the victim of where the offender comes from, with the intention of helping him/her heal by way of recognizing what needs to be done in the future (Strickland, 2004).

This notion of the victim and offender each having an important role to play in the journey to healing reflects the restorative justice view of crime as being capable of ownership (Christie, 1977). Crime is viewed as being owned by those most impacted by its effects. The state or any other third party to this harmful act does not own it. The victim, the offender, and the community own it. The subject of ownership of crime is at the heart of what Zehr alludes to in posing the question of who is responsible for repairing the damage caused by crime. The answer to Zehr's question about the responsibility for harm reparation, is that the obligation is on all parties who have a stake in the outcome. This would include the victim, the offender, and the community. The restorative justice perspective does not mandate the imposition of obligatory conditions on any individuals affected by crime, as the processes of restorative justice are voluntary in nature. Indeed, the very suggestion of participation through coercion is antithetical to the assertions of restorative justice. Obligation should be interpreted as a symbolic attachment between affected parties and the extent to which each can contribute something positive to the healing process. If healing is indeed the desired outcome, then appropriate participation in the reparation process by affected parties is necessary. The obligation is in the willingness to participate in this process, having acknowledged the role that each can play (Zehr, 1995).

Taking ownership of crime implies different things to each of the voluntary parties. For victims, it represents the first stages of the healing process: empowerment. Restorative justice posits that victims will begin their healing journey by taking part in the reparative process (Zehr, 1995). Their participation empowers them to take charge of their healing. Crime has an ugly tendency to invoke fear in the victim; and fear is a

symptom of a loss of empowerment. When a victim is able to gain the strength to confront their fear, in the form of a cooperative process aimed at reparation involving the person who caused them harm, they are in a position mentally and emotionally to begin healing. Restorative justice does not give them this strength; rather it allows them the opportunity to commence healing through a safe and organized process of dialogue aimed at reparation.

Ownership of crime from the standpoint of the offender involves the acknowledgement of guilt and the requirement for accountability. This is a foreign concept to many of us who are used to watching court dramas on television, whereby the legal system is designed around this need to establish guilt or innocence by way of formal judicial proceedings (Crawford & Clear, 2001). Restorative justice purports to be applicable only when the offender is ready to take responsibility for his/her actions, and volunteer to work with affected parties towards a reparative outcome. This concept is a unique element of this perspective, one that further distances it from other criminological theories about crime and justice. An underlying rationale for the requirement of offender accountability stems from the perspective's views on what constitutes justice itself. Not only does restorative justice have revolutionary views on crime as a social phenomenon, but it also asserts revolutionary conceptions about what justice really is. For restorative justice proponents and believers, 'justice' is achieved when all parties have been healed and the damaged relationships have been restored. The method by which all of this is achieved, speaks to yet another unique element of the perspective, the notion that restorative justice can be translated directly into programmatic processes.

Unlike many other criminological theories, perspectives, or philosophies on crime and justice, restorative justice can be adapted from its most fundamental underpinnings into practical application. Restorative programs are based on processes designed to achieve the theoretical goals espoused by the perspective. “Restorative justice, as a values-based process, requires that the processes used to address conflict and harms model the behaviour asked of one another in civil society” (Elliott, 2002:464). As stated previously, restorative justice is as much a process for dealing with crime as it is a perspective about the social phenomenon of crime. Understanding how restorative justice manifests itself in practice, allows the reader to understand the full capacity of the perspective. Much of what restorative justice looks like in practice mirrors some of the theoretical contentions put forth about how crime and justice are best addressed. On this basis, restorative justice can be seen to be done.

One of the defining attributes of the restorative justice perspective, which is arguably more established and recognizable than the complex theoretical assertions of the perspective itself, is the process by which restorative principles are practiced in every day life. Many people may not know about the fundamental theoretical assertions of the perspective, but they likely have some pre-conceptions about the various programs that operate under the name. In part, this situation arises from the origins of the perspective itself. This is because the restorative justice rationale was formulated after the practice of restorative justice began being exercised (Zehr, 1995). It is probably the only criminological perspective in which processes and practices preceded the development of the formal perspective. It is the processes through which most people will come to understand the perspective.

Restorative justice in practice looks much like it does on paper, and that is due to the adaptability of the theoretical underpinnings to real-life application. Accordingly, the preceding discussion on the theoretical views on crime and justice could be restated as the processes of restorative justice. Indeed, this discussion of the process will follow a similar pattern. The process takes the preceding elements of the perspective and applies them in practice.

Because restorative justice views crime as harmful acts caused by one person against the other, there needs to be a process for dealing with these acts in a way that allows the goal of reparation to materialize. Restorative justice is conducted in purely informal processes that utilize personal dialogue with the primary stakeholders of a crime – i.e. the victim, the offender, members of the community, and various support persons – with the goal of reparation of the relationships and healing the harms inflicted upon the victims (Zehr, 1995; Van Ness & Strong, 2002; Boutellier, 2002; Galaway & Hudson, 1996). When an offender inflicts harm to the victim, and indirectly to the community, restorative processes permit the direct interaction of stakeholders in a safe environment for the purposes of working through the harms in order to reach a mutual resolution to the conflict. This process requires the direct participation of each person. As stated earlier, the victim and offender are the best people for solving the dispute that brought them together in the first place.

Restorative justice promotes a process that is inclusive. It recognizes the value in having different people involved in the process for reparation, as each person will have a different role to play in healing. "...[T]he goal of restoration can only be achieved through programs and practices that extend beyond a singular focus on the offender and

that are designed to meet the needs of a variety of criminal justice system clientele, including offenders, victims, and the community” (Levrant et al., 1999:4). Without coming together in an informal meeting, the dialogue that is necessary for restoration cannot be achieved. It is the dialogue that allows full understanding of each person’s experience in the harmful encounter.

The term ‘informal’ may imply a lack of professionalism, yet this is certainly not the case with respect to restorative processes. The process is informal in the sense that it dispenses with legal formalities and legislated procedural requirements (Van Ness & Strong, 2002). Restorative justice invests its resources in achieving the desired outcome through an interactive, but non-adversarial process, the outcome being that of healing the victim and repairing the harms done to relevant relationships (Zehr, 1995; Braithwaite, 1999; Galaway & Hudson, 1996). Being informal does not translate into being unstructured. It involves a process that is very flexible to the different needs of the participants. Restorative justice recognizes that individuals have their own history and their own interests that must be considered. It is this ability to adapt to the diversity of its service population, and ultimately its ability to acknowledge the importance of these various interests, that allows the process to remain fluid. Elliott proposes an analogical description of restorative justice as a “tool-box” capable of supplying any necessary tool that is required for the resolution of a given conflict (Personal Communication, 2003). With a focus on repairing the damage and harm caused by crime, restorative justice is not limited in its potential options for appropriate responses; rather, the response chosen depends on the needs of the victims to become healed, and the needs of the offender to become reintegrated back into the community (Braithwaite, 1999; McCold, 1996).

The involvement of the victim and the offender will be different based on their differing backgrounds and the unique role each played in the harmful act. In restorative justice, the victim becomes the central focus of process initiatives and, as such, their involvement is not only encouraged but is also seen as a crucial component of the reparative process (Bazemore, 1996). The perspective, and by extension the process of restorative justice, is not so arrogant as to expect that all crimes and all harms will be completely healed. What it does purport to be able to achieve, at the very least, is the ability to create an opportunity that is conducive to the victim gaining empowerment over their situation and move one step closer to reaching closure and possible healing.

Restorative justice fosters direct communication by the victim towards the one person who needs to hear those emotional expressions the most, the offender. When a victim has developed the strength to confront his/her harm-inflicting counterpart, he/she has begun the journey to healing. Restorative justice processes are a safe gathering whereby the victim can express himself/herself, complete with all accompanying emotions, while having the opportunity to ask those questions that Zehr suggests are at the heart of healing for the victim. It is the offender who is able to answer those questions, while having the opportunity himself/herself to express emotions as they pertain to the event in question, and articulate his/her life story in general.

The restorative paradigm of justice approaches the issue of offender involvement from the position of inclusivity (Zehr, 1995; Van Ness & Strong, 2002; Braithwaite, 1999). It recognizes that the offender plays a significant role, not only in the actual circumstances of the offence, but also in terms of their potential contribution to the healing process of the victims (Bazemore, 2000). This relates to the restorative lens

seeing crimes as harms to interpersonal relationships that require restoration (Zehr, 1995; Bazemore, 1998; Bazemore, 2000). Seen in this light, the role of the offender becomes vital, and their level of involvement in the restorative process is significant. Offenders are expected to take responsibility for their harmful actions and be committed in their pursuit of restoration (Bazemore, 1998; Braithwaite, 1999; Zehr, 1995). The restorative justice perspective requires this acknowledgement, as it is a crucial contributory factor in achieving restoration of the harmed relationship and thus in the eventual achievement of victim healing (Van Ness & Strong, 2002). Restorative justice sees hope in each offender, such that they can take accountability for their harmful behaviour, and through reparative actions can resume their positions within society as productive citizens. As Bazemore and O'Brien state (2002: 32), "...the reparative task is essential to reintegration".

Restorative processes are consensual in nature. Equality is an element of the reparative process that ensures mutual participation and resolutions, based on agreement through consensus. The outcome of any restorative process is not punishment for the offender, but rather a plan of action that will see the offender make overt efforts to repair the damage that he/she has caused to the victim. At the conclusion of the process the victim and offender work together to develop a form of contract, in which certain actions are specified that the offender voluntarily agrees to complete. In some cases this may involve restitution, either financially or otherwise; however, not restitution in the punitive sense. Restitution from a restorative perspective, or what Barnett (2003) would refer to as 'pure restitution', would imply actions taken by the offender to repair the harm that was caused by the initial criminal act, whether that is to pay back the money taken, or

physically repair damaged property; it is not meant to be inherently punitive, rather it is a symbol of the offender's desire to compensate. As Barnett articulates, "Punitive restitution is an attempt to gain the benefits of pure restitution...while retaining the perceived advantages of the paradigm of punishment...In this sense it can be considered another attempt to salvage the old paradigm" (Barnett, 2003:50). There will not always be an opportunity for the offender to make full restitution, or at least not have the ability to restore what was lost. When restorative justice processes are used to deal with violent crimes such as murder, the emphasis is placed less on the restoration of the actual damage and more on the victim's need to start the healing process through direct dialogue with the offender. The outcome is therefore not focused on having the lost restored, per se, but with the victim being able to leave with a sense of closure, having had the opportunity to confront the offender and receive answers to questions that have been plaguing the victim and preventing his/her ability to commence healing. The significance of outcome in restorative processes is the consensual element. "Restorative consensus processes can give voice and respect (and, therefore, personal power) to these individuals [victims and offenders]" (Pranis, 2001:293).

Although the process of restorative justice seems rather ambiguous, it actually follows an organized set of principles. These principles outline how the process should operate with respect to who, what, where, when, and how. The *who* has been discussed in detail. The *what* refers to a focus on healing harms and repairing relationships. The *where* is decided according to the input of all participants and in most cases is not overly significant to accomplishing the goals of the process. As long as the location is safe and comfortable, it will be conducive to restorative dialogue. The *when* is important because

of the need to ensure that all participants are in a mental and physical state that is capable of enduring the emotional experience that will inevitably result from a restorative process. In terms of the appropriate time period for commencement of the restorative process after the harmful act, there is no standard or best practice; restorative processes can operate at any stage of a person's life. Time is of significance as it affects the likelihood of the voluntary acceptance of participation by the victim and offender, as related to their respective emotional and physical states.

How the process should occur is a question that actually contains several answers. This is because of the fluidity of the restorative process and its many possible modalities. Exactly how a restorative process is manifested will depend on the needs of the participants, as the process is adaptable to the unique interests of each participant. The fluidity of the restorative process, is one of the attributes that have contributed to the perspective gaining international recognition as an alternative response to crime. Restorative justice is akin to a social movement operating around the world in different forms. Accordingly, it is important to note the international aspects of the restorative movement, noting its larger societal goal of achieving a paradigm shift on normative thoughts about crime and justice.

Thus far restorative justice can be understood as a criminological perspective and as an organized informal process. Intriguing as it may seem, restorative justice represents far more than these two classifications. Restorative justice is often described as a radical alternative to the conventional theories of crime control and judicial processing (Acorn, 2004). The term 'radical' may carry a positive or negative connotation. This is because the restorative justice perspective is predicated on a completely different paradigm of

social thought relative to the paradigm that encompasses the traditional adversarial system of justice, which is based on punishment. This revolutionary perspective articulates a view on society that resurrects ancient wisdom and communal practices in a modern age of institutional structure, materialistic tendencies, and plurality (Pavlich, 2005). Restorative justice transcends a conventional paradigm of retributive justice and replaces it with what is viewed by advocates, as a historical system of justice, a manifestation of a symbolic 'restorative paradigm' (Zehr, 1995). "Our definitions of reality in a particular culture and era are ways of constructing reality. They are in fact models, paradigms" (Zehr, 1995:86). What we perceive as the reality of crime may eventually become guided by the philosophical understandings of a restorative paradigm.

According to Howard Zehr (1994), a paradigm is a metaphorical "lens" through which we view the world. As Zehr (1995:87) notes:

Paradigms shape our approach not only to the physical but also to the social, psychological, and philosophical world... They provide the lens through which we understand phenomena... They determine how we solve problems... They shape what we "know" to be possible and impossible... Our paradigm forms our common sense, and things which fall outside the paradigm seem absurd.

The growing rise in popularity of restorative justice as a criminological perspective, and as a set of processes for repairing the harms associated with crime, has been referred to as a social movement (Acorn, 2004). Theoretical explanations for the emergence of social movements have, in the past, been associated with societal discontent, where by discontent produces shared grievances, for which the only apparent solution is to unite against the source of the discontent. The rise of restorative justice shares some of the same characteristics as other movements, including its goals of revolutionizing the way in which the justice system responds to harms associated with

crime. Restorative justice is an emergent movement in direct response to the grievances that arise over the traditional adversarial criminal justice system.

The ultimate goal of the restorative justice movement is to affect a paradigm shift, from a retributive and deterrence based judicial system to a restorative and reparative system of justice. Restorative justice searches for balance in life and in relationships, seeking to repair rather than punish. "The idea of restorative justice is far more than a hypothesis, however. It is also an ideal of justice in an ideal of society. Giving priority to reparation rather than retribution calls for a change in social ethics and a different etiology of society" (Walgrave, 2003:265). Some may not accept that this new paradigm has the ability to transform how individuals view one another, or how we treat and respond to those who have gone astray in their life (Acorn, 2004); but when a perspective is grounded in core values, as restorative justice is, there is a greater opportunity for a paradigm shift in cognitive thinking throughout society (Zehr, 1995).

One of the things that allows the restorative justice movement to advance is its use of a variety of process models. There are several models in operation around the world. Some of the more prominent models include Victim-Offender Mediation, Victim-Offender Reconciliation, Family Group Conferencing, Peacemaking/Healing Circles, and Community Justice Forums. Each restorative model has its own unique attributes, yet they all share the underlying philosophy behind the restorative justice perspective and its principles for achieving healing through reparation. Some models are more structured, but the goals are the same and the principles that guide the processes are shared. Most practitioners of restorative justice appear to believe in the expansion of the perspective and its many processes. The way in which this goal of a paradigm shift can be achieved,

is by an internalization of the values underlying the perspective, process, and philosophy of restorative justice by individuals in society.

In some respects restorative justice is, akin to a philosophy of living. It pertains to human relations. “It is suggested that ... we must also apply the principles and values of restorative justice in our everyday interaction with other people” (Johnstone, 2003:7). A paradigm shift does not occur easily, yet any successful replacement of one paradigm by another may come about through an internalization of the fundamental values and principles associated with the new vision or paradigm. In this case what restorative justice is proposing is that individual citizens will internalize the relevant values and carry them forth in human relational practice. It seeks to provide “... a definite set of ethical ideas about how we should relate to other human beings and in particular to those who cause us trouble” (Johnstone, 2003:6). Just as the civil rights movement sought to change how individuals view and treat others who differ only in their colour, based on the value of respect for one’s fellow human, so too does restorative justice seek this broad change in personal perceptions. “The benefits to societies developing such approaches will enhance positive societal development, improve the quality of life for citizens and families and strengthen communities and the society” (Driedger, 2003:327).

Restorative justice has many values that are considered by advocates and scholars to be at the core of the perspective. These values speak to its application through a practical process, as well as to the outcomes of those practices rather than simply being confined to the philosophical underpinning of the perspective. It is because of this focus on both process and outcome that restorative justice is adaptable to different communities, different forms of harmful behaviour, and different cultural characteristics.

It is the reliance on values as a foundational basis that allows restorative justice to be adapted from perspective to practice, in a multiplicity of programmatic options. The various models mentioned are different in some respects, but they are all grounded in the same core values. While various restorative justice scholars and practitioners appear to agree on the core values, no formal articulation of the values and their definitions has occurred. “The principles of restorative justice are useful only if they are rooted in a number of underlying values. Too often these values are not stated and taken for granted. However, to apply restorative justice principles in a way that is true to their spirit and intent, we must be explicit about these values” (Zehr, 2002: 6). One of the best attempts to delineate restorative values and an articulation of a rationale for inclusion into the design of a purely restorative justice system, has been offered by VanNess and Strong (2002). These scholars have put forward a list of eleven essential values, subsumed within four macro value categories. According to VanNess and Strong, any efforts to design a restorative justice system must be grounded on these four macro values and their eleven corresponding values. These essential values may be referred to as ‘elemental values’. “Best practices should change as time, people and culture change. What stays the same and what must hold this movement together is a commitment to shared values” (Sawatsky, 2003:1). Van Ness and Strong posit that any restorative justice system must be grounded in the macro level values of *encounter*, *inclusion*, *amends*, and *reintegration*.

Within each of the macro level values are sub-values, or elemental values, that have been expressed either directly or indirectly by various restorative justice proponents. Van Ness and Strong have taken the initiative of attempting to define a restorative system via identifiable values, and these values are generally accepted and endorsed by their

fellow restorative justice supporters. The macro value of *encounter* encompasses the elemental values of *meeting*, *communication* and *agreement*. These values speak to the heart of the restorative process in which relevant stakeholders to crime come together in a meeting, engage in direct dialogue about the harms caused by the crime, and work together to agree on a plan of reparation (Van Ness & Strong, 2002). It is this encounter that transforms the criminal justice process into one that is more humanizing to the victim (Coates & Gehm, 1989).

The macro value of *inclusion*, includes the elemental values of *invitation*, *acknowledgement of interests*, and *acceptance of alternative approaches*. Invitation reflects the importance of inclusion of all those affected by a crime. This coincides with the perspective's position on the ownership of crime and reflects how the victim and offender are essential participants in dealing with the conflict arising from the crime. Notwithstanding the significant contribution of the participation of both victim and offender, the value of invitation presupposes that other members of the community should also be given the opportunity to take part in the resolution process. With the value of invitation opening up the restorative process to multiple participants, it is essential in any restorative system that the process accept the value of acknowledging each person's interests. Participants come to the process with their own personal history and different interests; it is therefore important for the system, and indeed process, to be flexible and open to alternative approaches in pursuing the goal of reparation (Van Ness & Strong, 2002).

The macro level value of *amends*, which speaks to the outcomes associated with restorative processes and justice systems, includes the elemental values of *apology*,

restitution, and *changed behaviour*. The value of apology is based on the needs of the victim to hear that the offender has taken accountability for their actions through admission to the victim (Van Ness & Strong 2002). “A genuine apology, when offered by someone who has not been forced to do it, is a significant way of making amends” (Van Ness, 2002:3). Victims can be extremely forgiving under the most extraordinary of circumstances, and in some cases all they request of the offender is an apology. However, many victims will desire more than an apology, and justifiably so. The elemental value of restitution is geared to address such entitlements, and “...can take a number of forms including service, payment for damages (processed through the court), and service in projects selected by the victim” (Goren, 2001:145). Amends certainly implies actions directed toward the victim on the part of the offender. However, the elemental value of changed behaviour often has a more inward dimension for offenders. This value is an intended goal of the restorative process, with the offender taking efforts to avoid becoming involved in future criminal activity. Through the spiritual and emotional experience of a restorative process, the offender has the opportunity to re-evaluate his or her current life situation and become motivated to start down a new path in life. Starting afresh, however, typically requires the support of others, which is referred to in the last macro value of reintegration.

Reintegration includes the elemental values of *respect*, and *assistance*. In his direct reference to respect as a value of restorative justice, Van Ness refers to the situation where a person rejoins the community and shows reengagement, which “...should not be as a member of a lesser class of individuals, but as a member in full

standing... Reintegration means that beyond – and more profound than – any shame the offender feels is a fundamental respect by others for the offender” (Van Ness, 2002:5).

Van Ness and Strong have endorsed these values as reflective of an ideal system of restorative justice, on the basis that all eleven values should be applied. They also point out the importance of conducting evaluations to maintain adherence to the values and hence the integrity of the process. These scholars and others have recognized that programs claiming to be restorative in nature may not be practicing all the stated values, and as such should not be considered fully restorative in their constitution. In some cases, diversionary programs already in operation have been labelled with the term ‘restorative justice’ in part because the concept has been receiving positive support elsewhere (Daly, 2002). The reality is that programs and systems may vary in terms of their level of restorativeness depending on how many of these eleven values are present. In essence, these scholars are proposing the existence of a continuum of restorativeness, with minimally restorative on one end, moderately restorative in the middle, and fully restorative on the opposite end (Van Ness & Strong, 2002). As Braithwaite (2000:435) contends, “Whether we are happy to call something restorative will depend on a balancing of the restorativeness of process and outcome.” Evaluations of restorative processes should, in accordance with the perspective, be evaluated on the basis of measurable changes in the lives of the participants (Bazemore, 1998).

Notwithstanding the efforts by Van Ness and Strong to articulate a defined set of core restorative values, these eleven are but a sample of the many that have been advanced over the years by restorative justice proponents. What these eleven values do help to accomplish is the understanding of how restorative justice transcends the

boundaries of other criminological theories, through its capacity for a process of reparation and its characterization as a movement promoting the revolutionary transformation of paradigms of social justice. This chapter has sought to explain various aspects of restorative justice. The way in which restorative justice views crimes is in line with the processes it promotes to address the harms and achieve reparation. Both the theoretical contentions and the process attributes are grounded in values that are culturally universal and speak to a revolutionary philosophy of human interaction. “Restorative justice theory...and practice...thus provide a new vision for a future community justice response to crime based on a different set of values and principles, focused on the needs of a different set of clients, and involved as participants in a range of decisions about the most appropriate response to crime” (Bazemore, 1998:777).

Restorative justice has been promoted as a radical new paradigm of justice. If taking on the form of an international movement is an indication of a new paradigm taking root, then restorative justice could certainly be said to hold this designation. However, it is not just the theoretical principles, the universally accepted values, or the practical application of the process that is solely responsible for the advancement of the movement around the globe. The next chapter examines how the evaluations of restorative programs in various countries have demonstrated positive results using various evaluative indicators. “As a concept and social movement, it has captured the imagination of growing segments of practitioners, academics and policymakers for its promise to “do justice” differently and better” (Daly & Immarigeon, 1999:38).

This chapter focused on restorative justice in theory, showing its emphasis on the importance of values-based processes for resolving crime and repairing relationships.

Prior to studying how the newsprint media view the perspective and practice, it is important to first outline how restorative justice and its related programs have been evaluated from an empirical standpoint. This literature review on empirical evaluations provides context to the study at hand, as the results of this descriptive study can be compared to results emanating from other empirically-based research studies. Are restorative justice programs effective at achieving their desired outcomes? What outcomes are used as evaluative measures? Who do these measures serve? These questions will all be answered in the following chapter.

Chapter 2: Restorative Justice in Practice: Empirical Evaluations

New perspectives on justice must bring about the necessary fundamental changes in social interaction if they are to survive as a valid pedagogical tool for understanding the phenomenon of crime. This chapter will attempt to show restorative justice as a new perspective on crime and justice that is capable of effecting positive change in society. This will be done by showing its effectiveness as reflected in the social scientific empirical research. The intention here is not to reiterate the philosophical underpinnings of the perspective, but rather to discuss the methods by which restorative programs are evaluated for their effectiveness in achieving certain stated goals. In order to establish restorative justice as a viable alternative to the current philosophies on crime control, it must first be empirically proven to be successful.

This chapter will present the three primary measures of restorative program effectiveness: victim satisfaction, offender satisfaction, and recidivism rates. The chapter discusses the importance and purpose behind the use of each measure, followed by a summary of relevant empirical research conducted on various restorative justice programs that utilize one or more of these measures. This will provide a thorough understanding of how restorative justice programs are evaluated, and how those evaluations hold up to scientific scrutiny. This places the thesis into comparative perspective. Understanding the effectiveness of restorative programs, through appropriate empirical research results, better enables the results of this descriptive media analysis to be put into focus.

The ultimate strength of any social theory is to be found in how accurately it captures the reality of people who are subject to it. Restorative justice theory makes bold claims about the needs of people affected by crime

within community structures. Its validity as a new social theory must be grounded in empirical evidence offered by those most affected by crime – victims and offenders (Umbreit, 1994:6).

It is never easy to develop evaluation criteria for justice programs that rely on the intricacies of human interaction as the basis for their existence. Restorative justice programs operate on a platform in which the experience of the process itself is equally as important, and arguably more important, than measures of successful outcomes (Bazemore, 1998). This establishes the importance of gathering qualitative data on the emotional experience achieved through a restorative process on the part of the victim. In no other perspective does the victim comprise as vital a role in the process as restorative justice (Zehr, 1995). The principle and values that guide these programs dictate the necessary involvement of the victim and this involvement is not simply symbolic, but rather it is essential (Strang, 2002; Sullivan & Tifft, 2001). Restorative justice attempts to influence healing and reparation for the victim harmed by crime, which can only occur if the victim plays a central role in the healing process (Karp, 2002; Van Ness & Strong, 1997).

In crime control as industry, Nils Christie (1993) points out that control of crime must be transferred from the state to the primary stakeholders, i.e. the victim, offender, and community. Restorative processes help facilitate intimate personal dialogue aimed at achieving those goals, which cannot be obtained without the direct participation of the victim. With restorative programs operating on the intimate levels that they do, there must be an appropriate qualitative measurement of the success or failure of a program, on the basis of purely subjective human experience. Researchers have answered these calls

with the use of empirical methods of qualitative analysis that are designed to capture varying levels of satisfaction among victim participants.

Researchers who undertake the difficult task of evaluating restorative processes often have several measures of satisfaction. It is not enough to simply ask the closed-ended question, “Are you satisfied with the experience?” The complexity of the preparation phase that must take place before any restorative process requires evaluation methodologies that tap into participant attitudes, at various stages in the process. With so much preparation involved, the ‘restorative process’ begins long before the victim and offender ever meet (Umbreit, 1994).

Researchers want to know how victims feel they have been treated during the actual restorative process. Interviews conducted with victims after their participation have examined specific components of the process such as whether they were treated with respect (Hayes et al., 1998), whether they felt supported at the conference (Hayes et al. 1998), or whether they felt the facilitator was fair (Fercello & Umbreit, 1998). If a program is genuinely restorative, based on the values and principles of restorative justice, then victims responding to the above questions should rarely respond negatively. An additional victim satisfaction component of empirical research methodology on restorative programs relates to the end outcome of the process. One of the goals of any genuinely restorative program is to develop a written agreement, or contract, that lists all necessary actions that must be undertaken by the offender that will constitute efforts at achieving full restoration and restitution (Umbreit, 1994; Sullivan & Tifft, 2001). This contract can be signed by both parties and their respective supporters, and must be completed by the offender within a certain time-frame. For researchers assessing victim

satisfaction with a program, the final agreement or outcome is one more measure of the effectiveness of a restorative program.

Based on the fundamental principles of the restorative justice perspective, and the significance placed on the process itself, the final agreement should not, in and of itself, constitute the sole purpose for a reparative encounter (Bush & Folger, 1994).

Nonetheless, if victim participants feel that the agreement and final outcome are not appropriate, then steps may need to be taken to ensure that future victim participants are not negatively impacted at the completion of an otherwise positive experience. As such, program evaluators will include measurements of victim satisfaction with the process outcome in addition to the other measurements of satisfaction already discussed. When these three satisfaction measurements are combined, whether in individual empirical studies or meta-analytically, they yield interesting insight into the personal experience of victims who have participated in restorative justice processes.

Before going on to state, some of the results of actual empirical research conducted using the above measures of victim satisfaction, it might be more appropriate to present some of the reasons why victims choose not to participate in restorative programs, as well as some of the reasons provided for not feeling satisfied with the process. Some researchers who study restorative programs (e.g. McCold & Wachtel, 1998) have found that a self-selection bias may be in operation that could be used to explain some of the reported high levels of victim satisfaction. The success of restorative processes may have as much to do with individual victims' moral character than with the process itself (Acorn, 2004). In the words of one outspoken critic: "Why would one do it [participate in restorative process] unless committed to an ethic of self-sacrifice and

saintliness?” (Acorn, 2004:10). The suggestion that victims in restorative processes are a morally patient group remains in the realm of speculation, as there is no empirical research supporting this assertion. Even if such a suggestion lacks empirical evidence, its mere contemplation has been enough to evoke interest in examining reasons why some victims of crime choose to forego restorative processes in favour of either conventional judicial approaches or complete abandonment of legal adjudication.

Considering the wide variety of crimes, each eliciting varying degrees of pain and harm, one could easily understand that victims of some crimes may be more inclined to participate in restorative programs than others who have suffered from different crimes. Notwithstanding offence type variances in the reasons for non-participation, those reasons that researchers have been able to obtain could be interpreted as reflective of reasons in general. For instance, victims have commented on how they don't consider restorative processes to be effective in adequately punishing the offender (Warner, 1992). Some people rely on the retributive notions of “an eye for an eye”, and therefore do not see the value in any alternative methods for dealing with crime and offenders.

Other reasons captured by researchers suggest that the time and effort required of victims in restorative programs outweighs any consideration of potential benefits accrued there from (Warner, 1992). Put more practically, “Why would victims want to expend their time and energy on a bad and unwanted relationship that they would prefer to erase from their lives?” (Acorn, 2004:12). This mirrors the criticisms put forward against restorative justice, in which it is pointed out that the crime was initiated solely by the offender and any suggestion that the victim is obligated to take responsibility for the resolution process is absurd (Acorn, 2004).

Still other victims seem to be fearful of the notion of meeting their offender, especially if the crime was of a violent nature. Further reports suggest that dissatisfaction with the outcome of the process relates more to a lack of formal updates from program operators on the completion of the agreements than with the actual contents of those agreements (Morris & Maxwell, 1998). Not surprisingly, there is a more obvious reason for dissatisfaction that relates directly to the failure to complete an outcome/agreement on the part of the consenting offender (Warner, 1992). While we should be reluctant to question the motives of a victim of crime with regard to their willingness to participate in a restorative process, the reasons for non-participation, and dissatisfaction in general, are helpful to better understanding the role that restorative justice can play within criminal justice at large.

Umbreit and Fercello (1997a:6), in their evaluation study of the Victim/Offender Conferencing Program in Washington County, Minnesota, found that responses from victims reflected a high level of satisfaction (100%) with the justice system and how it treated their case. In a similar study conducted by the same researchers, responses to a question asking whether victims would recommend the restorative process to a friend, they again found that 100 percent of the victims interviewed said that they would recommend it (Umbreit & Fercello, 1997b). These results were replicated in a study of 12 family group conferencing programs in Minnesota conducted for juvenile offenders, in which 93 percent of victims felt that their case was handled satisfactorily by the juvenile justice system (Fercello & Umbreit, 1998).

Studies conducted in Great Britain yield slightly lower levels of satisfaction of victim participants compared with studies reported from the United States, but

satisfaction of victim participants nonetheless outnumber satisfaction levels of non-participant victims. Umbreit et al. (1996) conducted a total of 123 interviews in both Leeds and Coventry counties in Great Britain with results suggesting that the majority of mediated victims were satisfied with the criminal justice system (62%); however, this percentage is only slightly higher than the non-mediated group (58%).

In comparing victim satisfaction with the justice system's handling of cases amongst four programs in four Canadian provinces, relative to victims who did not participate in any restorative process, researchers found that 78 percent of mediated victims felt satisfied with the handling of their cases (Umbreit et al. 1995). This percentage is contrasted with a significantly lower proportion of those who did not participate but felt satisfied (48%).

In their final report on the Queensland Community Conferencing Pilot project in SE Australia, Hayes et al. (1998), found initial post-conference levels of satisfaction for victims reported to be 96.7 percent. The findings of the follow up interviews, which took place an average of 3.4 months post-conference, remained consistently high at 95.6 percent (Hayes et al. 1998).

Umbreit and Fercello, (1997b) used Likert scale response options ranging from 1 to 10, with 10 being the highest level of satisfaction and 1 constituting the lowest levels. The mean response between 1 and 10 of victims was 8.18, reflecting high levels of satisfaction with the overall results of conferencing.

In Umbreit et al. (1996:15), it was found that "Nearly 75 percent or more of victims in direct and indirect mediation were satisfied with the outcome of their mediation sessions." In the study of four Canadian programs from different provinces,

the total percentage of victims who felt satisfied with the outcome of the mediation sessions was 89 percent (Umbreit et al. 1995).

Morris and Maxwell (1998) found that only about half of the victims interviewed in their sample were satisfied with the juvenile conferencing outcome; with one-third of respondents stating that they were dissatisfied (Morris & Maxwell, 1998). In attempting to address some of the reasons why a large portion of victims felt dissatisfied with the outcome, they concluded that

For some, this was because they saw the decision of the family group conference as too soft or too harsh. But, more frequently, victims were dissatisfied because the promised arrangements fell down afterwards or they were simply never informed about the eventual outcome of the family group conference (Morris & Maxwell, 1998:13).

Those studies that have been reported here, with the exception of Morris' and Maxwell's, all report very high levels of personal satisfaction, ranging from 62 to 100 percent of all respondents. With respect to these studies, there is a clear and consistent finding of success from restorative processes, at least with respect to the three components of personal victim satisfaction with the criminal justice system, the restorative process, and the process outcome. Do these same issues and results arise in regard to offender participants in restorative justice programs? The focus now shifts to the offender.

It is easy to understand why restorative justice programs are evaluated on the basis of victim satisfaction, as they constitute a primary focus in the reparative process. Victims are involved because they are the ones who require healing, reparation, and restitution; but they are just one of the key stakeholders in that process (Van Ness & Strong, 1997; Umbreit 1994). There is yet another key player in the process who brings

an entirely different set of circumstances and motivations to the reparative meeting. This is the offender.

There would likely not be a restorative process without the voluntary involvement of the offender. If an offender is coerced into participating, then the motivation for being open, honest, and respectful of the victim and support personnel may be diminished, although some researchers contend that offenders' choice to participate may be influenced by varying degrees of state coercion (Umbreit, 1994). When the offender voluntarily participates in a restorative process his or her experiences of that meeting will likely be unique, given that he or she will come to the meeting with different motivations, different life experiences, and different intentions. These differences influence researchers to incorporate qualitative measures of offender satisfaction with the program as indicators of overall success. What offenders experience in these processes is not irrelevant. Offenders' experiences are important because they hold a key place in the process.

One of the underlying goals of restorative justice is that the offender will open up, take responsibility for his or her actions, accept accountability in the form of reparative actions, and thus be on the right path for the future (Umbreit, 1994; Zehr, 1995). If the process operates to its fullest potential, offenders may leave with a renewed sense of self, having been reminded of his/her connectedness to the community (Braithwaite, 1999). If that occurs, one would predict that any measures of satisfaction on the part of the offender would likely be positive.

Must researchers consider the offenders' level of satisfaction with the process as equally important to their study as those reported by the victims. The components of

satisfaction measures are the same for both victims and offenders. That is, offenders are also asked about their satisfaction levels with the criminal justice system, the process itself, and the outcome/agreement that is developed. While the measures may be the same, the responses are likely to be distinct to the offender's experience. In terms of unique individuality, the reasons why offenders choose not to participate and/or why they express dissatisfaction will also be addressed. This is important for understanding the role of restorative justice as a criminal justice tool for harm reparation in terms of the level of support from offenders. As with victim satisfaction, the results of empirical studies utilizing these prescribed measures as they relate to offender experiences will be presented. Following this discussion, the final measure of success of any restorative program – recidivism rates - will be introduced.

Qualitative assessments of justice system practices often employ direct interviews. Whenever researchers use qualitative methods for analyzing personal experience, there is a certain level of blind trust that must be given. There is always a possibility that the offender could be lying, although they are trusted not to do so given the emotional experience that they undertook. However, offenders are less likely other than other participants to be viewed as honest, as they are dishonest, in the eyes of the average citizen. Accordingly, concern arises over the incorporation of measures of their personal experience into restorative research. If it can be demonstrated that such programs have an intimate and internal influence on offenders, then that experience could go a long way toward motivating other offenders to stop their criminal activity.

Questions by researchers that probe offenders' levels of satisfaction with the criminal justice system are important for demonstrating the influence that restorative

processes have on such individuals. According to restorative justice theory and peacemaking criminology, the use of punitive measures of crime control leads to a cyclical pattern of violence in society (Quinney, 2000). It is believed that inflicting pain and suffering on an offender, even if in response to pain and suffering caused to the victim, may lead him/her to resent the system that caused the pain to the point where they seek redemption when they are finally released. This is the “violence of criminal justice” (Quinney, 2000:28). If this is true, then it could be established by measuring the satisfaction levels of offenders who have participated in restorative processes, and comparing them against those who were adjudicated through the conventional system.

The third measure of offender satisfaction relates to whether the outcome of the process is seen as fair. Fairness might not be considered by some citizens to be overly necessary when referring to the actions that offenders must undertake to achieve restitution. However, to researchers of restorative programs, measures of outcome satisfaction are important, representing the potential of restoration in achieving equally satisfying results for both victims and offenders. Overly punitive restitution agreements may defeat the purpose of the restorative process. As McAnany (1977) points out, the sentencing principles of restitution and retribution are condemnably compatible. It is likely because of the possibility of perceptions of punitiveness in the form of restitution agreements that researchers attempt to collect qualitative data on the reasons why offenders consider the outcomes to be dissatisfying.

Reasons for dissatisfaction among offender participants can differ among individuals, but each rationale is equally compelling. There is much preparation that goes into organizing any restorative process, and as such there are a myriad of

opportunities for offender participants to feel that they have not been treated with appropriate levels of respect and consideration. At each stage of the process the possibility exists for factors to emerge that render the satisfaction levels of the offender lower than expected. For instance, Umbreit et al. (2001) report how some offenders have found it frustrating and less than satisfying to have to meet in multiple locations throughout the processing stages. Reasons such as this seem to be relatively rare and, in the grand scheme of things, less relevant to the overall process. Unfortunately, many more reasons that are provided by offenders reflect considerably more serious concerns that translate into reflections of ineffective program operation, and hence a less than genuine restorative process.

One of the more prominent expressions of dissatisfaction stems from a perceived lack of input into the final agreement (Umbreit & Fercello, 1997). The process is supposed to be consensual, with the final agreement derived through mutual discussion and equal input. Despite this principle, offenders often feel that the agreement, or the form of restitution, has been developed prior to the actual meeting, thereby limiting the input of the offender in that discussion process (Umbreit & Fercello, 1997). In other studies, offenders have reported that monetary forms of restitution reflect unrealistic expectations due to present financial hardships on the part of the offenders (Roy, 1993).

In a more extreme case, Umbreit et al. (2001) report from a previously conducted study that offenders have expressed exploitive tendencies on the part of the victim regarding certain facts of the offence. More specifically, it has been reported that victims have incorrectly accused offenders of stealing items from their homes that the offenders completely refute. It appears from these select offenders that the victims were using the

restorative process as a means of acquiring additional items that were in fact not taken at all. The problem, of course, is that offenders feel powerless in their ability to refute or argue such accusations; after all, they agreed to participate under the guise that they would take accountability and responsibility for the crime in question. Unfortunately, this particular reasoning for dissatisfaction remains speculative.

There are likely numerous other potential reasons why offenders would not feel satisfied with a restorative process; those stated are but a sample. All of the reasons provided have elicited some insight into the potentially unintended consequences that can result from some programs operating under the rubric of restorative justice. Knowing the reasons why offenders express dissatisfaction is important, but it cannot compare to the importance that may be assigned to the qualitative and quantitative results of empirical research with regard to the three measures of offender participant satisfaction, to which we will now turn our focus.

In their study of the mediation programs in Leeds and Coventry, Great Britain, Umbreit et al. (1996) found a combined total of mediated offender satisfaction with the criminal justice system to be 79 percent, compared with 55 percent who were not mediated. With regard to the study conducted on the Washington County, Minnesota conferencing program, Umbreit and Fercello (1997a) discovered that 88.6 percent of offenders interviewed were satisfied with the justice system. The results of the study on family group conferencing programs in 12 sites in Minnesota (Fercello & Umbreit, 1998) revealed that 94 percent of young offenders were satisfied with the juvenile justice system.

Similar high levels of offender satisfaction were also reported in Umbreit et al.'s (1995) assessment of four Canadian programs, with combined site totals of 74 percent, compared to non-mediated offenders who considered the justice system to be satisfactory in only 53 percent of cases.

The following studies all seem to report that offenders consider the outcomes of their respective restorative experiences to be fair and satisfactory. In the case of the four province Canadian study (Umbreit et al., 1995), offender satisfaction surpassed even the high level of victim satisfaction (91% of offenders, 89% victims) with respect to the outcome of the mediation processes. This interesting result held true for the study conducted in Great Britain where 100 percent of the offenders in the direct mediation program were satisfied with the outcome (74% of offenders in the indirect mediation process were satisfied with the outcome) (Umbreit et al. 1996).

The results of the study conducted on family group conferencing in the 12 sites in Minnesota, revealed the same level of satisfaction for offenders as with victims, with regards to program outcome (95%). In the Hayes et al. (1998) study conducted in Queensland, Australia initial interviews revealed that 99.1 percent of offenders were satisfied with the agreements reached in the conference. As noted earlier, this particular study involved follow-up interviews two to four months after the conference; respondents commented on their satisfaction with the conference "At the time of the Conference" as well as providing a subsequent response to the question: "Are you happy with how the agreement has worked out for you?" (Hayes et al., 1998:28). The responses of offenders to these two questions were 95.6 and 97 percent, respectively. Lastly, Morris and

Maxwell (1998) found that 84 percent of young offenders, as well as 85 percent of their parents, felt satisfied with the outcome of the conferencing process.

For as long as statistics have been recorded on criminal offences and their offenders, the rate of criminal arrest, and subsequent reconviction of said offenders, has been used by government agencies and criminologists (Gibbs, 1975). Recidivism rates are used by government agencies, as well as policy-makers, to assess the relative effectiveness of current methods of crime control, and are frequently reported by media outlets in an effort to propel changes to current judicial strategies. Such rates have been thought to allow society to quantify the success, or lack thereof, of our efforts to combat crime in our country. Notwithstanding the quality of results obtained through personal testimony, the epistemological process of quantitative analysis continues to supersede its qualitative counterpart, in terms of assessing the effectiveness of any criminal justice system (Ball, 1975). Recidivism rates constitute just one method of quantitative assessment and are, arguably, the sharpest quantitative tool for evaluative measurement for any diversionary program that operates within the criminal justice system.

Restorative justice programs are no exception. These programs, which we know from our theoretical discussion include such models as victim-offender mediation, victim-offender reconciliation, family group conferencing and community conferencing, as well as healing/peacemaking circles, have been subjected to evaluation based on recidivism rates. The effectiveness of such programs is often measured by the extent to which they can reduce future criminality in those offenders who have successfully completed the programs. The following discussion explores the use of recidivism rates as

an evaluative tool for assessing the effectiveness of restorative programs around the world.

Recidivism rates are easily comprehended. Numerical data such as 'rates' provide relatively simple information that is amenable to popular understanding by government officials and society at large. Quantitative data may also be preferred by government agencies due to their susceptibility to manipulation (Wood, 1975; Ball, 1975). The method for calculating recidivism rates lends itself to widespread use given their ease of production. Calculations typically consist of gathering arrest records and/or court records of offenders who have completed a restorative program, at differing intervals post-program, and comparing them to the remaining number of non-program 'graduates' who did not re-offend. The time frame for collecting recidivism rates, post-program, is completely arbitrary but may be influenced by such factors as research funding, time available, and ease of data collection; generally 6 months post-program is considered by many to be acceptable (Miller, 1975). Notwithstanding the various methods of collection and calculation, recidivism rates clearly represent a simple, objective, and quantifiable way to assess program effectiveness, despite warnings by criminologists as to their validity and reliability (Gibbs, 1975; Count-van Manen, 1975). For many people, numbers are simply far easier to comprehend than complex human emotions expressed through subjective personal testimony.

Restorative justice has gained popularity over the last two decades precisely because current crime control strategies have failed to provide supporting evidence for their success (Zellerer & Cannon, 2002); whether such measurements are based on recidivism rates or crime rates in general. It may be that no process of quantification can

ever truly reflect the success of any correctional approach, whether it is punitive or restorative. The complexity of human behaviour may simply not be conducive to accurate, objective quantification (Gibbs, 1975; Count-van Manen, 1975). Despite such concerns, quantifiable measurements such as recidivism rates will continue to constitute a primary evaluative tool in the eyes of many government officials and criminal justice program evaluators. Restorative justice researchers have long understood this fact, and have therefore included measurements of recidivism rates in their studies on the effectiveness of restorative programs.

Despite the numerous arguments that can be made against the use of recidivism rates as an appropriate measure for any crime control strategy, it must be noted that they continue to be used. How effective are restorative justice programs on the basis of recidivism rates? Many proponents of restorative justice consider the use of recidivism rates to be misleading and lacking in meaningful indicators of procedural success (Zehr, 1995). Researchers of restorative justice programs continue to incorporate quantifiable measures of success that are based primarily on rates of re-offending in order to satisfy both program funders and sceptical community supporters (Van Ness & Strong, 1997).

Hayes et al. (1998) found the lowest frequency of recidivism of all the studies examining restorative programs. In their study on young offenders conferenced in Queensland, Australia during the period of April 1996 and March 1997, only 11 of the 137 offences detected occurred *after* the completion of a conference. Using the criminal history data obtained on 101 conferenced young offenders, the 'reconviction' rate amounted to just 7 percent (7/101). These new offences therefore occurred after the date at which the offenders were conferenced, which would have been within the date range

noted previously. While this rate is encouraging, as a reflection of program success, the authors noted a disproportionate time frame for follow up post-study, and therefore some youths who were conferenced later in the study period did not have as much opportunity to re-offend as compared to those conferenced at the beginning of the study period given the shorter time period of follow-up (Hayes et al. 1998).

The preceding study results on reconviction differ dramatically from a similar study on juvenile offenders in Queensland in which over half (56%) of a sample of 200 young offenders re-offended between 3 and 5 years post-conference (Hayes & Daly, 2004). What this research demonstrated was that pre-conference factors accounted for much of the predictive measures for future offending. More specifically, it was determined that age, gender and prior offending had more to do with post-conference reconvictions than the actual process. In the words of the authors, “We conclude that while there remains uncertainty about how conference features are related to re-offending, what offenders bring to their conference is highly predictive of what they do afterwards” (Hayes & Daly, 2004:167). This can be compared to a study done in New Zealand by Morris and Maxwell (1998) in which 26 percent of conferenced youth re-offended one year post-conference. Clearly there can be great disparity among differing empirical studies concerning the calculated percentages of conferenced offenders who go on to re-offend; of course the studies reported thus far have been on different programs using different sample sizes and even different operational definitions for what constitutes a reconviction.

The results reported in the preceding studies have thus far been for general reconviction rates of participant offenders, these studies do not yield precise insight into

the relationship between offence type and reconviction rates. However, a large scale study conducted in Canberra, Australia examined recidivism rates of violent offences, drink driving offences, juvenile property - business victims (e.g. shoplifting where the victim is a store owner or representative), and juvenile property – personal victims, of youths processed through conferencing (Sherman et al., 2000). The results of this research concluded that recidivism rates for youths committing violent offences post-conference fell by almost half (49%, or from just under one offence per offender per year, to less than half of one offence per offender per year), compared to the non-conference group whose reduction in new post-conference violent offences fell by only 11 percent. With regard to the remaining three offence types (drink driving, juvenile property – business victim, juvenile property – personal victim), there were no significant differences between conferenced and non-conferenced groups (Sherman et al., 2000). On the basis of this study's results, conference processes seem to have a larger positive impact on youth who commit violent offences prior to conferencing than those who commit drink driving or property offences, and as such conferencing processes may be more conducive to some offences than others.

Some studies that incorporate multiple follow-up assessments over longer periods of time have demonstrated interesting fluctuations of reconviction rates between conferenced/mediated groups and those that did not participate in any kind of restorative process. Bonta et al. (1998) studied a restorative resolutions program in Winnipeg, Manitoba comparing program participant offenders with a matched control group of inmates, with respect to reconviction rates. They used two variables for measuring recidivism: CONVT – new offences resulting in a custodial sentence, and VIOLATION –

new arrests and/or convictions resulting in either conviction or a violation of conditions of supervision. With regard to the first variable, CONVT, measured at 12 months post-program, assessments yielded no statistically significant differences between the RR (restorative resolution) group and the inmate group (6.7% vs. 14.9%) (Bonta et al., 1998). However, when these same groups were measured again at the two year post-program period, differences between the group reconviction rates widened to the point of statistical significance (11.5% for RR group and 33.3% for inmate group, $P < .05$). Measures of the second variable, VIOLATION, measured at 18 months post-program yielded statistically significant differences ($\chi^2 = 4.56$, $P < .05$); with the RR group sharing lower recidivism rates than their matched control group counterparts (Bonta et al., 1998).

A follow-up study by Bonta et al. (2002) on the same Restorative Resolutions program in Winnipeg produced the same results on reconviction rates. The gap in reconviction rates between the program participants and matched probation counterparts was positively correlated with length of the assessment periods. In the first year of post-program assessments 15 percent of RR offenders re-offended compared to 38 percent of the probation group; by the second year this gap widened, 28 and 54 percent respectively; and by the third year the gap was 35 and 66 percent respectively (Bonta et al., 2002). These two studies produced replicated results demonstrating that the restorative resolutions program has positive impacts on recidivism at the one-year post-program period, with increased differences between treated and non-treated groups occurring with each subsequent year. Unfortunately, these results are limited to one particular program operating in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and as such cannot be generalized to other restorative justice programs operating in other provinces and other countries.

Other studies that have examined recidivism rates as measures of effectiveness of restorative programs have found positive results, yet not to the point of satisfying empirical requirements of a statistically significant nature. McCold and Wachtel (1998) for example, found that the positive reduction in recidivism rates of their Bethlehem Pennsylvania Police Family Group Conferencing Project participants, as compared to the non-conferenced group, was likely more attributable to self-selection biases than to the conferencing process itself. These researchers examined re-arrest rates for three groups: conference group, control group, and treatment-selected group (selected for conferencing but did not participate). The re-arrest rates at 12 months post-conference for each group were 20, 48, and 35 percent respectively (McCold & Wachtel, 1998). Because the control group rate fell in the middle of the conference group and treatment-selected group, the researchers concluded "...that any reduction in recidivism are the result of the voluntary program diverting from formal processing those juveniles who are least likely to re-offend in the first place" (McCold & Wachtel, 1998:4). Thus, no definitive results on the effectiveness of conferencing in reducing future offending could be statistically demonstrated. This was supported by Umbreit and Coates (1992:3) in their analysis of victim-offender mediation programs in 4 states of the U.S.:

Considerably fewer and less serious additional crimes were committed within a one year period by juvenile offenders in victim offender mediation programs, when compared to similar offenders who did not participate in mediation. Consistent with two recent English studies ... this important finding, however, is not statistically significant"

Despite suggestions by this author that quantitative data is more appreciated by government agencies and the larger society, the studies which use recidivism rates as measures of success for studies of restorative programs are far fewer in number than

those that utilize qualitative data in the form of victim/offender satisfaction ratings (Bonta et al., 2002). Regardless of their level of use compared to other epistemological methods of measuring program effectiveness, recidivism rates are in fact incorporated into more and more empirical studies on restorative programs. Those studies that we have examined demonstrate the inconsistency in findings whenever recidivism rates are measured. Differences in findings can be attributed to a multiplicity of reasons including operational definitions of reconviction, number of follow-up assessments, individual programs, use of and availability of control groups.

The findings reported above suggest that restorative programs can yield recidivism rates as low as 7 percent and as high as 56 percent. Despite this large disparity, one can only assess the positive nature of these numbers with respect to their individual research designs and corresponding methodological weaknesses. Overall, many restorative justice researchers claim that such programs can have, at the very least, similar reductions in recidivism as have been associated with other diversionary programs (McCold & Wachtel, 1998). More often than not, however, studies reveal more positive reductions in recidivism of conferenced/mediated offenders than those groups of offenders who did not participate in any sort of restorative process. This has been demonstrated in the studies reported here. Readers are left to their own interpretation of study results, but those studies discussed thus appear to provide tenuous evidence of positive benefits from restorative justice programs in reducing recidivism, even if those results differ with each subsequent study.

The purpose of this chapter was to provide information on the methods by which researchers attempt to assess the effectiveness of restorative programs. Methods of

success are primarily based on three variables: victim satisfaction, offender satisfaction, and recidivism rates. Both victim satisfaction and offender satisfaction are measured qualitatively using personal interviews, and quantitatively using Likert scale measurements. The results of studies examining these variables have demonstrated high levels of satisfaction among victim and offender participants, which are both consistent across regions, countries, offender ages, and types of offences. Taken together, one interpretation of these results is that there are practical benefits to restorative processes relative to current criminal justice approaches. On this basis alone, restorative justice proponents have a stage from which they can make claims about the empirical successes of such programs and further espouse how restorative justice in theory and practice is an effective alternative to addressing the circumstances of crime. As for the third measurement, recidivism rates, numerous researchers in different countries have achieved mixed results. In some cases, recidivism rates of conferenced/mediated offenders have demonstrated the positive potential of restoration, while others suggest minimal to no difference when compared to non-mediated control groups. Accordingly, it may be asserted that continued use, and even expansion of restorative processes is not unwarranted, as their demonstrable benefits appear to outnumber their evident failures.

PART III: METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3: Introduction

The purpose of conducting this descriptive study was to extend the level of knowledge already available to scholars, students, working professionals, and others concerning the construct of 'restorative justice'. It was speculated that there exist four aspects of every perspective that, when taken together, paint the clear picture of any subject of inquiry. These elements are not in any way definitive, nor have they been empirically validated. However, they are logically derived constructs at play in any critical analysis. The first thing to be addressed is the philosophical definition of the perspective itself, as outlined in the academic literature. This refers to the essence of the perspective in its most abstract form. The second issue that needs to be addressed for any construct is whether it has been empirically validated. This refers to the empirical research that has been conducted on the perspective, usually with the goal of either providing supporting evidence for its application, or empirically rejecting its practical effectiveness. Third is the manner in which the perspective is represented/portrayed in various media outlets. The final issue refers to the level of societal acceptance, as reflected in the public's perceptions concerning the perspective in question. "It will be important to know how acceptable restorative justice is to the general public if restorative justice is to be introduced, or maintained, in any country, as a substantial part of the way to deal with crime" (Lee, 1996: 337). Restorative justice has been evolving over the last several decades, and the time is right to examine these four issues, showing how they play out with specific reference to restorative justice as a criminological perspective. Thus far this thesis has provided a summation of the first two matters – the philosophical foundations of the perspective and its empirical validation. Attention is now turned to the

heart of the thesis, which is a descriptive content analysis. This seeks to uncover the third issue: media portrayal.

It is not hard to imagine a criminal justice perspective receiving media exposure, given that most perspectives are developed with the intention of positively contributing to the betterment of society. Restorative justice is no exception; it is an alternative perspective that seeks to provide practical solutions to problems by eliminating of undoing harm done by one individual against another, whether the action is defined as criminal or not. It is critical to assess how the perspective is portrayed in the media?

This research study was conducted on the basis of a key assumption about the media, an assumption that is based on a number of independent empirical research conclusions and a similar number of theoretical contentions. The assumption that guided the focus of this research was that the media constitutes a primary source of information for average citizens on everyday social issues (Ball-Rokeach, 1998; Yang & Stone, 2003; Thornton & Wahl, 1996). As Sotirovic (2003: 133) points out, “people are able to make logical inferences and reach appropriate conclusions based on information that is available to them. For problems such as crime and welfare, with which most people have little direct experience, media are the major sources of new information.” Furthermore, this research has chosen to utilize newspapers as the units of analysis on the assumption that this medium of communication remains a prominent source of information for citizens (Lens, 2002). Media analysis is particularly relevant considering that the empirical results from evaluative research has demonstrated a consistently positive view of the perspective in its programmatic form.

Study Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the manner in which restorative justice has been portrayed in the B.C. newsprint media. Drawing on the contentions put forth in the literary chapters of this thesis, this study examined the media's portrayal on the basis of three key objectives. It has already been articulated how the restorative justice perspective can best be described on the basis of core restorative values, and how applying the values in practice will inevitably lead one to both live and apply restorative justice. One key objective was therefore to examine the extent to which newsprint articles accurately describe the construct of restorative justice in line with the previously articulated notions about the perspective. It has also been noted that the empirical evaluations of restorative justice demonstrate that it can achieve meaningful results for all program participants, as well as an average reduction in recidivism that typically exceeds that which is accomplished through non-restorative means. A second objective of this study was therefore to assess the level of positive support that articles are inferring on the construct, through the presence of attitudinal themes. The study sought to understand whether the media portrays restorative justice in a positive or negative light, allowing for subsequent generalizations about public perceptions of the construct, in accordance with general acceptance about the media's influence on social issues. Lastly, previous chapters have shown how the processes of restorative justice are demonstrably effective for different age groups of offenders and different offence types. A final objective was to examine whether the newsprint media perpetuate three pre-conceived myths about restorative justice; myths that speak to who restorative justice is most appropriate for, in terms of its application to offenders and offence types.

Study Objectives

The specific objectives associated with a descriptive study are as important as hypotheses are to more experimental research designs. The objectives help define the boundaries of the study, by limiting the number of variables, samples, and overall data that is included for analysis.

There are three specific research objectives for this particular study, which directly relate to its overall purpose. These objectives, when taken together, form a general description of the portrayal of the construct of restorative justice in the newsprint media. Stated simply, these objectives will describe the *what*, the *how*, and the *who* of B.C. newsprint media portrayals of the perspective of restorative justice.

1. The *what*: To identify the presence of core restorative values in the content of each article, as reflective of *what* restorative justice is described to be.
2. The *how*: To describe *how* the construct of restorative justice is portrayed, by identifying positive and negative themes in the articles and using these to determine overall article ratings as either positive, negative, or neutral.
3. The *who*: To describe *who* the perspective and/or programs are depicted to be appropriate for, by identifying the frequency of articles that contain the three pre-conceived myths about the criteria for program participant inclusion.

Chapter 4: Getting Started

Units of Analysis

Answering questions about how a research construct is portrayed in the media inevitably forces the researcher to consider what media source would best be analyzed to adequately capture the objectives of the study. Newspaper articles were chosen as the units of analysis for this particular descriptive study. The universe of written archival records chosen for analysis was every newspaper article on the subject of restorative justice. However, since the researcher lives in the Canadian province of British Columbia (B.C.); and considering that this province has a vibrant restorative justice movement, complete with over 60 existing operational programs (Provincial Directory, 2002), the sampling population was limited to every article containing the term 'restorative justice' that has been written in B.C. newspapers. Limiting the sampling population to only B.C. newspaper articles was both a personal and logistical decision.

Data Source

A decision was made to limit the sampling population to full-text articles that could be found on-line, and therefore the final sampling population was all articles containing the term 'restorative justice' that were found to exist in a single on-line newspaper database that is accessible through Simon Fraser University's library website.

The source of data for this research came from the on-line newspaper database called *Canadian Newsstand*, which is provided by the on-line services of *ProQuest Information and Learning Services Company*, with the following description outlining the scope of service relevant to this particular database:

“Fulltext of the Canadian newspapers owned by Southam: Calgary Herald (from Dec 7, 1988), Daily News [Halifax] (from Oct 22, 1990); Edmonton Journal (from Mar 10, 1989), Guardian [Charlottetown] (from May 17, 1997); Kingston Whig Standard (from Jan 14, 1985); Leader Post [Regina] (from Jan 5, 2000), Montreal Gazette (from Jan 8, 1985), Ottawa Citizen (from Sep 3, 1985), Province [Vancouver] (from Mar 20, 1989); Star Phoenix [Saskatoon] (from May 1, 1996); Sudbury Star (from July 8, 1999); Times Colonist [Victoria] (from Jan 4, 1993); Vancouver Sun (from Jan 2, 1987); and Windsor Star (from Oct 20, 1986).

Also includes Financial Post (from Dec 27, 1989; continued by National Post), National Post (from Oct 27, 1998), and Toronto Star (from Jan. 1, 1993) and Canwest's small-market BC papers, such as the Delta Optimist.” (description located in entry page to the actual database as accessed via SFU's on-line library website.)

This database was utilized for two important reasons. First it was convenient. The database provides complete full text copies, allowing the researcher to conduct the necessary qualitative and quantitative discourse analysis on individual article content without having to acquire printed copies of every article directly from the individual news publication sources. The majority of the newspapers contained in this database herald from cities, municipalities, and towns all over the province of British Columbia. Furthermore, the relatively small population size of many of the towns and municipalities, and their corresponding small paper circulation size, prevented the papers from being collected by traditional archival institutions such as university libraries or public libraries close to the researcher's hometown. Otherwise, the researcher would have had to contact the individual publishers and make arrangements for them to send every article on 'restorative justice', something that may not even be logistically possible depending on their record keeping procedures. ProQuest provides full text articles from every paper contained in its database, allowing a full quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The second reason for utilizing this single database relates to reliability and replication. Gathering articles from one source limits the potential for problems concerning the reliability of the data collection procedure. Any future researchers who wish to replicate this study can do so by accessing this single source for all articles analyzed herein. In addition, ProQuest has a print format that is consistent from one article to the next so that the same information pertaining to article logistics is provided for each and every article. Information such as article length (in word counts), page number, paper section, paper type, article type, date of publication, etc. is consistently provided and presented. The process for collecting the relevant data for this study is thus efficient and reliable.

Population Parameters

The unit of analysis for this particular study are individual newspaper articles containing the term “restorative justice” obtained from Canadian Newsstand. This database allows the researcher to create an exhaustive list of articles for the sample population, that being all articles containing the term restorative justice in Southam and Canwest news publications in the province of British Columbia. The use of key word searches is a common practice amongst researchers conducting content analysis on newsprint media (Frank, 2003).

The researcher set out to establish a sampling frame from which a random sample of articles could then be isolated for subsequent primary analysis. Procedurally, the acquisition of this sampling frame required the identification of all articles published in B.C. from the original search result list containing every article with the term restorative justice from across Canada. This procedure was not difficult; however it was time

consuming, as each city of publication had to be identified as being located in B.C. The original search result conducted in Canadian Newsstand using the single search term of “restorative justice” yielded 1132 articles¹. After isolating all the articles published in B.C. from the original search result list, the final sample frame consisted of an even 500 articles. However, of these 500 articles, 9 appeared to have duplicate listings with the only discernable difference being a reference in the title to “Final C Edition” versus “Final Edition”. However, the contents of these duplicate articles were exactly the same. Based on these similarities, the researcher chose to include only the “Final Edition” versions. With these 9 articles excluded from the sampling frame, the final number of articles in the sampling frame was 491.

It was at this point that the researcher chose NOT to conduct a random sample of articles from this sampling frame; rather, the methodological decision was made to conduct analysis on *all* 491 articles, thereby maximizing the potential for empirical reliability of results. This decision was based on a preliminary analysis of a random sample of 100 articles, which demonstrated that not every article containing the term ‘restorative justice’ yielded significant information that could be properly analyzed. Additional discussion of this particular methodological issue occurs later, but it is noteworthy at this point to indicate that the term ‘restorative justice’, and its presence within an article, does not in and of itself constitute an article of research importance.

¹ This sampling frame production was undertaken in April of 2004, and so by default, the time frame for the research was limited to the publication date of the earliest article and commencing up to the publication date of the most recent article, that being no later than April of the same year. As it turns out, the date of the earliest published article was March 12th, 1987 with the most recent included article having a reported publication date of April 27th of 2004; thus spanning over 17 years.

Chapter 5: Preliminary Exploratory Process

The next step in the study process was to conduct an exploratory analysis of all identified news articles to help the researcher better understand what the most appropriate variables would be for the final quantitative analysis in the descriptive study. The primary goal of this exploratory analysis was to develop a coding scheme that would allow the researcher to more objectively and accurately code the articles using variables that are relevant to the study objectives and which can be utilized by others to either replicate this study or use as a tool in future media content analyses on restorative justice. Although many of the variables identified as a result of this exploration are of a demographic nature, and hence do not require a thorough reading of the articles' contents, the real effort involved the establishment of a coding scheme for measuring the research objectives.

The purpose of conducting this exploratory analysis was to capture the qualitative themes depicted in the article contents, as they relate to the creation of measurable variables that can be used to identify the frequency of occurrence of the three primary objectives. In order to describe these articles in accordance with the stated objectives in a quantifiable manner, an appropriate coding scheme had to first be developed so as to maintain reliability and internal validity. The qualitative software program Nvivo was used to "...assist in the organization, storage, retrieval and analysis of coded material' (Lens, 2002:140). The objectives of this exploration were as follows:

1. To identify articles that would be included, or excluded, from the final descriptive analysis.

2. To operationalize the restorative justice values that will be used to measure the accuracy of article depictions of the restorative construct. These values will be contained in a working coding scheme.

3. To identify and operationalize the positive and negative themes, to be included in a coding scheme for measuring the attitudinal portrayal of the restorative construct.

4. To develop an operational definition for quantitatively measuring the presence of the three pre-conceived myths in a given article, for later aggregate analysis across all articles.

Included vs. Excluded Articles

It was briefly mentioned in the preceding section that there were issues concerning the research significance of some of the articles in the sampling frame, based upon the extent to which some articles contained more or less relevant statements pertaining to the construct under investigation. Therefore, through the exploratory examination, the researcher was able to exclude a large number of articles on the basis that they contained no descriptive or informative content. These excluded articles (N=217) contained such a limited number of relevant statements pertaining to the construct that none of the variables used for analysis would be applicable, and therefore none of the research objectives could be measured from their content. In many instances, these excluded articles were nothing more than community announcements, advertising open houses for particular restorative justice programs, or advertising for community events in which the term 'restorative justice' was contained in the title of a sponsoring

program². In other instances, the term was simply mentioned in passing, with no significance attributed to the perspective of restorative justice relative to the subject contents of the article. There is no precise operational definition for what constitutes an included versus excluded article in this study; rather the decision was qualitatively subjective, with the working rule being consideration of whether or not a reader would be in any way educated about the construct, whether in regard to its philosophical foundations or the operation of an existing program. Through this exploratory qualitative process of identifying articles for study inclusion, the final number of included articles was, N=274. The excluded articles are listed in Appendix A, while the included articles are contained in Appendix B.

Operationalizing the Study Variables – Developing a Coding Scheme

The coding schemes developed for this study can be found in their entirety in Appendices C through F. They do not require a detailed dissection here, but rather a brief outline is provided of what variables were of interest for measuring the objectives set forth, and their importance to the study.

Like most descriptive studies, this one includes variables that speak to the demographic components of the units of analysis. Although their inclusion is not related to the larger objectives of the study, they do provide interesting information about where the articles came from, when they were published, and their overall length.

Paper Title: all article titles were recorded for purposes of citation and reference.

General conclusions by previous researchers involving newsprint content analysis has

² It is understood that, notwithstanding the need to exclude articles based on limited educational information on the construct of restorative justice for purposes of this study, it is plausible for such articles to imply a positive portrayal of restorative justice through implicit acknowledgement of support for existing programs via community announcements for invitations to open houses.

shown that article titles are "...an additional and special format for presenting knowledge" (Ericson et al., 1991: 262) to the public on a particular social issue. This makes the contents of article titles as significant, if not more so, than the information contained in the rest of the article. It is therefore essential to capture relevant information from the titles, using the same variables as those used to code article contents. Titles are therefore included for analysis in this study, but with no additional weight of importance assigned to any information collected therein.

Paper Source: the source of each article was coded on the basis of the newspaper in which the article was published and was extracted directly from the Canadian NewsStand's designation. This variable may provide some insightful information regarding potential patterns of reporting on the construct of restorative justice as it relates to the larger three objectives and may therefore provide comparative possibilities for the subsequent key variables of interest, namely those measuring the three primary objectives.

Paper Length: the length of each article was coded on the basis of its word text count. This word count was derived straight from the Canadian Newsstand's own designation. This variable too provided some comparative value to our primary objectives, such that the researcher can examine to what extent the distribution of the other variables are related to, or in some way correlated with, the length of the articles. Similar to the paper source variable, paper length is not meant to encapsulate understandings pertaining to the primary objectives of the study.

Journalist sources: whenever one undertakes the task of analyzing and measuring variables of interest within archival newsprint articles, it is important to

examine who is being used by journalists as the primary sources of information regarding a given research construct. In this case it pertains to sources for which the journalist relied on to speak about the nature of the construct of restorative justice. This source type variable is derived from the “Source Type” listings as presented by Ericson et al (1991). These authors have articulated a detailed list of source classifications that capture all possible external sources used by journalists in a variety of written archival records. Although Ericson et al.’s collection of source titles is in direct reference to studies examining more conventional criminal justice concepts in the newsprint media, such as frequency of reporting on specific crimes or categories of crimes (e.g. violent crimes versus property crimes), the source titles are nonetheless relevant to the present study. Individual sources were coded in the qualitative software Nvivo, which was used for the classification process of articles, and revealed a multiplicity of different contributors. The variable is entitled “Contributing Sources” on the basis that only those statements whose contents were in direct relation to the construct of restorative justice, taking into account contextual realities of the article, were coded as contributory. This meant that, in some cases, source types in an article were not identified or coded due to a significant lack of association of their statement with the construct of restorative justice. Similar to the rationale used to distinguish included articles versus excluded articles, so too were certain statement sources excluded from this variable analysis on the basis of their lack of relevance to the article’s discussions on restorative justice. Sources were, therefore, only identified if their statements within the article contributed to the knowledge about restorative justice in that this information could be deemed to contribute to the

understanding of readers about restorative justice. The coding scheme for journalist sources, as developed by Ericson et al., is included in the coding scheme in Appendix C.

Objective 1 – Accuracy of article descriptions: the first of the primary objectives seeks to measure the frequency distribution of key restorative values. These values are taken directly from Van Ness and Strong's book *Restoring Justice* (2nd ed.) (2002) (now in its third edition, 2006). These authors specify four macro level values (amends, inclusion, reintegration, and encounter), each of which contains sub-values, or will be referred to as 'elemental values'. These elemental values are as follows: *apology, restitution, changed behaviour, acceptance of alternative approaches, acknowledgement of interest, invitation, meeting, communication, agreement, respect, and assistance*. One additional elemental value has been included, that of *accountability*. The reason for including this value stems from the prevalence of its reference in both the academic literature as well as in the articles themselves, as determined through successive preliminary readings. Each value was coded as a dummy variable, and therefore constitutes its own dichotomous nominal variable, such that they are coded as 1 for 'present', and 0 for 'absent'. In addition, articles were coded using a ratio level variable for the actual quantity of different values in a given article, which allows for measurement on the mean average number of values aggregated across all included articles.

Values are coded on the basis of either direct reference to that term, or if words and word combinations, taken in context, are synonymous with what that value represents in its most meaningful constitution. These various words and phrases, taken as representing each value, are contained in the coding scheme in Appendix D.

Relying on Van Ness and Strong (2002), the same levels of restorativeness that they provide for restorative justice systems (*minimal*, *moderate*, and *full* restorative) are used to rank the articles included for analysis. Van Ness and Strong's category requirements were adapted to better reflect the purpose of this study and the intent of this particular study objective. For instance, the term "fully" was altered to "highly" restorative, as the classification reflecting this level of article accuracy in fact applies to articles that do not contain every value listed. Classifying articles as "fully" restorative implies that every value measured is present in the article, when in fact this is not the case. The total number of elemental values (i.e. 12) was divided by the total number of categories (i.e. 3), the results of which dictate that each category represents one third of the total elemental values. Minimally restorative article descriptions, therefore, will contain 1/3 or less of the total elemental values (i.e. 0-4), moderately restorative descriptions would have to contain between 5 and 8 elemental values (i.e. more than 1/3 but not more than 2/3), whereas a highly restorative description would have to contain at least 9 elemental values (i.e. more than 2/3). This is an arbitrary classification criterion that served the purpose of conveying levels of accuracy of article descriptions concerning restorative justice that can be objectively measured and evaluated. Final quantitative analysis examined the frequency of occurrence of certain elemental values and the distribution of categorical rankings. The scale is represented below in Table 1.

Table 1: Level of Restorativeness

Minimal	Moderate	Highly
1-4 values	5-8 values	9-12 values

Objective 2 - Positive and Negative Themes: the second primary objective sought to measure the frequency of negative and positive themes in each article, aggregated over all articles in the study. Themes were identified through preliminary readings of a random sample of 100 articles, tracing back to the benefits and limitations of the perspective depicted implicitly in previous chapters. The relevant themes are contained in more detail in the coding scheme in Appendix E. Included in this section of the coding scheme are the broader operational definitions that guided the researcher in identifying the presence of the themes in the various contexts of each article. An article was subsequently classified as positive, negative, or neutral based on mere frequency differences between positive and negative themes. If an article has more positive themes than negative, the article was classified as being positive overall; and vice versa. If, on the other hand, there are no positive or negative themes, or an equal frequency of each, the article was classified as neutral.

Objective 3 – Myths concerning participant inclusion into restorative processes: the third of the primary objectives speaks to the question of *who* restorative justice is most appropriate for, in terms of program participants. These are considered to be myths about the limitations of who is most appropriate for participating in restorative programs. These pre-determined myths were derived from the literature through their subtle and implicit references to the limitations of restorative justice with respect to who would benefit most from its process. The researcher was further enticed to specify these three misconceptions as measurable variables on the basis of misinformation that friends, relatives, acquaintances, and strangers perceive to be the proper role for restorative justice.

Myths were coded as their own dichotomous nominal variable, such that if a given myth were present it was coded as a 1; if absent it was coded as 0. See the coding scheme in Appendix F for the guiding operational definitions of each myth variable. Articles that did not contain any one myth were considered to imply that there are no restrictions on restorative justice, and hence an accurate assessment of the true nature of the inclusiveness of restorative processes.

Inter-Rater Reliability Test

This descriptive study constitutes an original research focus on the construct of restorative justice and therefore requires testing of the reliability of operational definitions for the study variables. The purpose of this test was to evaluate the clarity and reliability of definitions assigned to each variable, such that others can replicate the study design and achieve consistency in results (Palys, 2003). With no prior operational definitions for measuring newspaper portrayals of restorative justice, all variables identified through preliminary exploratory examinations required third-party testing to ensure their reliability and consistency of coding. An inter-rater reliability test was therefore conducted on all variables relating to the three primary research objectives. An individual with no prior knowledge about the construct, or the study purpose, was identified to carry out this inter-rater test. This person was paid a nominal fee for service and for time.

The researcher spent a total of three hours training the tester on the expectations for identifying individual variables based on the operational definitions created from the exploratory examination, as well as expectations for what constituted an article of study importance, i.e. articles that should be included versus excluded from the larger study. A

random sample of 15 articles was chosen from the list of the same 100 articles used by the researcher for the exploratory examination. The data for the completed inter-rater reliability test can be viewed in Appendix G.

The tester was asked to code articles for the presence of individual elemental values, positive and negative themes, presence of one or more of the three pre-conceived myths, as well as whether the article should be included or excluded from the final analysis. Each objective and its associated testing results were analyzed for reliability ratings. In all cases, the inter-rater reliability score exceeded 80 percent.

The first comparison looked at the articles that were chosen to be included versus excluded, as determined by the inter-rater. The tester identified 10 of 15 articles as containing statements about restorative justice that would allow the reader to internalize some descriptive attributes about the construct. This result was one hundred percent accurate, based on the researcher's own assessment of the same articles. The remainder of the test was therefore only in relation to these 10 included articles.

With respect to the objective examining article accuracy, based on the presence of 12 elemental values, the expectation was that the overall number of values present, when applied to the restorative ranking scale (i.e. Minimal, Moderate, Highly), would yield a classification that is consistent with what the researcher had previously claimed. Not every elemental value identified was necessarily the same as that which the researcher had coded; rather the quantity of elemental values allowed an overall article classification rating of the level of restorativeness that was consistent with the researcher's classification, in 8 of 10 included articles. With the study's units of analysis being individual articles, an inter-rater reliability score of 80% was sufficient to warrant the

continuation of the larger study without changes being made to the existing operational definitions.

The inter-rater was also asked to code the included articles (N=10) on the basis of the presence of positive or negative themes about restorative justice. Similar to what the researcher had done, the inter-rater assigned a classification of Positive, Negative, or Neutral to each article based on the difference in the quantity of positive versus negative themes. This process adheres to the primary focus of this study objective, which is to determine how individual articles are portraying restorative justice in terms of the attitude or level of support inferred from an accumulation of statements contained therein. The result of this inter-rater reliability objective was that 90% (9 out of 10) of the included articles received overall attitudinal classifications consistent with what the researcher originally concluded.

The final inter-rater test objective was to have articles coded for the presence of one of three pre-conceived myths that refer to the criteria for inclusion of participants into restorative justice programs. The inter-rater coded all 10 included articles with a 90% consistency result thereby supporting the existing operational definitions for this particular myth variable. The results demonstrated consistency and reliability in the coding scheme and corresponding operational definitions. The researcher was therefore confident in the coding scheme, and proceeded to commence with coding all articles for this study.

PART IV: RESULTS

Overview of Demographic Variables

The primary focus of this study was to understand how the construct of restorative justice has been portrayed in the B.C. newsprint media, through qualitative examination of article contents and quantitative measurements based on three specific objectives. The three study objectives have been outlined in significant detail in the preceding chapter and will be further discussed in this chapter in relation to the quantitative aggregate data obtained through both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. Before the quantitative results are revealed for these three study objectives, it is equally important to report on the demographic variables that were included in the quantitative data collection for this study. These variables speak to some of the more general understandings of newsprint reporting on this phenomenon.

Demographic variables are useful in understanding the origins of the data set and contextualize the remainder of the study objectives. Often times the most interesting results of a large research study stem from the data that speaks to these demographic variables. In the case of this study, demographic variables speak to the newspaper source, the overall length of articles (measured by word count), contributing sources, and the date of publication of each article. Although no specific research questions or hypotheses were formulated in relation to these variables, they nonetheless provide interesting aggregate information about the general constitution of articles and their sources. Following presentation of these results, the focus will shift to the presentation of final data analysis as it pertains to the three primary objectives of this descriptive study.

Chapter 6: Demographic Variables

Newspaper

Newspapers comprised the units of analysis for this study, and it was therefore pertinent to include the paper source as a relevant variable. The total number of different newspaper sources was 27, ranging in circulation from less than 2000 to over 500,000. Regional coverage of papers extended from Vancouver Island all the way to the northern regions of B.C. Table 2 contains the distribution of articles on the basis of their newspaper publisher. The range of articles published in a given paper source, was 52; with a minimum of 1 article published in a particular paper (Coquitlam Now and Vancouver Sun Tri-Cities edition) to a maximum publication frequency of 53 (Vancouver Sun). The mean number of articles published in a given article was 10.15.

Table 2: Frequency Distribution of Newspaper Sources

Newspaper	Frequency	Percent
Valid Abbotsford Times	8	2.9
Alaska Highway News	6	2.2
Alberni Valley Times	17	6.2
Burnaby Now	4	1.5
Chilliwack Times	4	1.5
Coquitlam Now	1	.4
Courier - Islander	2	.7
Cowichan Valley Citizen	2	.7
Daily Bulletin	8	2.9
Daily News	6	2.2
Daily Townsman	8	2.9
Harbour City Star	7	2.6
Kamloops Daily News	8	2.9
Langley Advance	6	2.2
Nanaimo Daily News	48	17.5
Nelson Daily News	2	.7
North Shore News	2	.7

Peace River Block Daily News	3	1.1
Prince George Citizen	8	2.9
Record	3	1.1
Richmond News	2	.7
The Province	16	5.8
Times-Colonist	45	16.4
Trail Times	2	.7
Vancouver Courier	2	.7
Vancouver Sun - Tri Cities edition, Maple Ridge, Pitt Meadows edition	1	.4
Vancouver Sun	53	19.3
Total	274	100.0

The frequency of articles published in each newspaper obviously varies however there is an overrepresentation of article concentration within three newspapers. Two of these newspapers (the Victoria Times-Colonist and the Vancouver Sun) are of the highest circulation sizes. In terms of sheer size and distribution levels of these papers it may come as no surprise to find that more articles containing the construct of restorative justice are published in these two papers, relative to the majority of other newspaper sources. What is interesting is the frequency of articles published in the Nanaimo Daily News. This latter newspaper source has a much smaller circulation size than the two previously mentioned papers, yet constitutes the second most frequently counted paper source in this study. Only the Vancouver Sun published more articles than the Nanaimo Daily News. The researcher can only speculate as to the reasons for this overrepresentation, but it may represent the relative importance that the community gives to the topic of crime and the subject of restorative justice, whether accepted or opposed as an alternative response to crime and harms; or the prevalence may be merely a reflection of editorial practices. Notwithstanding the uncertainty for why the Nanaimo Daily News

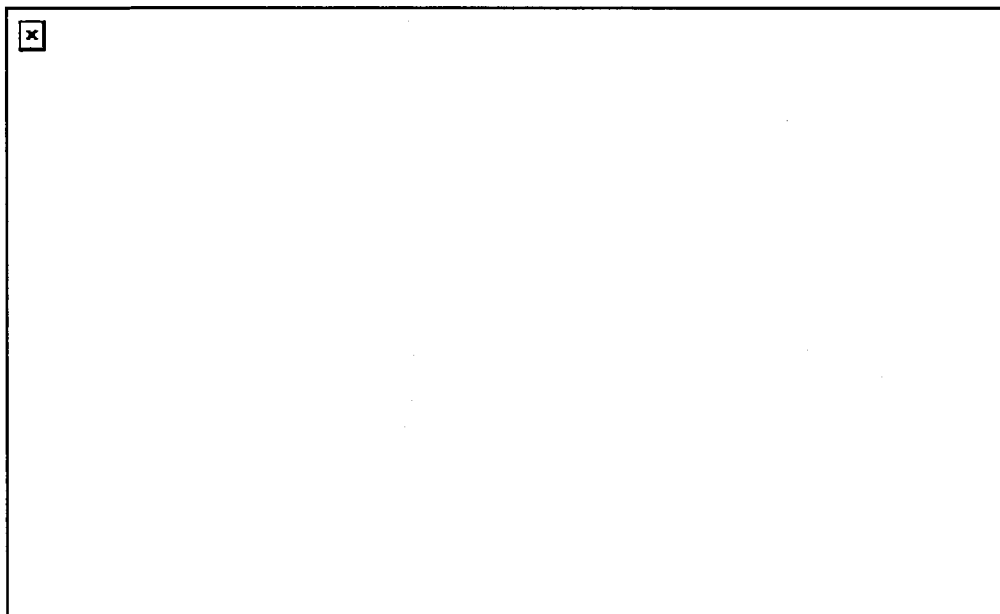
gives due consideration to writing on the subject of restorative justice, it nonetheless constitutes a newsworthy subject.

Dates

The dates of publication of the articles were recorded for purposes of potential time-series analysis, to put into perspective how the subject of restorative justice was being reported over the time frame for the study. The range of dates for the 274 included articles was from October 1995 to April 2004 – a range of just over 8 years.

There was a steady increase in article publication on restorative justice from 1 article in the latter months of 1995 to a peak of 76 articles published in 2003. See Figure 1 below for a time series analysis of article publication frequencies for each reported year.

Figure 1: Time Series of Article Frequency by Year



With the exception of a slight dip in reporting in 2001, the number of articles being published on restorative justice is steadily increasing. Note that the final year of 2004 contains only 4 months of reporting, and hence does not provide enough information to make a determination of whether the trend will continue for that year. With 274 articles published in 10 different years (1995-2004), the mean number of articles published per year equals 27.4. The calculated average number of articles published for any given month reveals a mean of 2.28. Multiply this by 4 months and one could generalize the larger findings to suggest that by April of any given year there would be an expected average publication frequency of 9.13. Based on these much generalized predications, it loosely suggests that 2004 will be a year of above average reporting across the province.

Article Size

The size of the individual articles was included as a descriptive measure that underwent subsequent statistical analysis, however significance was limited to a select few comparative variables, namely with respect to positive and negative attitudinal statements. These significant comparative results will be discussed in relation to the appropriate objective, but it is worth mentioning here that there was no significant correlation between article size and the accuracy of article statements describing restorative justice (i.e. objective 1); nor was there any correlation between article size and the presence of any one of the three pre-conceived myths (i.e. objective 3). The range of article size for the included articles was between 43 words and 3925 (range = 3882), with a mean average of 593 words, and a median of 473.

Contributing Sources

With the study objectives focusing more on *what* was being said about restorative justice, the researcher was cognizant of the importance of understanding *who* is saying what with respect to these articles. As stated in the Methods chapter of this study, the categories for coding source contributors was derived from that of Ericson et al. (1991) who have formulated their categories from a multitude of content analysis research studies on various topics related to the field of crime in the media. It is important to note that no analysis were conducted on differences in statement contents of individual sources for reasons relating to false conclusions about actual levels of knowledge on the subject of restorative justice³. See the coding Scheme in Appendix C for a detailed listing of these categories and their assigned definitions for inclusion determinations.

In terms of frequency distribution of the various source categories, there was no surprise that the majority of articles contained the journalist as a contributing source (194 articles, or 70.8%). With respect to the break down of other categories of source titles,

³ The decision to not conduct comparative measurements with respect to individual source contributors was further justified by the inferential implications that would arise in response to conclusions drawn about their level of knowledge about restorative justice. Any comparisons conducted on individual contributors would necessarily invite inferences concerning their level of knowledge about restorative justice, a factor which would be grossly misleading and borderline insulting. For instance, to say that restorative justice practitioners appear to describe the construct less accurately than police representatives, based on the limited number of statements included for analysis, would be negligible. Clearly the decision to include certain source statements in a given article rests with the journalist author and his/her editing superiors, and is therefore out of the hands of the individual contributors. Therefore, no meaningful conclusions can or should be drawn concerning the level of knowledge of the theoretical construct and individual contributing sources. This issue will be further addressed in the limitations component of the discussion chapter of this thesis. Suffice it to say here that quantitative analysis of sources is limited to the number of contributing sources, and not the total number of sources contained in an article or with respect to individual contributing sources.

the second most frequently occurring was that of *criminal justice personnel*, having been cited in 69 articles (25.2%). Closely behind that of criminal justice personnel was the category of *individual*, being cited in 64 articles (23.4%). The other category worth mentioning is that of *community organization*, which for purposes of this study included sources representing the different restorative justice programs and organizations.

This group of sources was cited in 44 articles (16.1%). Table 3 below presents the actual breakdown of source frequencies across all articles in the study population, whereas Table 4 demonstrates the quantity of sources present across all articles.

Table 3: Frequency Distribution of Source Types

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Number of Contributing Sources	274	1.00	8.00	1.5876	.93055
Journalist as Source	194	1.00	1.00	1.0000	.00000
Criminal Justice Personnel	69	1.00	2.00	1.0725	.26115
Public Administration	20	1.00	3.00	1.2000	.52315
Other Government Sources	15	1.00	2.00	1.0667	.25820
Private Corporation	3	1.00	2.00	1.3333	.57735
Occupational Association	0				
Community Organization	44	1.00	3.00	1.1818	.44579
Individual as Source	64	1.00	4.00	1.0781	.41037
Unspecified Source	7	1.00	2.00	1.1429	.37796
Don't Know/Other	0				

Table 4: Quantity of Sources Across all Articles

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1.00	164	59.9	59.9	59.9
2.00	79	28.8	28.8	88.7
3.00	18	6.6	6.6	95.3
4.00	10	3.6	3.6	98.9
5.00	1	.4	.4	99.3

6.00	1	.4	.4	99.6
8.00	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	274	100.0	100.0	

With the exception of the previously mentioned source types, all other source types were cited in less than 7.0% of articles. The mean number of contributing sources for a given article was 1.59 and the range was 7 (between 1 and 8 contributing sources). Note that in the majority of articles (59.9%), there was only a single source contributor; in most cases this was the journalist of the article. In 28.8% of articles, two source types were cited as contributory, whilst the remainder of the frequency breakdowns constituted less than 7.0% of articles. In terms of diversity of opinions on the subject of restorative justice in these B.C. newspapers, there was an overrepresentation of contributing sources falling within the three above mentioned categories. What will be interesting to see is how this is represented in the aggregate data for the respective study objectives, namely that of article accuracy. How accurate are these articles, as measured by total number of restorative values, when the mean number of contributing sources is less than 2.0?

Chapter 7: Study Objectives

Accuracy of Article Descriptions about Restorative justice

Of the 274 articles included in the study, 206 (75.2%) contained one or more of the elemental values used to represent article accuracy of restorative descriptions. This count implied that the large majority of articles included in this study contained statements about restorative justice that provided some descriptive information about the construct. Table 5 displays the distribution of the number of values coded within a given article.

Table 5: Frequency Distribution of Total Values Present Per Article

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	68	24.8	24.8	24.8
	1.00	42	15.3	15.3	40.1
	2.00	32	11.7	11.7	51.8
	3.00	38	13.9	13.9	65.7
	4.00	26	9.5	9.5	75.2
	5.00	28	10.2	10.2	85.4
	6.00	18	6.6	6.6	92.0
	7.00	17	6.2	6.2	98.2
	8.00	3	1.1	1.1	99.3
	10.00	1	.4	.4	99.6
	11.00	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	274	100.0	100.0	

More articles contained multiple elemental values (n=164, 59.9%) than those that contained a single elemental value (n=42, 15.3%). The range of values was 10, with a minimum of 1 elemental value and a maximum of 11. No article in this dataset contained all 12 elemental values. The mean number of elemental values in a given article was 2.69

(sd = 2.38). Table 6 below, presents the distribution of the number of articles containing specific elemental values.

Table 6: Frequency of Presence of Elemental Values

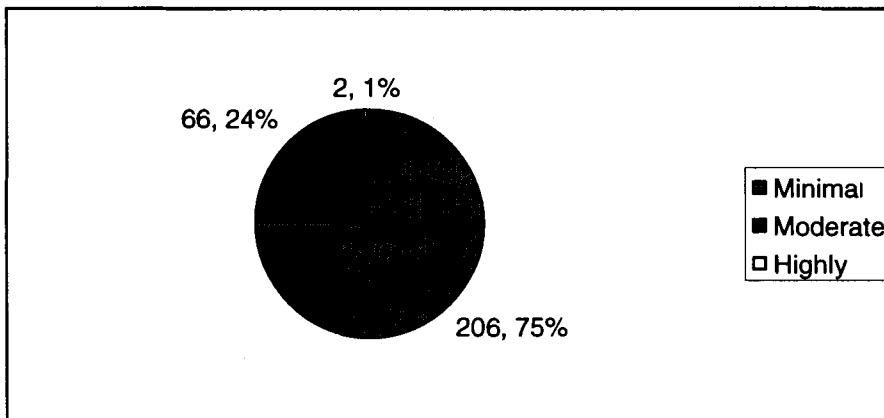
Macro Value	Elemental Value (N=274)	Frequency of Presence	Percentage of Presence
	Accountability	85	30.7
Encounter	Meeting	120	43.3
	Communication	107	38.6
	Agreement	74	26.7
Amends	Apology	43	15.5
	Restitution	112	40.4
	Changed Behaviour	19	6.9
Reintegration	Respect	11	4.0
	Assistance	30	10.8
Inclusion	Invitation	100	36.5
	Acknowledgement of Interests	4	1.4
	Acceptance of Alternative Approaches	29	10.6

The most frequently present elemental values were those of *meeting* (n=120, 43.3%), followed by *restitution* (n=112, 40.4%), *communication* (n=107, 38.6%), and *invitation* (n=100, 36.5%). In terms of the macro value classifications and their representation across all articles, it is evident that *encounter* was most frequently represented; followed by *amends*. Interestingly, only the macro value of *reintegration* had elemental value occurrences of less than 100. With frequency of occurrences constituting indications of relative importance accorded to a particular macro value, these results demonstrate that there was less focus being placed on describing restorative

justice in association with its intended goal of reintegrating offenders and victims back into their communities. The primary focus of article descriptions was in direct relation to articulating information about the processes of restorative justice programs.

Figure 2, presented below, reports the number of articles as they were distributed amongst the three restorative classification levels. This is the defining measure of the level of accuracy of all articles. To recap, an articles restorative ranking was based on the number of total elemental values present, and the criteria for inclusion of each rank. To be designated as minimal an article would have to have 1/3 or less of the 12 possible elemental values coded (i.e. 4 or less). For a moderately restorative ranking an article must have had between 5 and 8 elemental values present; and lastly, a highly restorative descriptive article must have contained 9 or more of the 12 total elemental values.

Figure 2: Distribution of Restorative Ranking



As can be seen in this figure, three-quarters of all descriptive articles were ranked as minimally restorative (75%). It was somewhat surprising that only 2 articles were ranked as highly restorative. From these results one can generalize to the larger universe of newspaper articles written in B.C. and the extent of their accuracy, or lack thereof, of

descriptive and/or informative statements concerning the construct of restorative justice. Based on these descriptive results it appears that much work is required of both journalists and restorative justice proponents in communicating more effectively with each other if the public is to get a more accurate portrayal of what restorative justice is, measured strictly on the basis of the presence of key restorative values.

In terms of higher level statistical analysis above and beyond mere frequency distributions, correlation measures were conducted on the ratio-level variables pertaining to article accuracy, which necessarily relates to the variable assessing the total number of elemental values in a given article. With each elemental value constituting a dummy variable, i.e. dichotomous nominal variables, only one variable of a ratio constitution existed to allow for further statistical analysis. When this variable was correlated against other ratio-level variables of interest, specifically two of the demographic variables (article length and number of contributing sources), only one comparison yielded significant results. There is a positive correlation between the number of elemental values coded in a given article and the number of different contributing sources ($N=274$, Pearson's $r = .398$, $p < .01$). This suggests that the information conveyed through articles containing multiple and diverse source types, contributes to a more accurate description of the construct of restorative justice. With respect to the number of values and the overall length of an article, there was no statistically significant relationship to report.

The quantitative results of this restorative ranking provided a simplistic description of the accuracy of descriptive articles in this study; but there is more to this ranking than the numbers alone. It was equally as important to examine qualitative differences between articles of different rankings, by examining the descriptive

statements contained in a sample of articles representing each of the three restorative levels.

Minimally restorative articles have descriptive statements that, when combined, contain four or less of the twelve elemental values. An example of an article whose combined descriptive statement(s) yield only a single elemental value is:

Restorative justice is a concept which makes use of family and peer counseling initiatives to **curb criminal behaviour** (*changed behaviour*) by first time offenders (*Par. 6*) (*Bug fest crawling to an end?: Removing the bugs' favourite food source seems to do the trick. 17-Jul-02, Burnaby Now*).

This particular article contained reference to altering an offender's future behaviour, and was therefore coded on the basis of the presence of the elemental value of *changed behaviour*. Clearly this article's descriptive qualities were limited by its single statement, however when the size of articles were correlated with the three restorative rankings there was no statistically significant results. The word count for this particular article was 364, well below the mean average length of 593. Interestingly, the smallest and longest articles in terms of word count were both ranked as minimally restorative. The shortest contains 43 words with the description of restorative justice as follows:

Nanaimo RCMP have arrested two boys, aged 13 and 14, after they were spotted throwing rocks on to Highway 19 near Harewood Mines Road. No vehicles were struck and police say the case will likely be handed over to a "**restorative justice forum** (*meeting*)." *(Par. 1) (Stone-throwing boys nabbed. 6-Apr-04, The Province).*

This does not appear to be very descriptive, however based on the exploratory process of identifying relevant synonyms and semantic expressions, the word *forum* is synonymous with a meeting; therefore this article was coded as containing the single elemental value of *meeting*. Although the statement does not make direct reference to its descriptive

qualities, it nonetheless infers that restorative justice is a forum, or meeting between individuals and therefore qualifies as a descriptive statement.

The longest article in the study contained 3925 words, albeit it was actually an entire section of individual community announcements. This particular article contained 4 elemental values, which have been bolded for identification. The descriptive statement relevant to restorative justice was as follows:

Fraser-Burrard Community Justice Society is seeking New Westminster residents to volunteer as **resolution conference** (*meeting*) facilitators in a **restorative justice-based alternative to the youth court system** (*acceptance of alternative approaches*). **Work with youth in conflict with the law, the persons harmed by their actions and other involved parties** (*invitation*) to guide them in a process of **working together to a mutually acceptable resolution** (*agreement*). Next training begins September. Call 604-931-3165 or e-mail fbcjs@tieus.com for details and application package. (*Par. 91*)
{*Bulletin Board. 9-Aug-03, Record* }

The difference between a minimally restorative article with one elemental value compared to one with four, can be quite dramatic. The former single-element-containing article had a descriptive statement that was only slightly shorter than its minimally restorative counterpart, yet is seen to be clearly much less accurate in terms of relevant information about restorative justice. This demonstrates that the length of the combined descriptive statements in and of itself was not a determining factor in terms of its designated restorative ranking, which was statistically proven through non-significant correlational analysis.

Moderately restorative articles were those that contain between 5 and 8 elemental values. There were 66 of 274 descriptive articles with this designation (24%). An example of descriptive statements containing this range of elemental values is as follows:

Two teenagers caught trashing a Richmond elementary school this summer **will sit down with** (*meeting*) their **parents, police and school officials** (*invitation*) to explain their behaviour and **agree to consequences** (*agreement*). (Par. 1)

It's the first time the school district will use a process called Restorative justice to deal with a crime rather than pursuing the offenders through the legal system. (Par. 2)

Restorative justice moves minor offences out of the overloaded courts and encourages a community response to the crime while **holding the offenders accountable for their actions** (*accountability*). **Victims get to hear why the offence was committed** (*communication*) and **offenders take responsibility for their actions** (*accountability*). (Par. 3)

All participants are involved in determining the consequences, such as **financial restitution** (*restitution*), **an apology** (*apology*), community service work or counseling. (Par. 4)

"With Restorative justice, everyone sits down together to figure out how to make amends. The boys will have to answer for what they did and agree to follow through with restitution." (Par. 13)
(*Restorative justice to be tried 1st time. 7-Sep-03, The Province*).

There was a distinct difference between the above moderately restorative article and its minimally restorative associate articles previously described. The reader will further notice that this particular moderately restorative article contained more than one reference to some of the identifiable elemental values. For instance, *meeting* was identified in the first paragraph, but could also have been coded on the basis of the statement in the last paragraph, i.e. "...everyone sits down together". Similarly, the value of restitution was identified and coded in paragraph 4 (represented by bold-face type), but could also have been coded on the basis of statements made in the last paragraph (or paragraph 13 of the overall article), i.e. "...follow through with restitution". However, as was pointed out in the methodology chapter of this thesis, only one presence was counted, as the information inferred there from does not change or somehow become more evident with ensuing presences. What is interesting to point out is that the size of this particular article with respect to its overall word count was that of 381; this was

similar in length to the minimally restorative article first described, and therefore enhances the point that the word count alone cannot be used as a predictor for overall descriptive accuracy.

With only two articles being designated as highly restorative, an examination of one of these article's descriptive statements would be of interest. How does a highly restorative article compare to that of examples provided for both minimally and moderately restorative articles? The following is a compilation of all descriptive statements coded for this highly restorative article.

The society [*North Vancouver Restorative justice Society*] began the North Vancouver Community Conferencing Program **that brings first-time offenders face-to-face with their victims (meeting)** (Par. 4)

Based on a similar program in Ridge Meadows, **the program aims to find alternate ways of dealing with criminal behaviour (acceptance of alternative approaches)** by working with young offenders and their victims. The aim is to rebuild trust and **help offenders become more productive members of society. (changed behaviour)** (Par. 5)

"It is more of a consensus-based process (agreement) than the traditional court process," says the program's coordinator, Jacquie Stevulak. (Par. 6)

Stevulak says **the voluntary program involves police and court representatives, community mediators to help offenders and victims (invitation)** understand each other and to reach a successful outcome where both parties feel as though justice has been carried out. (Par. 7)

Stevulak, hired last May, says **the program requires offenders admit their involvement in the crime (accountability).** (Par. 10)

"We're not involved in trying to determine if someone is guilty or innocent. We're looking for that person to say: `Yes I was responsible for doing this and I'm willing to sit down and try and make amends and work something out'". (Par. 11) }

Stevulak then approaches victims to explain the concept of restorative justice and see if they're willing to sit down with the person who harmed them. (Par. 12) }

If they agree, both parties meet at a conference with one of the program's trained volunteer mediators **to talk about the incident**

(communication) and determine what would be an appropriate consequence for the criminal behaviour. (Par. 13)

"It is a holistic approach to justice. It's about acknowledging and addressing that a harm has occurred, establishing what appropriate consequences may be, and that once reparation is done, **there is a reintegration of offenders back into the community** (assistance)." (Par. 15)

Consequences for young offenders in both cases have included such things as agreeing to volunteer time in community service projects, **repaying their victims for damage done to their property** (restitution) and making **apologies** (apology). (Par. 17) {*Helping Hands: North Vancouver Restorative justice Society. 25-Feb-99, Vancouver Sun*}.

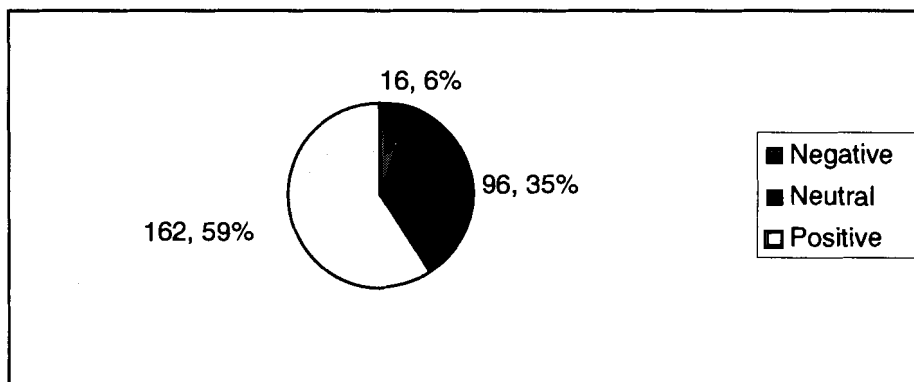
Clearly the contents of this article provided a more thorough description of the construct of restorative justice. Readers of this article would have internalized a relatively detailed understanding of the construct of restorative justice, relative to any minimally or moderately restorative article. The more values that were present in an article, the more descriptive information the reader was internalizing, and hence the more accurate the portrayal of the construct. If the majority of articles were classified as 'highly restorative', general conclusions about article accuracy would suggest that the B.C. newsprint media were doing a relatively decent job of portraying restorative justice in a manner consistent with the perspective's assertions. Unfortunately, the results of this study objective suggest the opposite; that articles consistently describe restorative justice in simple terms with an average of only three elemental values.

Attitudinal Portrayal of Restorative Justice

In order to objectively assess the overall attitudinal portrayal of restorative justice, each article had to be coded as positive, negative, or neutral. Articles with either of the

first two designations were coded as having either a higher frequency of positive to negative themes, or the opposite ratio of negative to positive. Neutral articles were those that had either no positive or negative themes, or an equal amount of each. Figure 3 below reports the distribution of articles with respect to their corresponding attitudinal designation.

Figure 3: Frequency Distribution of Attitudinal Ranking



Based on the objective measurement criteria used to code these articles, there was a significant overrepresentation of positive portrayals of restorative justice relative to those of negative articles. From this dataset, consisting of included articles from across B.C. and over the course of 8 years, there was strong reason to believe that the newsprint media has taken a positive attitude towards the construct of restorative justice, whether described in relation to restorative processes or of the general perspective. What is interesting to see next, is how the various attitudinal themes were represented across all articles, for both positive and negative perspectives?

In terms of the positive themes, there were a total of 176 articles (64.2%) that contained at least one theme. When examining measures of central tendency for this

variable, the mean was 1.52; the median was 1.00; and the mode was 1.00 (sd=.868).

The range equals 4 themes, with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 5.

Table 7 presents the distribution of different frequency counts of themes in an article, as well as the break down of individual themes and their corresponding frequency. Note that more articles contained only a single positive theme, relative to those articles containing multiple themes. The most prominent positive theme is that of Theme 1: General Successes, Benefits, or Advantages of Restorative Justice (48.9%). This theme, as described in the appropriate Appendix, contained statements of a positive nature that spoke to restorative justice in general terms, for example: “The restorative justice program came to Nanaimo a number of years ago and has been so successful it is now being used as a model for other communities” (*A Conversation with Acting Chief of Police: Jeff Lott, 29-May-03, Nanaimo Daily News*). It does not come as any significant surprise that this particular positive theme outnumbered all others, as it was a more general variable that encompassed all statements not aligned to any of the remaining specific themes. The second most frequently occurring positive theme was Theme 7: Other Differences with Adversarial System of Justice (13.1%), which supports popular academic methods of articulating the uniqueness of restorative justice through comparisons with the conventional criminal justice system. Interestingly, the next most frequently presented positive themes are those of Theme 2: Reduces Recidivism/Crime Rates and Theme 8: Client Satisfaction, both of which conformed to measurements used in the majority of previously conducted empirical studies on program effectiveness, as outlined in Chapter 2 of this thesis. These results suggested that newsprint articles reporting on the construct of restorative justice gave credence to the use of positive

themes that parlay information about the success of restorative programs in reducing recidivism and overall crime rates; information that is arguably of significant importance to the public. Articulation of client satisfaction levels with restorative programs, on the other hand, conforms to popular information communication methods that attempt to persuade public sentiments through the use of personal experience narratives. It would appear that journalists and researchers writing on the construct of restorative justice, each share a reliance on client satisfaction and reductions in recidivism rates as evidence of the success of restorative justice.

Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Positive Themes

# of Themes per Article	Frequency (%)	Theme	Frequency (%)
1.00	118 (43.1)	Theme 1: General Successes, Benefits, or Advantages of Restorative Justice	134 (48.9)
2.00	30 (10.9)	Theme 2: Reduces Recidivism/Crime Rate	35 (12.8)
3.00	23 (8.4)	Theme 3: Reduces Court Load	6 (2.2)
4.00	3 (1.1)	Theme 4: Cost Savings	18 (6.6)
5.00	2 (.7)	Theme 5: Time Savings	8 (2.9)
Total	176 (100)	Theme 6: Immediate Consequences	3 (1.1)
		Theme 7: Other differences with Adversarial System of Justice	36 (13.1)
		Theme 8: Client Satisfaction	29 (10.6)

Table 8 presents the distribution of different frequency counts of negative themes, as well as the break down of individual negative themes and their corresponding frequency. The results demonstrate how disproportionate the positive and negative theme

frequencies were, with negative themes present in only 29 articles compared to 176 articles with positive themes. This difference was considered significant, and demonstrates an overwhelming tendency for the newsprint media in B.C. to report on restorative justice in a positive light. The most prominent negative theme, Theme 10: Other General Contempt, contained statements that articulated general contempt for restorative justice. An example would be, “However, the rosy-cheeked idealism of restorative measures may not always line up with practice. Not everyone agrees with restorative justice in all cases” (*System Puts a Face to the Crime, 15-Feb-04, Times-Colonist*).

Table 8: Frequency Distribution of Negative Themes

# of Negative Themes per article N=274	Frequency (%)	Negative Theme	Frequency (%)
1.00	21 (7.7)	Theme 1: Not Appropriate for Worst/Violent Offenders	5 (1.8)
2.00	6 (2.2)	Theme 2: Not for Urban Settings	1 (.4)
3.00	2 (.7)	Theme 3: Causes More Damage	3 (1.1)
Total	29 (10.6)	Theme 4: Soft on Crime	8 (2.9)
		Theme 5: Can't Deal w/ Underlying Issues	1 (.4)
		Theme 6: Participant Dissatisfaction	5 (1.8)
		Theme 7: Restorative Justice Not Well Defined	1 (.4)
		Theme 8: No Follow-up w/ Participants	1 (.4)
		Theme 9: No Funding Allocated	2 (.7)
		Theme 10: Other General Contempt	11 (4.0)
		Total	29 (10.6)

One of the more popular criticisms of restorative justice is that it is a soft approach to dealing with crime and offenders. Restorative proponents argue that sentiments of this kind are influenced by a misunderstanding about the preferred outcome of restorative justice processes. The outcome that was most desired by restorative justice practitioners was that of restoration of the damaged relationship, which inevitably include some form of restitution. Critics, on the other hand, view restorative justice programs as another form of diversion from the preferred punishment of imprisonment. Journalists would seem to agree in so far as this particular negative theme was the second most frequently referenced. Of course 8 articles out of a total of 274, would certainly not qualify as statistically significant to the extent that generalizations should be made about B.C. newspapers and their tendencies to infer a negative image of restorative justice as soft on crime. Apart from being the second most referenced negative theme, out of 29 articles, this statistic provided little information from which any valid generalizations could be made. The generalization that this study objective can validly support was that the B.C. newsprint media provided overwhelming support for the construct of restorative justice, as represented through an overrepresentation of articles containing positive themes in comparison to those minorities of articles that contain more negative themes.

Frequency of Myth Presence

One of the key objectives of this study was to calculate the frequency of the presence of three pre-conceived myths concerning the application of restorative justice. All three myths refer to criteria for inclusion of relevant participants into restorative justice programs. The first myth (restorative justice = youth) infers that restorative justice is only applicable for cases involving young persons. The second myth

(restorative justice = first-time offender) infers that restorative justice should only be utilized in those instances where the offence constituted the first time the offender has been charged. The third and final myth (restorative justice = less serious/minor offence) relays the impression of restorative justice being beneficial and appropriate for cases where the offence is deemed to be of a less serious or minor designation.

Of the three myths counted in the total volume of articles, the most frequently present was that of the youth myth. This myth was present in 31.4% (86) of the articles, and was over twice as likely to be present as the next most frequently present myth of ‘restorative justice = less serious/minor offences’, which was present in 43 articles (15.7%). The least frequently occurring myth seems to be that which implies restorative justice is only for first-time offenders (N=39, 14.1%).

As each myth constituted its own nominal variable and thus coded separately, it is interesting to report how many articles have zero, one, two, or three of the myths present. Table 8 reveals the exact breakdown of the number of articles containing the various quantities of myths. We can see that over half of the articles (58.5%, N=162) did not contain the presence of any one of the three myths. Although not statistically significant, per se, prima facie it suggests that the ratio between myth present articles and myth absent articles was approximately 1:1. For every one person who reads an article that does not create or perpetuate one of these three myths, there is another person who was being subjected to this misinformation.

Table 9: Frequency Distribution of Myth Quantities

Number of Myths	Frequency	Percent
.00	159	58.0
1.00	69	25.2

2.00	39	14.2
3.00	7	2.6
Totals	274	100.0

In terms of the exact frequency distribution of the diverseness in myth presence, the majority of articles had only one myth present (N=69, 24.9%). Articles that contained two myths numbered 39 (14.1%) in frequency, and only 7 articles contained all three myths (2.5%). Of the articles which contained only one myth (N=69), 67% referred to restorative justice being most appropriate for young persons (df=3, $p<.01$).

When an article contained a myth about restorative justice, there was an overrepresentation of articles that made direct statements in reference to restorative justice programs and practices being restricted to young persons in trouble with the law. Is this fact due to perceptions concerning the susceptibility of young people to moral impressionism, through redirection in their social development? Or is there another rival plausible explanation for this overrepresentation? Notwithstanding the elusiveness of these potential explanations, the fact remains that close to one quarter of all articles inferred misinformation concerning the target group for inclusion into any restorative justice program.

PART V:
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 8: Discussion

The purpose of this descriptive study was to assess the way in which the B.C. newsprint media were portraying the construct of restorative justice, as measured on the basis of three primary research objectives. These objectives focused on the accuracy of article descriptions about restorative justice, attitudinal inferences, and myth presence. As a descriptive study, the researcher did not set out to prove or disapprove any particular contentions about how the media is portraying this construct. Rather, the goal was to collect aggregate data on newsprint portrayals that could be used as baseline data for future comparative studies. Notwithstanding this fact, there was more that could have been done with the results to better understand the larger impact on the field of restorative justice. This is where the issue of interpretation becomes significant. This study has yielded much information describing the reporting qualities of B.C. newspapers on restorative justice, results which are open to subjective interpretation by individual readers. How the data is interpreted by various individuals will greatly depend on a person's level of involvement in the field of restorative justice, and the extent to which they have a vested interest in the perspective or in its practical programmatic application. One question that readers may be asking themselves, having absorbed the statistical results of the study, is how these results may influence the larger restorative justice movement operating in B.C. Recognizing that restorative justice is an alternative perspective on the appropriate response processes for managing crime and conflict, there is much interest in understanding how it is progressing from a social justice point of view. This discussion therefore sheds light on this question, by examining the restorative justice movement, and applying the results of the individual study objectives to the goals

and philosophy of the movement to understand to what extent it is supported or hindered by the media's portrayal.

The results of this study can be interpreted to determine to what extent the newsprint media's portrayal of restorative justice can facilitate a paradigm shift as sought by the many proponents of the perspective. Furthermore, the results can be interpreted to ascertain to what extent the restorative justice social movement is supported or hindered by how the media portrays the construct in B.C. newspapers. What the results ultimately yield is an interesting situation whereby the media present a very limited descriptive understanding of the perspective, yet praise the programmatic effectiveness of its practical application. This suggests that the evolution of the perspective, in so far as a social paradigmatic shift is concerned, is, on the one hand, stifled by way of an abundance of minimally accurate descriptions of restorative justice, however, on the other hand, the evolution of restorative justice programs in the province of B.C. may be served well by the overwhelmingly positive support attributed to the practical application of the perspective.

The restorative justice movement operating in B.C. is arguably well established, complete with effective operational programs, socially progressive government policy initiatives and an established judicial reliance; and yet this description is only a perceptual façade, referring to a single unified framework for social change that may not exist at all. In fact a better description of the current state of social advancement is one which seeks to identify the competition existent between grass-root reformists and governmental traditionalists. As Woolford and Ratner (2004) point out, there are arguably two competing restorative justice movements operating here in B.C. One

movement, referred to as 'communitarian', is articulated to be representative of a more pure vision of the perspective, with a strict expectation for personal and programmatic adherence to the core values. The competing movement, a politically and ideologically polemic perspective on the evolution of restorative justice, is referred to as 'governmentalist'. This particular movement accepts the empirical and theoretical contentions of restorative justice, but denounces the revolutionary sentiments espoused by their communitarian counterparts.

The issue of a dual movement within the confines of the restorative justice perspective is certainly not a novel idea, as reflected in numerous literary references to government cooptation and the prominence that this debate holds in the current restorative literature. This prominence however is what provides motivation to want to investigate how the media's portrayal of the perspective can be seen to benefit or negate either of these two distinct movements. Despite their many differences, one fundamental similarity between governmentalist and communitarians is their views on the underlying principles and values that constitute the perspective itself. Based on the provincial government's description of restorative justice, there appears to be agreement in terms of how restorative justice differs from the conventional criminal justice system, and how its programs can address some of the injustices and inadequacies that the government and public recognize to be plaguing our traditional system. The primary difference between these two movements is therefore in relation to their views on the positioning of restorative justice in practice relative to the existing criminal justice system.

We begin with a discussion on the governmentalist movement operating in B.C. and the extent to which this study's results can be interpreted to be influencing the

evolution of this movement in the province. It must be understood that governmentalist supporters align themselves very much with the provincial government's views on restorative justice. As separate entities, the government and governmentals share the same beliefs on how restorative justice should be applied in practice, both in terms of participant restrictions and overall attachment to the existing criminal justice system. Given their shared views on the subject, the government's voice is considered to be akin to that of the governmentals.

The voice of the British Columbia provincial government on this subject, the Ministry of the Attorney General, describes restorative justice in this manner:

In restorative justice criminal behaviour is still viewed as a violation of the law, but is first seen as a transgression of the relationships between the offender, the victim and the community. Restorative justice draws upon the historical views that crime inflicts harm and that justice should repair the harm: restoring the relationships between all parties. To achieve this, individuals must be held accountable for their behaviour and accept responsibility for the harm they have committed. Ideally, repairing the harm involves the participation of the victim and the community, as both have roles and responsibilities in restorative justice. Restorative approaches allow timely interventions, remedies and consequences that satisfy people that justice has been served (Ministry of Attorney General, 1998, Part One, p.4).

The Ministry of the Attorney General appears cognizant of increasing dissatisfaction amongst the public with respect to the effectiveness of the current judicial system, and seeks to incorporate restorative justice processes in the hopes of alleviating some of this public dissidence. It is public unrest that influenced the creation of the Attorney General's framework for reform of the criminal justice system and its administration. Implementation of restorative justice as a reactionary appeasement to public discontent is a common characteristic of government supported restorative justice program

development (Boutellier, 2006). This reform strategy involves the greater use of restorative approaches to deal with appropriate civil and criminal matters, with the intended outcomes of increasing public satisfaction with their involvement in the system, increasing the cost-effectiveness of judicial administration, and reducing the processing time of particular relevant criminal matters (Ministry of Attorney General, 1998).

Restorative justice has been identified by the Ministry as an effective alternative dispute resolution process that can be employed, in certain circumstances, to give victims and community a greater voice in the judicial process whilst capitalizing on the cost-effectiveness of volunteer operated restorative programs. These programs fall under the newly established Community Accountability Programs (CAP) initiative, which is a direct descendent from this reform strategy. CAP, and in turn restorative justice, is not intended to replace the existing adversarial judicial system, "...rather, they will be used to *enhance* the system, create opportunities within existing formal justice processes, and meet needs often unmet by those processes. Adding collaborative dispute resolution and restorative justice approaches to the justice system is intended to increase public satisfaction with the system" (Ministry of Attorney General, 1998: Appendix C:2). The overarching goal of the Ministry's intended reforms is to establish a "tough, effective justice system that will meet the needs of victims and communities" (Attorney General Dosanjh, 1998).

With an understanding of how the government and the associated governmentalist movement view restorative justice, it is interesting to assess the impact that this study's results might be interpreted to have on this philosophical position. Do the results support

their views on the position of restorative justice relative to the existing criminal justice system? The answer, as supported by the study data is in the affirmative.

With governmentalist being viewed as conjoined with the state's visions about the role of restorative justice in practice, their focus will largely rest with that which would further their programmatic sustainability. The state, and by default governmentalist, already accept restorative justice as a viable and effective tool within the crime control institution of the criminal justice system; therefore what is most important to them is the maintenance of these processes as a diversionary resource for a pre-defined category of criminal cases. On the basis of this particular viewpoint, the manner in which restorative justice is defined and described in newsprint articles would presumably be of little significance, as the sustainability of governmentalist programs is not dependent on citizens' subjective knowledge-base for what exactly constitutes the theory or practice of restorative justice. How accurate descriptions are, measured on the basis of the presence of key restorative values, will not impede the evolutionary successes of the governmentalist movement.

Sustainability and development of restorative programs is a manifestation of evolution and how restorative justice is manifested in practice differs tremendously depending on which movement is spearheading a programs development. Accuracy of article descriptions, and corresponding focus on attitudinal inferences, relates to the success of sustaining or developing restorative programs in the community. Governmentalists, therefore, presumably would not take issue with inaccuracies in article descriptions; they would, however, be very interested in empirical data that suggests an overall positive view of restorative justice in practice, as measured in the newsprint

media. The reason is equated with what is required of the public in assisting the evolution of their respective movements. Governmentalists, with a focus on gaining greater recognition from the government for their programs, in the form of funding and case referrals, need only convince the state of the financial benefits of such programs. A positive standing within the newsprint media, which is a proven source of information for the public and politicians alike, permits the benefits of restorative justice to be easily understood by the reading public. Positive sentiments about restorative justice in practice, through articulation of successful programs operating in local communities, are valuable advertisement. Sustainability depends more on receiving funding and workload from the state than it does in educating the public on the fundamental values that are the cornerstone of the perspective. Such results, if overwhelmingly positive, as indeed they are from this study, can be used as ammunition to further public support for these government financed programs. Operators of governmentalist restorative programs would view the results of the objective assessing attitudinal inferences as further ammunition for their continued solicitation of the government for more and continued funding.

In B.C. the provincial government has stated very concisely what they seek to achieve with the incorporation of restorative justice programs as additional resources for resolving criminal and civil disputes. Their use of the terms “extrajudicial sanctions” and “extrajudicial measures” to refer to restorative justice programs articulates the diversionary statuses that such programs are prescribed. The Ministry has expressed their desire to improve public satisfaction with the system, reduce the level of recidivism for certain crimes, and reduce the cost of judicial administration where possible. These

goals have all, coincidentally enough, been addressed by the positive themes identified to be present in varying frequencies in this study. The positive themes highlight these same elements of success, i.e. participant satisfaction with restorative processes; reduced recidivism and/or crime rates; and savings of both money and time. Based on the themes themselves, there is evidence to suggest that the construct of restorative justice is being portrayed not as an effective alternative criminological perspective, but rather as an effective programmatic process, whose evaluation indicators are in line with the government's views on program sustainability. The specific positive themes presented in this study mirror the same elements that are used to assess the effectiveness of other diversionary programs operating under the guise of the provincial government.

With respect to the accuracy of article descriptions on restorative justice, the reliance of articles on narrow, simple descriptions of restorative justice has no bearing one way or the other in terms of the government achieving their stated goals. Those goals are attainable through existing program effectiveness and not based on public knowledge of the underlying philosophical values inherent to the perspective. Similarly, having a positive portrayal of program effectiveness in the B.C. newsprint media, as demonstrated in the second objective of this study, lends credence to the continued operation of government funded, and indeed governmentalist oriented, restorative programs throughout the province. Given that the governmentalist movement in B.C. views restorative justice as an appendage to the existing criminal justice system, to the extent that their programs operate under the guise of the CAP initiative as it pertains to conforming with program restrictions for case referrals, any positive publicity is a welcomed commodity.

There is no question that the governmentalist movement in B.C., as described by Woolford and Ratner (2003), would benefit from the results of this study, specifically in relation to the data suggesting an overwhelmingly positive portrayal of restorative justice. In terms of the impact of the objective assessing myth presence in the study articles, the frequency of occurrence of any given myth will arguably have no significant impact one way or the other for the governmentalist movement as the myths themselves reflect the reality of inclusion criteria for participation in most of the CAP supported restorative programs. It would not be too outrageous to claim that the myths are not seen as myths, per se, to the governmentals, but rather programmatic truths concerning criteria for who can use these programs' services, and for what offences.

Accepting referrals:

Be aware of the types of cases that your program should and should not accept. *Community Accountability Programs should not handle cases that involve violence against women in relationships, sexual offenses, child abuse, or hate crimes.*

Community Accountability Programs should review the categories of offences and ensure that they do not accept referrals for cases that fall into Categories 1 and 2.

Crown Counsel has policies that provide guidance on the types of cases for which alternative measures would and would not be an appropriate response (Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General, 2004:15)

Communitarians, who are argued to be promoting a purist version of the restorative perspective with a strict focus on the values of restorative justice, view the adherence to core values as essential in the formation of any truly restorative program. In theory then, the goals of this movement will differ fundamentally from that of the government and the governmentalist movement respectively. It has been pointed out how the governmentalist movement views restorative justice as an appropriate and

effective appendage to the existing system for those cases that are deemed appropriate from the standpoint of the offence type (i.e. less serious Category 3 & 4 CCC offences as specified in the CAP application for funding package). The goal from the governmentalist perspective is to utilize the effectiveness that restorative justice processes have been empirically demonstrated to provide, to assist relevant affected parties without dissolving the primary role that the adversarial system still occupies. But this goal is not shared by the communitarian movement, which seeks to affect a social reform movement complete with a revolutionary paradigm shift in the hearts and minds of individual citizens. Communitarian formulations of restorative programs operate outside of the existing criminal justice system and, in sync with Pratt's (2006: 45) explanation of restorative justice articulations, "...is framed...by community values and ideas of justice rather than being dominated by the bureaucratic interests of the criminal justice authorities".

The communitarian movement has much more lofty goals in this sense, but is nonetheless viewed to be possible and ultimately achievable, if not now but generations down the road. To have positively influenced the movement towards a paradigmatic shift in the response policies of society's institutions, and citizens in general, from a retributive adversarial to a restorative peacemaking system, would require article descriptions that go above and beyond the mere presentation of the simplest defining characteristics that distinguish the former traditional system from that of a restorative justice system. Unfortunately, it will be established that this is not the case with respect to communitarian interpretations of the study's results.

According to the purest version of restorative justice, programs that are established to apply the principles of the perspective, grounded in the core values, should ultimately be developed in the community at the grass-roots level. Grass-roots implies a greater sense of autonomy, with minimal reliance on government funding or case referrals. The issue of cooptation, a subject that has saturated books and articles on restorative justice, is seen to be a significant threat to communitarian programs; and by extension the larger communitarian movement.

“...among other reasons, many associated with restorative justice feel that restorative justice programs should continue to be administered by community and/or religious-affiliated groups rather than become part of governmental departments or correction...[M]any associated with restorative justice see its current growth, especially its movement into the professional and governmental arenas, as threatening its potential for healing severed relationships and regenerating community through reconciliatory processes” (Sullivan et al., 1998:10-11).

According to Woolford and Ratner (2003), communitarian programs should be autonomous units from the formal criminal justice system, relying on the community to support them through direct referrals of conflict and criminal cases, as well as through financial offerings. The reality of course is not so simple, and in many respects, programs that start out on a platform of communitarian goals and objectives, often times must adjust their scope of service delivery to conform to the government expectations for such programs. This may manifest itself through restrictions to participants and cases in order to comply with the CAP requirements for funding.

The frequency of minimally restorative articles far outweighs those of moderately restorative; and utterly reigns over the mere 2% of highly restorative articles. What these results suggest is that, from an aggregate stand point, readers are presented with a limited

understanding of the perspective of restorative justice. This is true to the extent that, on average, there are only three values present in any one article that seeks to provide, whether intentionally or not, a descriptive quality about the perspective. These descriptions are limited to the common values of restitution, meeting, and inclusion. What is the significance in portraying restorative justice in this manner? The significance is in how easily susceptible an individual can become with respect to formulating inaccurate conceptions about restorative justice, conceptions which are expansions of this simple portrayal of three values.

It is entirely possible for an individual reading an article that describes restorative justice on the basis of these three values as being akin to mediation, or conflict resolution; processes which certainly share similarities with restorative processes, but which do not encapsulate the fundamental attributes of restorative justice by virtue of their non-reliance on established values as the cornerstone of their process. Mediation does not equal restorative justice, yet the majority of the articles analyzed present restorative justice in a manner that allows a reader to make this inaccurate assumption. It is arguably the lack of precision and consistency in literary presentations of the perspective that makes it amenable to misinterpretations; "The very imprecise nature of what restorative justice actually is lends itself to such possibilities" (Pratt, 2006:63). Similarly, there currently exist concerns among restorative supporters about programs and processes being implemented which claim to be restorative, when in fact they are not grounded purely on established core values, and therefore should not be considered to be restorative in nature. These programs are in essence programs operating under the philosophy accepted by governmentalsists.

Having a basic understanding of restorative justice, through reading article descriptions similar to those analyzed in this study that are minimally restorative and based on the three values outlined, may create a situation in which citizens are supporting the development of governmentalist programs in their communities; thereby limiting the ability of the communitarian movement to gain a foothold in the community. There may be further evidence to support this contention, if we consider the results of the third study objective pertaining to myths about program inclusion requirements. Communitarians believe that no program operating on core values should turn away any conflict or crime as the values are conducive to adaptability, and hence can be applied to any level of crime, and any willing participants. On this basis, communitarians would interpret the results of this objective with further disdain and discouragement for the advancement of their movement. Whereas these myths reflected truths about program operation as interpreted by governmentalist, communitarians see these myths and their level of frequency (i.e. 41.5%, or almost one in every two articles) as further misleading the public as to the true scope of the restorative justice perspective and programmatic capabilities. With the majority of articles describing restorative justice in simple programmatic terms, any article which contains one or more of these three pre-conceived myths is seen to be that much more inaccurate from a communitarian perspective. If, however, the majority of articles were highly restorative with information about participant inclusion espousing an open-door philosophy, there is little room for misunderstandings about what precisely constitutes restorative justice. Clearly that is not the case; and as such the evolution of the communitarian movement in B.C. is being

hindered by the information contained in newsprint articles, when assessed on the basis of this study's aggregate statistical data.

The conception of restorative justice as representing a values-based perspective of justice, one in which the processes operating within different program models are grounded on core values, is something that is not presented in the majority of the articles analyzed in this study. Readers distinguish restorative justice as a process different from that of the adversarial system of justice in basic terms, and therefore miss the fundamental features of this values-based perspective. What has been alluded to in this discussion so far is the notion that restorative justice is portrayed in the B.C. newsprint media more as an alternative process or program than necessarily an alternative criminological perspective, or paradigm. This is evident not only in the three primary values discussed, which themselves have been seen to be more reflective of differences in processes between restorative versus adversarial forms of justice; but it is also evidenced by virtue of the fact that only three articles contained the term 'values'. Restorative justice is therefore not described in relation to its core values as would have been hoped for by communitarians, but rather is described more in terms of program attributes; much in line with the governmentalist views on restorative justice as a diversionary program as opposed to an alternative perspective on crime and justice. But what impact do the results of the attitudinal objective have on the communitarian movement?

On the one hand, the positive publicity that restorative justice is receiving in the B.C. newsprint media may serve to entice people to pay particular attention to utilizing restorative processes in their respective community when they otherwise may not have. For a program operating under the guise of a communitarian based philosophy, which

relies on case loads directly from the community, this publicity would serve it well to stay in operation, from a strictly workload perspective. From a financial perspective, increased positive publicity about restorative justice, especially when a common theme pertains to reduced levels of recidivism, can influence prominent business owners and others to donate money to help ensure the program continues. If a program is seen in the media to be beneficial at reducing recidivism, and this can be manifested in a particular community through a shared sense of renewed or increased safety, then a communitarian program operating in said community may very well benefit from the publicity.

But there may be a negative side to the increased positive publicity for these communitarian programs. The publicity may serve to direct people to make more use of the program operating in their community, but with no corresponding funding. Funding is an inevitable requirement for the development and sustainability of any community program, especially when the program is reliant strictly on citizenry donations. This issue of funding has enormous implications for programs operating under the communitarian versus governmentalist philosophies, with the former needing continued community support, whilst the latter receives funding from the provincial government. In terms of positive publicity, the real issue is the impact that it will have on program funding, and this may be dependent more on people's beliefs in State responsibilities than with moral understandings about effective social justice.

If an individual sees the State as responsible for maintaining social control and applying formal justice, then he or she will be less compelled to contribute personal dollars to support a justice initiative. There is ever more pressure put on the government to legitimize its claims of maintaining public safety (Boutellier, 2006). Those individuals

who recognize the value of a community-based justice program, to the extent that they are regular financial donors to the program, will likely not require convincing through media publicity. In essence, it may be a case of the rich government programs getting richer, through increased and continued funding; and the poor community-based communitarian programs struggling to survive on the slight increases in new financial donors. Notwithstanding this speculative conclusion about the impact of positive publicity for communitarian programs, the fact remains that any community program will benefit to a greater or lesser degree. Even communitarians would be encouraged to hear that restorative justice is being overwhelmingly praised in the newsprint media. Had the aggregate statistical results of this objective demonstrated negative attitudes towards restorative justice, communitarians and governmentalsists alike would be concerned about their programmatic sustainability.

Restorative justice represents a unique alternative to the adversarial system of justice that has existed in Canada since the inception of formal juridical processing. Some consider it to be a radical theory of justice that is likely to never evolve beyond a mere appendage to the conventional criminal justice system. We have seen in Chapter 1 how restorative justice seeks to affect a paradigm shift in the thinking patterns of average citizens, such that their perceptions of justice are transformed to view crime as harms against persons and relationships that require personal engagement from key stakeholders in a process that is grounded in the core values of the perspective. If these core values are adhered to, the ensuing process response to crime will inevitably be considered restorative.

The results of this study can be interpreted to determine to what extent the newsprint media's portrayal of restorative justice supports or hinders the two respective movements operating in B.C. What the results ultimately yield is an interesting situation whereby the media present a very limited descriptive understanding of the perspective, yet praise the programmatic effectiveness of its practical application. This suggests then that the evolution of the perspective, in so far as a social paradigmatic shift is concerned as espoused by the communitarian movement, is restricted due to an abundance of minimally accurate descriptions of restorative justice. On the other hand, the evolution of restorative justice programs in the province of B.C. may be served well by the overwhelmingly positive support attributed to the practical application of the perspective.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Restorative justice is a new perspective within the field of criminology, one that asserts revolutionary ideas on crime and justice. Some academics view it as a radical perspective, "...radical in the sense that it is suspicious of credentialed professionals...and... distrustful of formal procedures" (Crawford & Clear, 2001:128). Although it is viewed by many to be a new perspective, it espouses views on crime that can be equated with principles of social justice that were employed long before the existing criminal justice system was formalized (Bianchi, 1994). According to Viano (2000:134):

During the last 20 years or so, a novel approach to justice slowly but solidly has been introduced, mostly in Australia, New Zealand, North America and some European countries. Its umbrella name is restorative justice. While it is being presented as something very new, it actually harks back to the community and human relationships-based system that governed justice in many parts of the United States up to and during a good portion of the 19th century.

Restorative justice is a criminological perspective, a process, and a new paradigm of justice aligned with a larger international social movement. In chapter one, these different manifestations of restorative justice materialized in alliance with a delineation of the one common theme that encapsulates them: values.

As a perspective, restorative justice does not provide explanations for the causes of crime, which is a defining characteristic of what is traditionally representative of a social scientific theory. Rather, as a 'perspective', restorative justice provides insight into how best to deal with the aftermaths of crime, which necessarily relies on the direct

human interaction of the key owners of harmful behaviour, the victim and the offender. What separates restorative justice from other theories on crime, is the recognition that behaviour does not have to be legislated as 'criminal' by the State to still inflict harm on a person, and thereby require restoration. The perspective views crimes from the standpoint of providing the key stakeholders in a crime the opportunity to resolve and repair the damage that was caused. Whereas the adversarial criminal justice system restricts ownership of crime as belonging to the State (Crawford, 2002), restorative justice gives back ownership to the victim and offender, whose relationship is directly impacted by the crime (Van Ness, 1996). It is these individuals, with their intimate knowledge of the crime, who are in the best position to repair the damage done to the relationship, and to the victim in particular.

The ownership of crime is at the centre of Zehr's (1995) three questions that define restorative justice in its simplest terms. The perspective asks: who has been harmed? What are their needs? And whose obligation is it? It is the victim and the community that have been harmed by a criminal act. Their needs will focus on repairing the damage and healing from the harms. These needs can best be achieved with the direct voluntary involvement of the offender in a safe meeting of all parties where open dialogue is encouraged.

The process of restorative justice is the practical manifestation of the perspective, and is focused on bringing stakeholders of crime together so that they may work together to achieve restoration and healing. Unlike other criminological theories, restorative justice as a perspective can be translated directly into a practical programmatic process for responding to crime. It brings victims, offenders, and members of the community

together in a meeting, whereby each has the opportunity to speak about how the crime has directly impacted on them. For the victim it is the beginning of the healing journey as their strength and courage to participate is evidence of an obtainment of empowerment. The offender is given the opportunity to take accountability for his or her actions by making amends for their harms to the victim, while being offered the same respect and opportunity to tell their story of their progression toward criminality. The community too, is offered the chance to voice their feelings about the impact of crime, with the hopes that they will offer to accept the victim and offender back into the community with no further stigmatization and provide the necessary support to ensure full reintegration. Support according to Van Ness and Strong (2002) can be financial, moral and/or spiritual. The process is flexible and fluid, taking all participants' interests into account and allowing for programs to be adaptable to the different communities within which it serves. It is this adaptability that has allowed the perspective to advance as a social movement, with processes that are supported by communities and governments as an alternative to the adversarial criminal justice process.

Restorative justice is spreading in acceptance and application throughout the world. Different models of the perspective are in practice in varying degrees in North America, Europe, Asia, and Australasia. Some of the more common models in operation are Victim-Offender Mediation, Victim-Offender Reconciliation, Family Group Conferencing, Peacemaking/Healing Circles, and Community Justice Forums. These restorative models may have their programmatic differences, however their pure manifestations will inevitably adhere to the core values espoused by the restorative justice perspective. Their goals are the same and the preferred outcomes of their

programs are the same. It is precisely because of the overwhelming acceptance of the perspective that restorative justice is seen by many scholars, practitioners, and policy-makers as a revolutionary social movement. What it has most in common with other social movements is a shared grievance against existing political and/or social control policies.

What is it exactly about restorative justice that allows it to be accepted by many as a perspective, a process, and a social movement? The answer is values. Restorative justice is a values-based perspective that endeavours to achieve the translation of written values directly into practice through their personal internalization. These values are many and they are admittedly ill defined in many respects, but their multiplicity does not erode the confidence that proponents of the perspective have in the ability of these values to influence societal behaviour. If a program operates on a permeation of core restorative values, the program would be worthy of the designation of restorative. If, on the other hand, a program operates on a foundation that places more emphasis on conformity to government-enticed operational restrictions, then it would not be referred to as genuinely restorative.

The purpose of conducting this descriptive study on restorative justice in the newsprint media was to gain an understanding of how accurate the perspective and process are being articulated to citizens, and how accepted restorative justice is within society. There has not yet been a publication that presents empirical data describing public perceptions about restorative justice, this study therefore is original in its intent to better understand society's acceptance of restorative justice by way of media content analysis. As Tonry (2006: 1) states, "There is no comparative literature on national

differences in receptivity to restorative justice, so I look for hypotheses in inferences that can be drawn from the nascent comparative literature....” While Tonry was referring to literature on acceptance of restorative justice in relation to permanent institutionalization, analysis of indirect existent literature to formulate inferences and generalizations concerning a particular construct, yields valuable information.

This study was descriptive in nature and conducted using both qualitative and quantitative methods and analysis. Three research objectives were outlined at the outset of the study, which focused on different elements of the media’s portrayal of the restorative construct. The first objective examined how accurate descriptions of restorative justice are as measured on the basis of a set of key restorative values. The intent was to stay true to the purest contentions of the perspective, which is exemplified by a strict adherence to core restorative values. The higher the frequency of these twelve key values, the more accurate descriptions of restorative justice were deemed to be in any given article. The second objective was examining the extent to which articles in the B.C. newsprint media were supporting or denouncing the perspective and/or process as an effective alternative to the existing adversarial judicial system. This objective was measured by qualitatively identifying prominent positive and negative themes within each article and providing a quantifiable assessment of an articles overall attitudinal ranking through an aggregation of the differences in frequency between positive and negative themes. The third objective examined the extent to which newspaper articles were misrepresenting who restorative processes were most suitable for, through an examination of the presence of three pre-conceived myths. Those articles that did not

contain any myths were seen to not be limiting the process to any given population group and hence more reflective of the inclusive nature of the perspective and its processes.

The final results of the statistical analysis of the data from this study, reveal interesting generalizations about the mixed portrayal of restorative justice. In terms of the accuracy of article descriptions, the large majority of articles were deemed minimally restorative, with three-quarters of all articles describing restorative justice on the basis of less than four restorative values. In most cases, articles described restorative justice using three prominent values: communication, meeting, and restitution. It has been suggested that these three values do provide a simple description of the perspective and its practical process, in such a way that it is conducive to further understanding by way of direct comparisons to the adversarial system of justice. Readers are given enough information about restorative justice to be able to contextualize it through subjective comparisons with what readers already know about crime and the justice system. Notwithstanding the speculative nature of this statement, it nonetheless implies the importance for conducting a complimentary research study on the public's attitudes and knowledge levels of restorative justice.

The results of this study do demonstrate overwhelming support for restorative justice; albeit more in line with its process application than the fundamental basis of the perspective. In conclusion, what readers will learn and understand about restorative justice is not entirely accurate, but is nonetheless deemed to be effective and successful. While readers may not internalize a complete understanding of the values of restorative justice, nor the significance these values have to both the written perspective and the practical application of the various models; they will, however, internalize a positive

portrayal of the construct, to the extent that restorative justice in practice is indeed articulated to be successful and well supported. What offences or offender type readers think the restorative process is most appropriate for, in terms of program participants, will depend on a given article. The majority of articles do not directly specify who are able to participate in a given program, which may be seen by proponents of the perspective as a positive element, for it prevents restrictive thoughts on program participants and by default leaves the impression that restorative justice is for a variety of offences and offender types. For those readers that pick up an article that is amongst the forty-percent that do contain one or more of the myths, they will come to understand restorative justice as being appropriate primarily for young offenders, first-time offenders, and/or offences of a less-serious constitution. The majority of these forty percent of myth containing articles will also fall into the category of being minimally restorative in their descriptive elements, and hence readers of such articles will have significant misunderstandings about the perspective. On the other hand, these same readers will come to understand that restorative justice is a positive and successful process.

The results of this study are quite interesting and provide much to discuss, and indeed speculate, about the larger societal implications. What this study indirectly serves to provide is an understanding of how the restorative justice movement is progressing within B.C. But as our earlier discussion had alluded to, there is in fact two separate movements operating in this province; “The competition between opposing visions of restorative justice is evident in the restorative justice movement in British Columbia” (Wooldord & Ratner, 2003: 180). Different interpretations of this study’s results are

demonstrated to have varying impacts on the restorative justice movement in this province. The impact depends on which movement's visions are biasing the interpretation. One movement, governmentalist, is considered to be in direct support of the government's views on restorative justice as a diversionary resource for justice professionals who wish to save money, save time, and reduce court loads for certain crimes. Considering that the goal of the governmentalist movement is to "...educate politicians on the benefits of restorative justice in order to encourage them to further institutionalize restorative justice practices" (Woolford & Ratner, 2003:183-184), positive portrayals in the newsprint media would certainly be interpreted by this group as welcome support. Operators of programs deemed to be of a governmentalist philosophy would arguably use these results to solicit funding increases from the government.

The opposing movement considered by Woolford & Ratner (2003) to be operating in B.C., referred to as the communitarian movement, is considered to be more in line with a grass roots, community-supported philosophy of restorative justice. This movement views restorative justice in a similar light to how the perspective has been articulated in the first chapter of this thesis, which is a values-based perspective. The communitarian movement shares the same aspirations to have the perspective and movement transform the way people view crime and justice, through an internalization of the core values, and ultimately affecting a paradigm shift within society. As stated by Aertsen (2006:74), "...the aim appears ambitious: to reorient criminal justice processes in a restorative direction". Unfortunately, as we have seen, this is a lofty goal, and it is not being well supported by the B.C. newsprint media's portrayal of restorative justice.

Communitarians would interpret the results of this study in a much more negative light than their governmentalist counterparts. Communitarians would see the majority of articles as depicting restorative justice in such a simplistic manner that it leaves readers with an incomplete understanding of the perspective and its most fundamental element, its core values. Communitarians would arguably be disappointed with the lack of direct association made with restorative justice and values, as the very word does not exist in any of the study articles. They would see these minimally restorative articles as creating an atmosphere that is conducive to misperceptions and disassociations of the perspective with other processes not deemed to be restorative in nature; for example conflict resolution.

Communitarians would be equally as concerned about the fact that forty percent of articles further mislead readers by portraying the process of restorative justice as being limited to certain offenders and offences as they espouse restorative justice as applicable to any crime, and any stakeholders, so long as those involved are not coerced into participating. An article that contains one or more of the three myths, is further distancing the reader from the full understanding of restorative justice. The results about overwhelmingly positive portrayals of the perspective and process would likely be viewed by communitarians with some enthusiasm. On the one hand they would recognize that such results will assist their rival governmentalist programs to secure further funding and hence further alienate the communitarian programs. However, on the other hand, with a reliance on community support to stay in operation, any positive sentiments espoused by the media with respect to restorative processes, will inevitably have some positive impact on their own respective programs. Notwithstanding the

importance of communitarian practitioners to work directly with news sources to ensure accurate reporting portrayals of the restorative justice, "...media strategies are no replacement for a meaningful social movement strategy" (Ryan et al., 1998: 180).

This study has sought to achieve many things, and to do so in a manner that is consistent with empirical research expectations. This thesis has outlined a new perspective of justice in its purest constitution, examined how the perspective and its processes are evaluated by empirical research, and finally, provided a descriptive study on the perspective's portrayal in the newsprint media. Notwithstanding the self-described achievements of this study, it nonetheless shares similarities with all other empirical research designs: limitations.

Although the study relied on newspaper articles from a well-established and respected online database, the articles were limited by way of the publisher. This particular online media database only contained newspapers that were published by two large publishing conglomerates, namely CanWest and Southam. Based on this, it is feasible to expect that other B.C. newspapers were not accessible for inclusion into this study.

Another limitation of the study design was the restricted use of the term 'restorative justice' to identify articles within this ProQuest database. As restorative justice has been around longer as a practice than as an established criminological perspective, it is possible that restricting articles to this one term likely eliminated the chance for other articles describing restorative justice to be included into this study. It has been pointed out how restorative justice is manifested in practice by way of different process models, for example Victim-Offender Mediation or Family Group Conferencing.

By restricting the study to articles containing the exact term 'restorative justice', any articles that reference one of these other models, without associating it specifically with restorative justice, were not considered for inclusion into the study. Although the researcher defends this decision on the basis that the purpose of the study was to examine portrayals of 'restorative justice', as opposed to portrayals of every manifestation of the perspective, even where the articles make no association of a model to restorative justice; this is nonetheless a limitation worth mentioning.

Further associated with this limitation is the fact that the researcher chose not to distinguish between the different program models amongst all the articles. No specific data was collected examining differences in the portrayal of one program model versus another. The fact that the article contained the term 'restorative justice' was enough to be included, and regardless of what the model was, the reader would associate its description as being representative of restorative justice on the whole. This decision limited some intriguing information that could have been obtained about differences in portrayal and support for specific programs around the province. Similarly, taking an accumulative approach in determining overall portrayal constitutions of articles did not allow for the capturing of more meaningful understandings of restorative justice's positive portrayals. Limiting the objective measurements to set categories of values and attitudinal themes, to the exclusion of other semantic expressions about restorative justice, necessarily limits other positive, negative, or informational representations of the construct.

Like any research study, there are going to be limitations based on the study design, but it is the ability to point out these limitations that increases the credibility in the research results and the researcher. This study was designed to capture data that

would speak to the three primary research objectives, and to do so in such a way that it could be replicated in the future. The researcher contends that this study has achieved the goals set forth at the outset, with intriguing results. Future considerations would involve comparing these results to the results of public perception surveys, to examine the extent to which public perceptions reflect media portrayals.

One final concluding remark concerning this study was the surprising demonstration of the media to report on the construct of restorative justice in such a positive manner, considering the myriad of research studies showing the media to focus on the negative elements of crime and justice. It is no secret that the media focuses on sensational crimes, and with an emphasis on the failings of the court system to reduce crime in society. The fact that the majority of articles presented restorative justice in such a positive light contradicts these stereotypical conclusions about the media's presentation on crime and justice in general. The propensity of articles to promote increased punishment for offenders as a response to crime in society is in direct contradiction to the sentiments espoused by the newsprint media on the subject of restorative justice.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Excluded Articles

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Emotions a bad basis for decisions</i>	12-Mar-87	Vancouver Sun
ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES	27-Mar-97	Times-Colonist
<i>Victims of crime focus of service</i>	30-Apr-97	Times-Colonist
LETTERS	30-Aug-97	Times-Colonist
<i>Regional Roundup: Coquitlam</i>	12-Jan-98	Vancouver Sun
<i>Doukhobor kids 'need justice'</i>	9-Apr-99	The Province
<i>Where You Live: A quick look at what's shaping and shaking Greater Victoria</i>	26-May-99	Times-Colonist
<i>The pen and the pendulum: Profile of an Author, a Lover and Infamous Ex-bank Robber</i>	11-Jun-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Musgrave expects delay before seeing husband</i>	15-Jun-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Crime fighters gather for annual conference</i>	21-Sep-99	Daily News
<i>Symposium helps delegates fight crime</i>	25-Sep-99	Kamloops Daily News
<i>A living wage</i>	27-Oct-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Schools</i>	11-Nov-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Welcome to British bobby</i>	24-Jan-00	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Planning underway for Port McNeill Fall Fair</i>	4-Mar-00	Courier - Islander
<i>Forum to focus on safe schools: Presentation by anti-violence youth group 841-KOZ</i>	6-Apr-00	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Thank-you Community Policing volunteers</i>	12-Apr-00	Cowichan Valley Citizen
<i>Schools will be held to their promise of safety</i>	19-Apr-00	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Where You Live</i>	27-Apr-00	Times-Colonist
<i>Apology a step toward healing past wrongs</i>	19-May-00	Trail Times
<i>55 service years recognized</i>	5-Jun-00	Alberni Valley Times
<i>John Howard Society receives money to study impact of gaming</i>	17-Aug-00	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>New lounge coming soon</i>	19-Oct-00	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Your island</i>	22-Oct-00	Times-Colonist
<i>We asked the parties: Is the Young Offenders Act too soft? Series: Student Vote 2000</i>	1-Nov-00	The Province
<i>McKim's First Recognition Assembly and Pep Rally - Loud Successes</i>	7-Nov-00	Daily Bulletin

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Police Briefs</i>	8-Nov-00	Cowichan Valley Citizen
<i>Abashiri schools visit happens in January;</i>	9-Nov-00	<i>Alberni Valley Times</i>
<i>New justice approach</i>	14-Nov-00	The Province
<i>Mal-U offers free public lecture</i>	18-Nov-00	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>Young people want to know hear platforms</i>	20-Nov-00	<i>Alberni Valley Times</i>
<i>Supernault essay earns her \$10,000 scholarship</i>	21-Nov-00	<i>Peace River Block Daily News</i>
<i>Around B.C. In Brief</i>	22-Nov-00	<i>Trail Times</i>
<i>Fired Tsewultun officer now working for Attorney-General</i>	22-Nov-00	Cowichan Valley Citizen
<i>Natives disheartened with Alliance</i>	26-Nov-00	Times-Colonist
<i>Targeting aggressive children early can help: Educators find there's no quick fix, but some children can be problem-free in three years</i>	4-Dec-00	Vancouver Sun
<i>Cartoon was in poor taste</i>	14-Dec-00	Alberni Valley Times
<i>August, 2000</i>	28-Dec-00	<i>Peace River Block Daily News</i>
<i>Year in Review: November 2000</i>	2-Jan-01	<i>Peace River Block Daily News</i>
<i>AV Restorative Justice Society corrects address</i>	22-Jan-01	<i>Alberni Valley Times</i>
<i>Restorative Justice call-in show</i>	23-Jan-01	<i>Alberni Valley Times</i>
<i>Love is All You Need: Drug addict bent on suicide finds Jesus and sees his share of miracles at motel Series: Last Resort;</i>	5-Feb-01	Times-Colonist
<i>New kiddie law same as the old kiddie law</i>	7-Feb-01	Nelson Daily News
<i>Public outcry bound to ensue</i>	7-Feb-01	Daily Townsman
<i>School district goes public</i>	23-Feb-01	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Church Chronicles</i>	24-Feb-01	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Remember, negativity only adds to the problem</i>	26-Feb-01	Daily News
<i>Police capture young fire bugs</i>	2-Mar-01	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>On board</i>	7-Mar-01	<i>Alberni Valley Times</i>
<i>Crime Briefs</i>	8-Mar-01	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>Communities receive funding for crime prevention</i>	17-Mar-01	Courier - Islander
<i>Meeting on policing</i>	28-Mar-01	<i>Cowichan Valley Citizen</i>
<i>No charge</i>	30-Mar-01	The Province

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Broad range of candidates seeking office in Victoria</i>	<i>21-Apr-01</i>	<i>Prince George Citizen</i>
<i>Pot activist among eclectic B.C. candidates</i>	<i>21-Apr-01</i>	<i>Kamloops Daily News</i>
<i>Voters may recall these names</i>	<i>21-Apr-01</i>	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>Only in British Columbia: Election offers alternatives: Notable B.C. candidates include natives, pot and environment activists</i>	<i>23-Apr-01</i>	<i>Daily Bulletin</i>
<i>Only in British Columbia: Election offers alternatives: Notable B.C. candidates include natives, pot and environment activists</i>	<i>23-Apr-01</i>	<i>Daily Townsman</i>
<i>Marijuana Party about more than just pot</i>	<i>1-May-01</i>	<i>Peace River Block Daily News</i>
<i>Marijuana Party candidate enters race</i>	<i>1-May-01</i>	<i>Courier - Islander</i>
<i>Freedom at root of issues for Marijuana party</i>	<i>3-May-01</i>	<i>Kamloops Daily News</i>
<i>Regional district votes against community policing initiative</i>	<i>3-May-01</i>	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>Marijuana not a one-issue party anymore</i>	<i>4-May-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Marijuana Party candidates finds campaign trail rough</i>	<i>15-May-01</i>	<i>Courier - Islander</i>
<i>Community Calendar</i>	<i>17-May-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Community Calendar</i>	<i>27-May-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Prince Rupert's Community Calendar</i>	<i>29-May-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Rupert's Community Calendar</i>	<i>31-May-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Prisoner flees custody</i>	<i>1-Jun-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Escaped convict back in custody</i>	<i>2-Jun-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Rupert's Community Calendar</i>	<i>4-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Rupert's Community Calendar</i>	<i>5-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Conference set for weekend</i>	<i>6-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Gun hunt follows escape bid by convicts</i>	<i>6-Jun-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Community Calendar</i>	<i>7-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Prisoners' escape triggers assessment of warning protocol</i>	<i>7-Jun-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Community Calendar</i>	<i>8-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Grad prank ends with student in hospital</i>	<i>14-Jun-01</i>	<i>Vancouver Sun</i>
<i>Inmates escape William Head;</i>	<i>18-Jun-01</i>	<i>Prince George Citizen</i>
<i>Police hunt for escaped inmates from Vancouver Island jail</i>	<i>18-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily Bulletin</i>

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Police hunt for escaped inmates from Vancouver Island jail</i>	<i>18-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily Townsman</i>
<i>Police on hunt for escaped convicts</i>	<i>18-Jun-01</i>	<i>Peace River Block Daily News</i>
<i>Prisoners escape twice in two weeks</i>	<i>18-Jun-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Police still on look-out for two escaped inmates</i>	<i>19-Jun-01</i>	<i>Peace River Block Daily News</i>
<i>Prison breaks probed as pair escape</i>	<i>19-Jun-01</i>	<i>Alberni Valley Times</i>
<i>Prison breaks probed; inmates still loose</i>	<i>19-Jun-01</i>	<i>Prince George Citizen</i>
<i>RCMP continue hunt for escapers: Investigators probe series of prison breaks</i>	<i>19-Jun-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Spotlight on Vancouver Island prison</i>	<i>19-Jun-01</i>	<i>Alaska Highway News</i>
<i>Vancouver Island prison breaks probed as police hunt for two escaped inmates</i>	<i>19-Jun-01</i>	<i>Daily Bulletin</i>
<i>Accountability the goal of sentence for Joel's attackers: Readers deeply disappointed with youths' sentences, but the Libin family says jailing them is not the answer.;</i>	<i>20-Jun-01</i>	<i>Vancouver Sun</i>
<i>Magee named Rotarian of the Year</i>	<i>3-Jul-01</i>	<i>Daily Townsman</i>
<i>Rethink the urge to punish</i>	<i>13-Jul-01</i>	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>Visiting police impressed by community focus</i>	<i>25-Jul-01</i>	<i>Cowichan Valley Citizen</i>
<i>Caption Only</i>	<i>14-Aug-01</i>	<i>Daily Townsman</i>
<i>Lawsuits threaten institutions: lawyers</i>	<i>17-Aug-01</i>	<i>Trail Times</i>
<i>'It's quite a varied path I've taken'</i>	<i>8-Sep-01</i>	<i>Prince George Citizen</i>
<i>North Island offers many volunteer activities</i>	<i>22-Sep-01</i>	<i>Courier - Islander</i>
<i>Municipal affairs</i>	<i>23-Sep-01</i>	<i>North Shore News</i>
<i>Youth ordered to apologize but truck owners out \$12,500</i>	<i>17-Oct-01</i>	<i>Cowichan Valley Citizen</i>
<i>Volunteering</i>	<i>5-Nov-01</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Community policing volunteers lauded</i>	<i>14-Nov-01</i>	<i>Trail Times</i>
<i>Police honour volunteers</i>	<i>18-Nov-01</i>	<i>Cowichan Valley Citizen</i>
<i>Month of Together Against Violence activities coming to an end</i>	<i>25-Nov-01</i>	<i>Cowichan Valley Citizen</i>
<i>Man found dead after nine months left estate to city</i>	<i>4-Jan-02</i>	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>'Mummy' man's life left little trail</i>	<i>4-Jan-02</i>	<i>Trail Times</i>
<i>Rupert man named</i>	<i>4-Jan-02</i>	<i>Prince George Citizen</i>

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Family shocked, angry at fate of Prince Rupert recluse</i>	7-Jan-02	Daily Townsman
<i>Art vs. graffiti: Let's go after visual vandals;</i>	10-Feb-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Credibility abandoned, Showtime is a fun mess</i>	8-Apr-02	Peace River Block Daily News
<i>When inmates reign supreme: Michael Harris argues that Canada's prisons coddle offenders and put guards' lives at risk;</i>	13-Apr-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>Calendar</i>	25-Apr-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Community faces a dilemma</i>	30-Apr-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Course restores justice</i>	10-May-02	Langley Advance
<i>Youth crime down, not up</i>	13-May-02	Times-Colonist
<i>'Spaceman' Lee part of celebrity game</i>	11-Jun-02	Chilliwack Times
<i>Mother Teresa finds joy in ministering to the homeless</i>	24-Jun-02	Daily News
<i>Community activist will run for Abby council seat</i>	28-Jun-02	Abbotsford Times
<i>Ottawa's Mother Teresa finds joy in ministering to the homeless</i>	5-Jul-02	Daily Bulletin
<i>Municipal affairs;</i>	14-Jul-02	North Shore News
<i>B.C. gov't in Ontario court to prevent closure of Catholic schools</i>	22-Jul-02	Trail Times
<i>B.C. in court bid to save two Vancouver Catholic schools: Courts have ordered Vancouver College and St. Thomas More sold to pay abuse victims</i>	22-Jul-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>NVD gives \$326,000 to community groups</i>	24-Jul-02	North Shore News
<i>Liberals look at changing how spousal assault cases are handled</i>	17-Aug-02	Coquitlam Now
<i>Council hopeful will bring youthful view</i>	6-Sep-02	Chilliwack Times
<i>Rachel's a real Ms Politico dynamo</i>	10-Sep-02	The Province
<i>De Jong among the pack running for school board</i>	8-Oct-02	Abbotsford Times
<i>Seminar to examine justice that can heal</i>	20-Oct-02	Record
<i>Boy who derailed train gets 6 months</i>	7-Nov-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>Conference to be held</i>	8-Nov-02	Chilliwack Times

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Downsizing 'Club Fed': Plagued by a rash of escapes, William Head Penitentiary is dropping its medium-security status. Downgraded to minimum, the waterfront institution faces heavy fallout, losing 40 per cent of its staff and half its inmates</i>	17-Nov-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Working together against violence</i>	17-Nov-02	North Shore News
<i>Abby school board has familiar makeup</i>	19-Nov-02	Abbotsford Times
<i>On Today/Coming Up</i>	21-Nov-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Best defence against drugs-an early start</i>	10-Dec-02	Chilliwack Times
<i>Elks continue strong tradition of donating</i>	10-Dec-02	Chilliwack Times
<i>Niece fights Prince Rupert over loner's hefty estate</i>	11-Dec-02	The Province
<i>We are all responsible for violence</i>	18-Dec-02	Harbour City Star
<i>Correction</i>	24-Jan-03	Abbotsford Times
<i>Restorative justice explored</i>	4-Feb-03	Langley Advance
<i>Youth on hot seat for city funds</i>	4-Feb-03	Abbotsford Times
<i>Council rookie has a tax plan</i>	7-Feb-03	Abbotsford Times
<i>Stella Jo Dean gets Order of Canada</i>	12-Feb-03	North Shore News
<i>Abby council will bump taxes to raise extra cash</i>	21-Feb-03	Abbotsford Times
<i>On The Agenda</i>	22-Feb-03	Coquitlam Now
<i>A First Nation focused on the future:</i>	3-Mar-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Community Calendar</i>	14-Mar-03	Daily News
<i>Community Calendar</i>	17-Mar-03	Daily News
<i>Community Calendar</i>	18-Mar-03	Daily News
<i>Community calendar</i>	19-Mar-03	Daily News
<i>Merritt councillor accused of theft from city hall</i>	20-Mar-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>When justice for youth is really done</i>	26-Mar-03	Record
<i>Jazz-singer mom of 6 recovering from SARS</i>	18-Apr-03	The Province
<i>Bulletin Board</i>	23-Apr-03	Coquitlam Now
<i>Youth Skate free event</i>	25-Apr-03	Chilliwack Times
<i>Youth Skate</i>	29-Apr-03	Chilliwack Times
<i>Tireslasher busted: To contact Crimestoppers call 627-TIPS (8477) or 1-800-222-TIPS (8477);</i>	1-May-03	Daily News
<i>Youth Skate set for May 10</i>	2-May-03	Chilliwack Times

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Lawn bowlers open house</i>	<i>6-May-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Youth Skate event is free</i>	<i>9-May-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Bulletin Board</i>	<i>10-May-03</i>	<i>Coquitlam Now</i>
<i>Big youth weekend</i>	<i>13-May-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Ex-con goes back inside to help others: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	<i>22-May-03</i>	<i>Vancouver Sun</i>
<i>What we ignore reflects what we are</i>	<i>23-May-03</i>	<i>Vancouver Sun</i>
<i>Caption Only</i>	<i>21-Jul-03</i>	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>Artists' display at Minter</i>	<i>15-Aug-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Tone Loc in Tornado's eye of storm</i>	<i>22-Aug-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Festival touted as biggest party of year</i>	<i>29-Aug-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Offer your services at a youth centre</i>	<i>30-Aug-03</i>	<i>Coquitlam Now</i>
<i>Beach home to sculptures</i>	<i>5-Sep-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Bulletin Board</i>	<i>6-Sep-03</i>	<i>Record</i>
<i>Christy Clark lauds Princess Margaret's YES program</i>	<i>6-Sep-03</i>	<i>Surrey Now</i>
<i>Zuberbier's 'A Touch of Earth VI' on display</i>	<i>12-Sep-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Fun dance at Crossroads church</i>	<i>19-Sep-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Caption Only</i>	<i>25-Sep-03</i>	<i>Nanaimo Daily News</i>
<i>Something to Crowe about</i>	<i>26-Sep-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>'Party central' UVic reels from rash of violence</i>	<i>30-Sep-03</i>	<i>The Province</i>
<i>Gary Comeau shakin' up Harrison Memorial</i>	<i>3-Oct-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Caption Only</i>	<i>7-Oct-03</i>	<i>Langley Advance</i>
<i>Local Metis helps ratify provincial constitution</i>	<i>8-Oct-03</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Military band plays tonight</i>	<i>10-Oct-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Community Events</i>	<i>17-Oct-03</i>	<i>Abbotsford Times</i>
<i>Restorative justice</i>	<i>17-Oct-03</i>	<i>Abbotsford Times</i>
<i>Advocacy</i>	<i>21-Oct-03</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Community events</i>	<i>21-Oct-03</i>	<i>Abbotsford Times</i>
<i>Halloween bash tonight</i>	<i>31-Oct-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>It's vaudeville in four-part</i>	<i>7-Nov-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>At Your Service</i>	<i>16-Nov-03</i>	<i>Times-Colonist</i>
<i>Learn about justice</i>	<i>19-Nov-03</i>	<i>Burnaby Now</i>
<i>This student makes a difference</i>	<i>21-Nov-03</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Half a mil to prevent crime</i>	<i>22-Nov-03</i>	<i>Burnaby Now</i>

Article Title	Publication Date	Source of Publication
<i>Youth have major role in future of Poirier area</i>	<i>29-Nov-03</i>	<i>Coquitlam Now</i>
<i>Yellow scarves snap at community forum</i>	<i>16-Dec-03</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Caption Only</i>	<i>7-Jan-04</i>	<i>North Shore News</i>
<i>Lack of equity a huge financial impediment for Canada's natives</i>	<i>13-Jan-04</i>	<i>The Province</i>
<i>Community spirit keeps them going</i>	<i>23-Jan-04</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Surrey RCMP officers receive awards</i>	<i>28-Jan-04</i>	<i>Surrey Now</i>
<i>Volunteers</i>	<i>13-Feb-04</i>	<i>Alaska Highway News</i>
<i>Empathy in classroom key to stopping bullies</i>	<i>17-Feb-04</i>	<i>Langley Advance</i>
<i>Volunteers</i>	<i>17-Feb-04</i>	<i>Alaska Highway News</i>
<i>Traffic sergeant shifts gears</i>	<i>20-Feb-04</i>	<i>Langley Advance</i>
<i>Learn to live with arthritis</i>	<i>24-Feb-04</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Bring your pjs to library</i>	<i>2-Mar-04</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Arco tracks down suspect</i>	<i>3-Mar-04</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>Community Bulletin Board</i>	<i>7-Mar-04</i>	<i>North Shore News</i>
<i>School hosts fair and open house</i>	<i>9-Mar-04</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>Student taking gift of gab to nationals</i>	<i>10-Mar-04</i>	<i>Trail Times</i>
<i>Volunteers</i>	<i>11-Mar-04</i>	<i>Alaska Highway News</i>
<i>Social services back-up installed in Rupert</i>	<i>15-Mar-04</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>School district faces new safety code</i>	<i>23-Mar-04</i>	<i>Langley Advance</i>
<i>Crown is right to appeal this no-jail sentence</i>	<i>25-Mar-04</i>	<i>Vancouver Sun</i>
<i>We asked you</i>	<i>21-Apr-04</i>	<i>The Province</i>
<i>Month-long celebration: Local arts scene will be busier than ever in May;</i>	<i>23-Apr-04</i>	<i>Chilliwack Times</i>
<i>RCMP constables ordered to resign</i>	<i>23-Apr-04</i>	<i>North Shore News</i>
<i>Rogue cops?: Hearing testimony raises questions about police standards at local detachment</i>	<i>25-Apr-04</i>	<i>North Shore News</i>
<i>Youth paying for setting fires</i>	<i>26-Apr-04</i>	<i>Alaska Highway News</i>
<i>Fired Mounties had been slapped before</i>	<i>27-Apr-04</i>	<i>The Province</i>

Appendix B: Included Articles

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>VICTIMS OF CRIME - Fighting for Rights</i>	11-Oct-95	Times-Colonist
<i>BRIDGING THE CULTURAL DIVIDE: Excerpt from the special report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and criminal justice in Canada</i>	25-Feb-96	The Province
<i>A way to change the figures - By Elinor Powell</i>	22-Aug-96	Times-Colonist
<i>New models of justice</i>	21-Dec-96	Times-Colonist
<i>Justice without jail: Alternative solutions show some promise</i>	4-Apr-97	Vancouver Sun
<i>Mushrooming car-theft problem to be probed: A 31-year-old Delta woman was killed Saturday when her car was struck by a stolen vehicle that ran a red light.;</i>	7-Apr-97	Vancouver Sun
<i>Apologize and stay out of jail</i>	20-Apr-97	The Province
<i>Justice plan considered</i>	26-May-97	Vancouver Sun
<i>JIM HACKLER - Court's closure hurts natives most of all</i>	11-Sep-97	Times-Colonist
<i>Unique justice system grew from convict past</i>	15-Sep-97	Times-Colonist
<i>Young made to say sorry</i>	27-Oct-97	The Province
<i>North Vancouver</i>	21-Jan-98	The Province
<i>Homespun justice system unveiled</i>	12-Feb-98	The Province
<i>EDITORIAL - In search of justice</i>	3-May-98	Times-Colonist
<i>LETTERS - Numbers mislead</i>	15-May-98	Times-Colonist
<i>LETTERS - Polite bigotry</i>	20-May-98	Times-Colonist
<i>O'Connor appeal dropped after healing circle: The ceremony allowed the women the former bishop had sex with to confront him and hear his apology.</i>	18-Jun-98	Vancouver Sun
<i>Experts view harassment complaints as ordeal by fire</i>	22-Jun-98	Vancouver Sun
<i>Healing circles protested</i>	21-Jul-98	Times-Colonist
<i>School bid to charge vandals could set precedent</i>	11-Dec-98	Times-Colonist
<i>Victims want responsibility from criminals</i>	24-Jan-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Conference looks at new approach to justice</i>	25-Jan-99	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Helping Hands: North Vancouver Restorative Justice Society</i>	25-Feb-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Dosanjh applauds youth crime legislation: B.C.'s attorney-general says the federal bill walks the line between a tough stand and those seeking alternatives.;</i>	12-Mar-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Tougher youth law proposed</i>	12-Mar-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Restorative justice program seeking new facilitators</i>	16-Mar-99	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Restorative justice deserves support</i>	18-Mar-99	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Rock dropper admits guilt</i>	9-Apr-99	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Face-to-face justice: RCMP set up forums for offender, victim to agree on a resolution</i>	11-Apr-99	The Province

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>Justice program pushes restitution</i>	4-May-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Apprehended young thief gets to meet his victims: The meeting convinces a counsellor in the Coquitlam school district of the benefits of a forthcoming program that will keep first-time offenders out of court altogether.;</i>	5-May-99	Vancouver Sun - Tri Cities edition, Maple Ridge, Pitt Meadows edition
<i>Let's try virtuous reality to help all our children: The key to providing these gifts is radically simple. If we are to save our children, we need to fill the vacuum of virtue</i>	11-May-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Number of natives in prison could soar, Commons told: A 40-per-cent increase is predicted in the next decade if patterns don't change</i>	12-May-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Putting a face on justice</i>	26-May-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Restorative justice is worthy of trial</i>	5-Jun-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Healing justice</i>	10-Jul-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Give victims a say in drug sentences</i>	24-Jul-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Sex offenders can be managed safely</i>	10-Aug-99	Times-Colonist
<i>Justice forums bring parties face to face</i>	3-Sep-99	Daily Bulletin
<i>Justice forums bring parties face to face</i>	3-Sep-99	Daily Townsman
<i>Regional Roundup: Chilliwack</i>	15-Sep-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>'I've reformed,' skinhead killer tells sentence hearing: Radoslaw Synderek becomes the second of Nirmal Singh Gill's killers to disavow racism and apologize to the victim's family.</i>	8-Oct-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Restorative justice is focus of meeting</i>	10-Nov-99	Times-Colonist
<i>If you forgive, then you can be forgiven</i>	13-Nov-99	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Justice changing</i>	14-Nov-99	The Province
<i>Convicts have potential to be productive citizens</i>	22-Nov-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam warned to add police officers</i>	15-Dec-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Port Coquitlam at the bottom of policing list: The RCMP is warning that a low police-to-resident ratio will mean more crime when SkyTrain arrives.;</i>	15-Dec-99	Vancouver Sun
<i>Nationally acclaimed justice manager resigns</i>	20-Dec-99	Alaska Highway News
<i>New manager sought</i>	21-Dec-99	Prince George Citizen
<i>Youth justice program off to slow start in region: Lack of suitable candidates is blamed for the failure to divert young offenders into a diversion program</i>	5-Jan-00	Vancouver Sun
<i>Bobby learns Canadian system</i>	21-Jan-00	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>British police officer to speak at Mal-U</i>	22-Jan-00	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Shaw gets just 10 years for murdering Mary Newman</i>	23-Jan-00	Cowichan Valley Citizen
<i>Judges' interpretation, not the law, is faulted: Many aspects of conditional sentencing have been controversial. Instead of tightening the law, Parliament should first allow judges to follow new Supreme Court of Canada guidelines.</i>	2-Feb-00	Vancouver Sun

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<u>British bobby visits schools</u>	7-Feb-00	Nanaimo Daily News
<u>Restorative justice attempt faces uncertain future</u>	8-Mar-00	Vancouver Sun
<u>A chance to make amends</u>	19-Mar-00	Times-Colonist
<u>Penitentiary inmates build 'metaphor for life's journey'</u>	7-Apr-00	Times-Colonist
<u>Approaches To restorative justice: Can they be used as alternatives to elementary school suspensions?;</u>	11-Apr-00	Times-Colonist
<u>Too much court time, too little jail time;</u>	5-May-00	The Province
<u>First Nations youth to get helping hand</u>	22-Jun-00	Alaska Highway News
<u>Judge must look at couple's past</u>	2-Jul-00	The Province
<u>Drop in centre for hookers, drug courts recommended for city;</u>	21-Jul-00	Nanaimo Daily News
<u>Essay earns student trip to Toronto</u>	11-Aug-00	Peace River Block Daily News
<u>Supernault wins \$10,000 with essay</u>	1-Sep-00	Peace River Block Daily News
<u>'Unthinkable anguish, unending hearthache': A writer grapples with the murder of his ex-wife and two children, and finds he cannot forgive.;</u>	23-Sep-00	Vancouver Sun
<u>Restitution and restorative justice: Workshops will feature new discipline philosophy</u>	16-Oct-00	Daily Bulletin
<u>Victims of crime win right to speak at parole bids: A lawyer for the French and Mahaffy families say they plan to speak at Karla Homolka's hearing in light of the federal ruling.</u>	20-Oct-00	Vancouver Sun
<u>Opposition defeats bid to alter EI benefits law: The employment insurance amendments are among a dozen pieces of legislation that will die if election is called.;</u>	21-Oct-00	Vancouver Sun
<u>Toughened crime laws will vanish with election</u>	21-Oct-00	Times-Colonist
<u>Bringing back the healing side of justice</u>	3-Nov-00	Daily News
<u>Stage set for restorative justice in Port Alberni</u>	6-Nov-00	Alberni Valley Times
<u>New justice approach</u>	14-Nov-00	The Province
<u>Restorative Justice - II The Victim</u>	14-Nov-00	Alberni Valley Times
<u>Restorative justice recognized by NDP</u>	17-Nov-00	Alaska Highway News
<u>Mock forum part of Restorative Justice Week in Port McNeill</u>	18-Nov-00	Courier - Islander
<u>Parties speak up about youth crime</u>	20-Nov-00	Alberni Valley Times
<u>Restorative Justice - Part III Offender's experience often harrowing</u>	20-Nov-00	Alberni Valley Times
<u>Repairing the justice system: 2000 Federal Election</u>	22-Nov-00	Peace River Block Daily News
<u>Candidates discuss changing justice system</u>	23-Nov-00	Courier - Islander
<u>Incumbent MP sticking to issues</u>	23-Nov-00	Trail Times
<u>Some of the issues</u>	25-Nov-00	Vancouver Sun
<u>Expert explains principles of restorative justice</u>	1-Dec-00	Alberni Valley Times
<u>The target group and police perspective</u>	4-Dec-00	Alberni Valley Times
<u>Part 5: Restorative justice and family group counselling</u>	11-Dec-00	Alberni Valley Times

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>Part 6: Restorative justice and the concept of restoration</i>	18-Dec-00	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Visions for Year One: It sounds corny, but Marianne Williamson's pals have some practical suggestions for making the world a better place</i>	30-Dec-00	Vancouver Sun
<i>Restorative justice needs volunteers</i>	8-Jan-01	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Short and long-term effects of restorative justice</i>	15-Jan-01	
<i>Jump on the restorative bandwagon</i>	19-Jan-01	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Crime prevention wins \$20,000 boost: Stable funds for groups like Citizens on Patrol</i>	10-Feb-01	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Marshall joining E Division</i>	14-Feb-01	Alaska Highway News
<i>City hosting social justice forum</i>	19-Feb-01	Prince George Citizen
<i>Victim calls for justice reform</i>	19-Feb-01	Times-Colonist
<i>VTV producer takes first Webster broadcast fellowship</i>	24-Feb-01	Vancouver Sun
<i>In favour of a new approach to inmates: What is needed to reduce crime rates is more opportunities for those who have offended to change the way they live;</i>	3-Mar-01	Times-Colonist
<i>Justice forum starts today</i>	8-Mar-01	Prince George Citizen
<i>Justice forum stresses accountability</i>	10-Mar-01	Prince George Citizen
<i>Merritt councillor says he forgot about store item in pocket</i>	30-Mar-01	Kamloops Daily News
<i>High standards set for politicians</i>	31-Mar-01	Kamloops Daily News
<i>Pace too slow</i>	4-Apr-01	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Community policing may be on its way for electoral areas</i>	20-Apr-01	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Libin ruling too lenient, Musqueam leader says: 'I want the public to know that not everyone . . . agrees with this'</i>	2-Jun-01	Vancouver Sun
<i>Escape disgust</i>	7-Jun-01	Times-Colonist
<i>Don't go easy on our teens: Ex-chief</i>	17-Jun-01	The Province
<i>Restorative justice conference set to take place in Kaslo</i>	27-Jul-01	Nelson Daily News
<i>Criminal, victim meet in restorative justice</i>	3-Aug-01	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>The perils of restorative justice</i>	17-Aug-01	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Cooling school violence: Restorative justice programs bring feuding parties together to talk about their disputes;</i>	22-Aug-01	Vancouver Sun
<i>When theology meets the law: An Anglican minister who also serves as Crown prosecutor delves into Judeo/Christian roots for the basis of restorative justice</i>	28-Aug-01	Daily Townsman
<i>Bible interpretations affect modern judicial system says preacher/prosecutor</i>	29-Aug-01	Daily Bulletin
<i>Combining two loves: Former Prince George Crown prosecutor unites theology and the law</i>	8-Sep-01	Prince George Citizen

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>Revamped restorative justice program makes great strides: In its second Cranbrook incarnation, community justice program takes strain off court system; repeat offences are zero</i>	26-Oct-01	Daily Townsman
<i>Where You Live: A quick look at what's shaping and shaking Greater Victoria</i>	19-Nov-01	Times-Colonist
<i>Restitution and Restorative Justice Workshop</i>	27-Nov-01	Daily Bulletin
<i>Measuring crime's true cost</i>	28-Nov-01	Times-Colonist
<i>Falcone laid to rest</i>	9-Jan-02	Daily News
<i>...alternative justice threatened</i>	26-Jan-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Aboriginal policing workshop touches on several issues</i>	21-Feb-02	Kamloops Daily News
<i>At A Glance</i>	2-Mar-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Nanaimo leading the way</i>	2-Mar-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Parole boards cautious, not lenient</i>	2-Mar-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Philosophy apt to expand . . .;</i>	2-Mar-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Promise, certainly, perfection, no . . .</i>	2-Mar-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>restorative justice</i>	2-Mar-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Sessions alter stereotypes . . .;</i>	2-Mar-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Justice image stirs up controversy</i>	11-Mar-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Teen pleads guilty to derailing Nova Scotia train</i>	17-Apr-02	Alaska Highway News
<i>Teenage boy pleads guilty to causing Via train wreck</i>	17-Apr-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Bullying 101: Give your children the armour to deal with bullying. With that knowledge, they'll be able overcome the trauma of being picked on, or, at the very least, they'll be able to reach out and help someone else;</i>	23-Apr-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Initiative restores justice</i>	23-Apr-02	Langley Advance
<i>Bullying 101: Give your children the armour to deal with bullying. With that knowledge, they'll be able overcome the trauma of being picked on, or, at the very least, they'll be able to reach out and help someone else.;</i>	26-Apr-02	Daily Bulletin
<i>Bullying 101: Give your children the armour to deal with bullying. With that knowledge, they'll be able overcome the trauma of being picked on, or, at the very least, they'll be able to reach out and help someone else.;</i>	26-Apr-02	Daily Townsman
<i>Bullying 101</i>	1-May-02	Harbour City Star
<i>Former B.C. man pleads guilty to faking resume: Bogus credentials landed John Davy a plum job with New Zealand TV service</i>	17-May-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>... 'efficient, effective program' needs funding to run successfully</i>	18-May-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>...healing involves the community</i>	18-May-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>...RCMP creates culture inside force so its officers understand program</i>	18-May-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>...sessions are highly confidential and emotional</i>	18-May-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Restorative Justice</i>	18-May-02	Nanaimo Daily News

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>A program of merit</i>	21-May-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>A program of merit</i>	22-May-02	Harbour City Star
<i>Workshop restores justice</i>	28-May-02	Langley Advance
<i>The evil at Mount Cashel spawns a clash between two goods</i>	3-Jun-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>Addressing bullying</i>	10-Jun-02	Alaska Highway News
<i>Girl apologizes for making false sexual assault report: Racism followed allegations against Vietnamese males</i>	13-Jun-02	Daily News
<i>Sex assault untrue</i>	14-Jun-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Teenage girl apologises to entire Vietnamese community of Prince Rupert for falsely crying rape</i>	14-Jun-02	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Three area schools hit by vandalism</i>	19-Jun-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Choice is tough for police board: Bob Rich, inspector with the VPD, and Jamie Graham, chief superintendent with the RCMP vie for Vancouver's top police job</i>	27-Jun-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>Pot study author in new position</i>	2-Jul-02	Abbotsford Times
<i>UCFV brings excitement to research: Yvon Dandurand</i>	2-Jul-02	Chilliwack Times
<i>Bug fest crawling to an end?: Removing the bugs' favourite food source seems to do the trick</i>	17-Jul-02	Burnaby Now
<i>Province in last-ditch effort over liquidation of schools</i>	22-Jul-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Crime Takes No Holidays in Sooke: RCMP open a record number of files as crooks follow vacationers to the beaches and trails</i>	2-Aug-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Restorative justice draws global crowd</i>	13-Aug-02	Langley Advance
<i>Contrite teen faces injured train riders</i>	30-Aug-02	Times-Colonist
<i>Injured passengers confront boy who caused train wreck</i>	30-Aug-02	Trail Times
<i>Injured rail passengers face teen who caused crash: N.S. youth voices regret for removing lock on switch, triggering derailment</i>	30-Aug-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>Passengers confront boy who caused Nova Scotia train derailment</i>	30-Aug-02	Daily Bulletin
<i>Passengers confront boy who caused Nova Scotia train derailment</i>	30-Aug-02	Daily Townsman
<i>Vandalism, drugs dog city</i>	11-Sep-02	Daily News
<i>Justice comes full circle for cyclists</i>	13-Sep-02	Chilliwack Times
<i>Forums look at restorative justice, bullying</i>	22-Sep-02	Burnaby Now
<i>More names forward for civic office, nominations open today</i>	1-Oct-02	Abbotsford Times
<i>Train crash victims disagree on jailing teen who caused it</i>	3-Oct-02	Prince George Citizen
<i>Sentence debated for teen guilty of derailment</i>	4-Oct-02	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Cemetery repairs underway</i>	17-Oct-02	Daily Bulletin
<i>Safety is the focus of October</i>	17-Oct-02	Daily Townsman
<i>Volunteers help repair trashed cemeteries</i>	17-Oct-02	Daily Townsman

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>Beating the bully problem: Making amends and taking responsibility are key factors to ending bullying, a child behaviour expert maintains</i>	28-Oct-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>John Howard Society does great work</i>	28-Oct-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Beating the bullying problem: Making amends and taking responsibility are key factors to ending bullying, a child behaviour expert maintains.;</i>	1-Nov-02	Daily Bulletin
<i>Beating the bullying problem: Making amends and taking responsibility are key factors to ending bullying, a child behaviour expert maintains.;</i>	1-Nov-02	Daily Townsman
<i>In politics already? Give it time, guys: Every election has its youth candidates, but kids sounding so like politicians is unsettling</i>	6-Nov-02	Vancouver Sun
<i>John Howard Society can help community in many, many ways</i>	6-Nov-02	Harbour City Star
<i>Four of the 28 agencies of the local United Way</i>	9-Nov-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Johns knock on doors to apologize for actions</i>	9-Nov-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Johns knock on doors to apologize for actions</i>	13-Nov-02	Alberni Valley Times
<i>One last chance for council hopefuls to make an impression</i>	15-Nov-02	Abbotsford Times
<i>Bridging the gap: Council aims to give youth louder voice in the community</i>	25-Nov-02	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Beating the bully problem</i>	27-Nov-02	Harbour City Star
<i>Abby council has priorities</i>	3-Dec-02	Abbotsford Times
<i>Simplistic polls undercut serious crime research</i>	3-Jan-03	Times-Colonist
<i>Alternate justice proposed for Ahenakew</i>	9-Jan-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Jewish group wants sentencing circle for aboriginal leader</i>	9-Jan-03	Times-Colonist
<i>New budget to stay the course: Tax may be up 3.98 per cent, debt cut in half</i>	17-Jan-03	Abbotsford Times
<i>Prof honoured as top aboriginal law scholar</i>	19-Jan-03	Times-Colonist
<i>Restorative justice program on agenda for meeting tonight</i>	21-Jan-03	Abbotsford Times
<i>Youth Justice Act "a referral system";</i>	29-Jan-03	Daily News
<i>Justice restored: Penny Kirkpatrick and a group of teenagers had an eye-opening encounter</i>	25-Feb-03	Langley Advance
<i>Your 'baby' has just been arrested: Rage is the wrong response</i>	4-Mar-03	Times-Colonist
<i>Restorative Justice works</i>	7-Mar-03	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Siblings make peace with employee conflict</i>	10-Mar-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Feds shift to "restorative justice" for youth crimes</i>	13-Mar-03	Daily News
<i>...additional legwork needed</i>	15-Mar-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>...restorative approach still awaiting funds from Ottawa</i>	15-Mar-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Changes coming in youth justice: Emphasis shifts toward programs in the community</i>	15-Mar-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Highlights of the new act</i>	15-Mar-03	Nanaimo Daily News

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>Politician asked to quit in wake of new charges</i>	20-Mar-03	Kamloops Daily News
<i>Councillor should do the right thing</i>	21-Mar-03	Kamloops Daily News
<i>Merritt mayor grants Cavaliere 30-day leave due to theft charge</i>	22-Mar-03	Kamloops Daily News
<i>Responsibility at issue</i>	25-Mar-03	Langley Advance
<i>Restorative justice found in Langley</i>	25-Mar-03	Langley Advance
<i>All around our schools</i>	27-Mar-03	Prince George Citizen
<i>Siblings who end rivalry: On-the-job disputes can lead to major consequences, but they are avoidable</i>	29-Mar-03	Kamloops Daily News
<i>Young offenders 'young persons' under new act;</i>	2-Apr-03	Cowichan Valley Citizen
<i>New law for young offenders now in place</i>	8-Apr-03	Abbotsford Times
<i>Positive changes to Young Offenders Act</i>	8-Apr-03	Chilliwack Times
<i>New act means more work: RCMP predict that demand for youth services will increase</i>	16-Apr-03	Burnaby Now
<i>After the beatings, they poured gasoline on our beds and floors and set the house on fire. That's how it all got started.: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	26-Apr-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Sentencing provisions smack of two-tier justice</i>	26-Apr-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Will the kids be all right?;</i>	27-Apr-03	Times-Colonist
<i>Rising independent school enrolments worry trustees</i>	28-Apr-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Young natives and the courts: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	30-Apr-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Locals take aim at new abuse plan</i>	3-May-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Aboriginal justice programs have roots in ancient culture+A117</i>	7-May-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Face-to-face negotiation seeks an alternative: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	7-May-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>When justice means restoring the moral bond of community: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	7-May-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Alternative justice at District 69 schools</i>	10-May-03	Harbour City Star
<i>New youth law may be a delusion</i>	13-May-03	Times-Colonist
<i>All things are connected, including victim and offender: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	17-May-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Trying to break the cycle of natives and the law: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	17-May-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>New youth law creating chaos</i>	21-May-03	Alberni Valley Times
<i>To lock them up or let them out: Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	22-May-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>What to do and how to do it Series: Crime and Consequence</i>	24-May-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Restorative justice serves its purpose</i>	27-May-03	Times-Colonist
<i>Grade 6 gun incident resolved graciously</i>	28-May-03	Vancouver Courier
<i>A conversation with acting chief of police: Jeff Lott</i>	29-May-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>14-year-old headed to jail for theft: Judge notes teen has yet to apologize to godparents</i>	30-May-03	The Province
<i>A Q&A with Qualicum's Mayor</i>	21-Jun-03	Harbour City Star
<i>Restorative Justice seeks creative funds</i>	27-Jun-03	Chilliwack Times

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>Students talk over their troubles</i>	11-Jul-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Cat torture suspect caused train derailment that hurt 23</i>	12-Jul-03	Prince George Citizen
<i>Teen accused of cat torture caused train derailment</i>	12-Jul-03	Kamloops Daily News
<i>Return on programs like U12 can't be measured in dollars</i>	14-Jul-03	The Province
<i>A Q&A with Qualicum's Mayor</i>	21-Jul-03	Harbour City Star
<i>Community justice representative needed from Nelson</i>	24-Jul-03	Nelson Daily News
<i>Bulletin Board</i>	9-Aug-03	Record
<i>Saanich a model for restorative justice</i>	12-Aug-03	Times-Colonist
<i>Safe cycle routes found</i>	13-Aug-03	Record
<i>Punishment no solution to violence</i>	20-Aug-03	North Shore News
<i>Bulletin Board</i>	23-Aug-03	Record
<i>Columnist ignores roots of violence</i>	3-Sep-03	North Shore News
<i>Vandals face restorative justice</i>	6-Sep-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Restorative Justice to be tried 1st time</i>	7-Sep-03	The Province
<i>Youth justice program asks businesses for help</i>	15-Nov-03	Coquitlam Now
<i>The story of Bob</i>	16-Nov-03	Vancouver Courier
<i>Restorative justice program in Nanaimo considered big success</i>	17-Nov-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Bernardo victim's sister lobbies for restorative justice program</i>	20-Nov-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Victims want to meet killers face to face: Group attempts to promote 'restorative justice'</i>	20-Nov-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>... crime victim says program 'great idea'</i>	21-Nov-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>... restorative justice luncheon draws 100</i>	21-Nov-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Nanaimo program leading way: World watching as local system blazes restorative justice trail</i>	21-Nov-03	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Mother of two's Story of Bob combats youth violence head on;</i>	7-Dec-03	The Province
<i>To unite two philosophies of justice</i>	10-Dec-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Restorative justice program gets new coordinator</i>	15-Dec-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Program aims at keeping kids out of criminal courts</i>	17-Dec-03	Richmond News
<i>Listening for city silence</i>	26-Dec-03	Vancouver Sun
<i>Restoring faith in justice system</i>	7-Jan-04	Richmond News
<i>Last call on Abby budget is Monday afternoon</i>	9-Jan-04	Abbotsford Times
<i>Teen driver sentenced</i>	24-Jan-04	Vancouver Sun
<i>Mountie honoured for saving robber's life</i>	27-Jan-04	Vancouver Sun
<i>Surrey RCMP honours 18 for heroic acts</i>	27-Jan-04	Vancouver Sun
<i>System puts a face to the crime</i>	15-Feb-04	Times-Colonist
<i>When victim meets offender</i>	15-Feb-04	Times-Colonist
<i>Peacemakers get their funding</i>	18-Feb-04	Burnaby Now
<i>VIA Rail fuel spill costs \$9K to clean</i>	28-Feb-04	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>... governments yet to pitch in for program</i>	13-Mar-04	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Restorative justice working wonders: local businesses</i>	13-Mar-04	Nanaimo Daily News
<i>Kiwi youth justice works well</i>	6-Apr-04	Alberni Valley Times
<i>Stone-throwing boys nabbed</i>	6-Apr-04	The Province

Article Title	Publication Date	Publication Source
<i>Two youths nabbed for alleged rock throwing</i>	6-Apr-04	Nanaimo Daily News

Appendix C: Coding Scheme for Demographic Variables

Demographic Variables		
Variable	Type	Operational Definition
Paper Source	String	The name of the paper in which the article was published. Determined using the designation provided by ProQuest. E.g. The Vancouver Sun; Victoria Times-Colonist.
Date	Date	The date of the articles publication as provided by ProQuest.
Article Length	Ratio	The word count of each article as provided by ProQuest.
Journalist Source	Ratio	The person who supplied contributing information to the articles' contents. Derived from Ericson et. al. (1991).
	1 – Journalist	Generally refers to the journalist who authored the article, but may also include external journalist sources. (Erickson et. al. separate “journalist” from “other journalists”)
	2 – Criminal Justice Personnel	Refers to those employed within the criminal justice system, including police, judges and justices, lawyers, and corrections officials.
	3 – Public Administration	Persons who are “involved in branches of government such as Crown corporations, health or educational administration, tribunals, task forces, or public inquiries”
	4 – Other Government Sources	Refers to those who are “politicians and civil servants involved in local, provincial, national, or international capacities”.
	5 – Private Corporation	Refers to those who are deemed to be representing a private business or institution. That which is not a Crown corporation nor a religious or community organization. E.g. private retailer such as Costco.
	6 – Occupational Association	Refers to those who represent some professional or union organization. These are seen to have private interests different from the government and/or citizens.
	7 – Community Organization	Refers to what is commonly known as Non-governmental Organizations (NGO's). These would include religious organizations and community run organizations.
	8 – Individuals	Refers to anyone who does not fall into one of the other specified categories. Typically what is coded here are individual citizens who are not speaking on

Demographic Variables		
Variable	Type	Operational Definition
		behalf of some organization or association that would warrant their coding as one of the other specified categories.
	9 – Unspecified	“Often referred to by a general title such as: “analyst”, “reports”, “observers”, “intelligence sources”, “authorities”, “experts”, “specialists”, “professionals”, “critics”, “groups”, “diplomats”, etc.
	10 – Don't Know	All other sources

Appendix D: Coding Scheme for Elemental Values

Macro and Elemental Value Variables			
Macro Value	Elemental Value	Variable Type	Operational Definition
Amends	Apology	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to the provision by the offender of either an apology specifically, or of his/her recognition of their wrong doing and corresponding feelings of responsibility and guilt. Synonyms and word combinations include: "apology", "sorry", "remorse".
	Restitution	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to the offender making efforts to undo the damage or harm done by his/her crime. Synonyms and word combinations include: "restitution", "making things right", "undoing the damage", "repair the harm", "restore – [relationships, balance, losses, peace, equilibrium]", "compensate", "reconciliation", "provide redress", "atone for their actions", "reimburse", etc.
	Changed Behaviour	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to the offender's life being changed for the better. Synonyms and word combinations: "change their behaviour", "...feet on a fresh path", "change their lives", "to curb criminal behaviour", "impact on and...response to their own behaviour", "impact on...offender's future offending behaviour", "...put them on a better life path", "helping turn their lives around", "cutting short a future in crime", "allowing for positive change and rehabilitation", "dissuade from repeating their behaviour", "address those problems", "better vision of who they are", etc.
Encounter	Meeting	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value	Any reference to the notion of stakeholders to a crime coming together for direct personal interaction. Synonyms and word combinations:

Macro and Elemental Value Variables			
Macro Value	Elemental Value	Variable Type	Operational Definition
		not present	"meet", "session", "get/bring together", "face-to-face", "confront", "circle", "gather with", "sit down with", "sit in front of", "forum" etc.
	Communication	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to parties who come together, having the ability to talk about their individual experiences as it relates to the harm in question. Communication can take the form of <i>narration</i> – references to parties telling their story with respect to the crime. <i>Emotional expressions</i> – any references to participants expressing their emotions. <i>Understanding</i> – any references to participants gaining a better understanding of the other's situation with respect to before, during, and after the crime.
	Agreement	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any references to participants working together to develop a plan of action that is consensual in its creation. The important element here is that the article statement(s) imply that parties worked together through consensus, and that the decision in the end was deemed to be arrived at without coercion Synonyms and word combinations: "mutual resolution", "consensus", "matter solved", "resolved", "contract", "satisfy both parties", "acceptable to all", "solution...that makes everyone happy", etc.
	Assistance	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any references to the victim and/or offender rejoining society as ordinary members. This can include specific mention of the various forms of public assistance that Van Ness and Strong describe such as spiritual and/or financial/material, but is designated here to be referring generally to the willingness of society to accept the victim and/or offender, irrespective of whether any mention is made of specified assistance.

Macro and Elemental Value Variables			
Macro Value	Elemental Value	Variable Type	Operational Definition
			<p>Synonyms and word combinations: “social resources from local communities to support offenders to remain law-abiding”, “they do still have room to rejoin society”, “they (offenders) are supported as they seek a foothold in society”, “help our youth feel like they do belong, that they are part of their community”, “restorative justice also acknowledges that most criminals will need to be welcomed home again one day down the line”, etc.</p>
Inclusion	Invitation	<p>Nominal</p> <p>1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present</p>	<p>Any reference to parties other than merely the victim and offender having the opportunity to be involved in the process of reparation. Other parties may be supporters of both the victim and offender, or may be members of the respective community. The underlying intent here is to capture the essence of restorative justice being open to all potential stakeholders of crime beyond just the victim and offender.</p> <p>Synonyms and word combinations: “the offender, the victim, and supporters of both”, “full participation”, “all parties”, “It’s a whole community effort”, “their parents, the victim, other members of the community that have been impacted by their actions”, “individuals, families and communities”, “Others affected by the crime and supporters of each may also attend”, etc.</p>
	Acknowledgement of Interests	<p>Nominal</p> <p>1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present</p>	<p>Any reference to the notion that restorative processes/theory recognizes that each participant has a unique life history and individual needs that must be properly recognized in the restorative process.</p> <p>Synonyms and word combinations: “draws together ordinary people with diverse perspectives”, “We’re able to</p>

Macro and Elemental Value Variables			
Macro Value	Elemental Value	Variable Type	Operational Definition
			tailor the results to the situation", "In the restorative model, the needs of the person who did the harm and the community are taken into account", "have their needs addressed in ways that are significant to them", etc.
	Acceptance of Alternative Approaches	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice being flexible and adaptable such that it can take different forms depending on the conflict and harm, and the stakeholders involved. Synonyms and word combinations: "innovative approaches", "community-based justice initiatives", "dealing with "crimes" in an alternative way", "responding with all the resources at their disposal", "creating (or recreating) very different processes, ones which are conciliatory, bridging and educational as opposed to adversarial", "the program aims to find alternate ways of dealing with criminal behaviour", etc.

Appendix E: Coding Scheme for Attitudinal Themes

Positive/Negative Theme Variables			
Attitudinal Portrayal	Theme	Variable Type	Operational Definition
Positive	Theme 1: General Successes, Benefits, or Advantages of Restorative Justice	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to successful restorative programs and processes, or of the perspective in general, which are not addressed by other stated themes.
	Theme 2: Reduces Recidivism/Crime Rate	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice and its programs reducing offender recidivism, and/or crime rates.
	Theme 3: Reduces Court Load	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any direct reference to restorative justice reducing the work load on the criminal justice courts.
	Theme 4: Cost Savings	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice processes costing less than conventional criminal/civil court trials.
	Theme 5: Time Savings	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice processes being more expedient in their delivery than conventional criminal/civil trials.

Positive/Negative Theme Variables			
Attitudinal Portrayal	Theme	Variable Type	Operational Definition
	Theme 6: Other Differences with Adversarial System of Justice	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice processes providing benefits and advantages not deemed to be achieved through conventional criminal/civil trials, and which are not addressed by other stated themes. Includes general statements of a preference for restorative justice over adversarial criminal justice system.
	Theme 7: Immediate Consequences	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice processes providing for more immediate consequences to the offender.
	Theme 8: Client Satisfaction	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to the positive experience, or benefits accrued, from having participated in a restorative justice process.
Negative	Theme 1: Not Appropriate for Violent/Worst Offenders	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to the inability or inappropriateness of restorative justice processes for dealing with the worst of offenders.
	Theme 2: Not for Urban Settings	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice as being a rural community response, and not appropriate for an urban setting.
	Theme 3: Causes More Damage	Nominal	Any reference to restorative justice processes causing more harm, injury, or emotional pain to participants.

Positive/Negative Theme Variables			
Attitudinal Portrayal	Theme	Variable Type	Operational Definition
		1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	
	Theme 4: Soft on Crime	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice being too soft on offenders. This can include specific mention of a lack of jail time or the need for jail time, the need to take the crime more seriously, or the ineffectiveness of an apology as an appropriate consequence.
	Theme 5: Can't Deal with Underlying Issues	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice as being incapable of dealing with underlying historical issues of participants.
	Theme 6: Client Dissatisfaction	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference of participant dissatisfaction with the restorative justice process as stated through direct experience or second hand experience.
	Theme 7: Restorative Justice Not Well Defined	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to restorative justice not being adequately defined either as an established perspective or as a process.
	Theme 8: No Follow-up w/ Participants	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to the lack of follow up with participants following completion of restorative processes.

Positive/Negative Theme Variables			
Attitudinal Portrayal	Theme	Variable Type	Operational Definition
		present	
	Theme 9: No Funding Allocated	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Any reference to a lack of supporting funding for restorative justice processes.
	Theme 10: Other General Contempt	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Other general negative references made about restorative justice that do not adhere to any of the above listed themes directly.

Appendix F: Coding Scheme for Participant Criteria Myths

Participant Criteria Myth Variables		
Myth Criteria	Variable Type	Definition
Restorative justice only for youth offenders	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Specific reference to restorative justice being suitable exclusively for youth offenders.
Restorative justice only for first-time offenders	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Specific reference to restorative justice being exclusively suitable for first-time offenders.
Restorative justice only for minor offences	Nominal 1 – Yes, value present 0 – No, value not present	Specific reference to restorative justice being exclusively suitable for offences of a minor nature. E.g. property offences, or references to “minor” offences/crimes; or references to “less serious” offences/crimes.

Appendix G: Inter-rater Reliability Coding

G-1: Inter-rater Reliability Coding Results – Level of Restorativeness

Article Accuracy (Level of Restorativeness)							
Article Title	Article Inclusion (Yes/No)		Article Inclusion (Yes/No)	Elemental Value Count		Accuracy Rating	
	Inter-Rater	Researcher		Inter-Rater	Researcher	Inter-Rater	Researcher
Apology a step toward healing past wrongs	No						
Cemetery repairs underway	Yes			2	3	Minimal	Minimal
Community Calendar	No						
Crime prevention wins \$20,000 boost: Stable funds for groups like Citizens on Patrol	Yes			0	0	Minimal	Minimal
Girl apologizes for making false sexual assault report: Racism followed allegations against Vietnamese males	Yes			7	5	Moderate	Moderate
If you forgive, then you can be forgiven	Yes			6	6	Moderate	Moderate
John Howard Society does great work	Yes			1	0	Minimal	Minimal
Justice forum stresses accountability	Yes			3	5	Minimal	Moderate
Local Metis helps ratify provincial constitution	No						
Measuring crime's true cost	Yes			4	7	Minimal	Moderate
Month of Together Against Violence activities coming to an end	No						

Article Accuracy (Level of Restorativeness)						
Article Title	Article Inclusion (Yes/No)	Article Inclusion (Yes/No)	Elemental Value Count		Accuracy Rating	
			Inter-Rater	Researcher	Inter-Rater	Researcher
<i>New justice approach</i>	Yes		2	2	Minimal	Minimal
<i>Part 5: Restorative justice and family group counselling</i>	Yes		6	5	Moderate	Moderate
<i>Punishment no solution to violence</i>	Yes		1	0	Minimal	Minimal
<i>What we ignore reflects what we are</i>	No					
Accuracy Rating						
Articles Included			Articles Coded Same			
Included			Excluded			
10			5			
10			5			
100%			8 of 10			
Reliability Score (%)			80%			

G-2: Inter-rater Reliability Coding Results – Attitudinal Ranking

Support Level (Attitudinal Inference)						
Article Title	Negative Statement Count		Positive Statement Count		Attitudinal Score	
	Inter-Rater	Researcher	Inter-Rate	Researcher	Inter-Rate	Researcher
<i>Apology a step toward healing past wrongs</i>						
<i>Cemetery repairs underway</i>	1	0	1	0	Neutral	Neutral
<i>Community Calendar</i>						

Crime prevention wins \$20,000 boost: Stable funds for groups like Citizens on Patrol	0	0	1	1	Positive	Positive
Girl apologizes for making false sexual assault report: Racism followed allegations against Vietnamese males	0	0	0	0	Neutral	Neutral
If you forgive, then you can be forgiven	0	0	2	1	Positive	Positive
John Howard Society does great work	0	0	1	1	Positive	Positive
Justice forum stresses accountability	0	0	2	1	Positive	Positive
Local Metis helps ratify provincial constitution						
Measuring crime's true cost	1	1	0	0	Negative	Negative
Month of Together Against Violence activities coming to an end						
New justice approach	0	0	1	0	Positive	Neutral
Part 5: Restorative justice and family group counselling	0	0	2	0	Positive	Neutral
Punishment no solution to violence	0	0	1	1	Positive	Positive
What we ignore reflects what we are						
Attitudinal Ranking						
Articles Coded Same						
8 of 10						80%

G-3: Inter-Rater Reliability Coding Results – Myth Presence

Article Title	Myth Presence					
	R.J. = Youth Myth		R.J. = First Time Offender Myth		R.J. = Less Serious Offences	
	Inter-Rater	Researcher	Inter-Rater	Researcher	Inter-Rater	Researcher
<i>Apology a step toward healing past wrongs</i>						
<i>Cemetery repairs underway</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Community Calendar</i>						
<i>Crime prevention wins \$20,000 boost: Stable funds for groups like Citizens on Patrol</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Girl apologizes for making false sexual assault report: Racism followed allegations against Vietnamese males</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>If you forgive, then you can be forgiven</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>John Howard Society does great work</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Justice forum stresses accountability</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Local Metis helps ratify provincial constitution</i>						
<i>Measuring crime's true cost</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Month of Together Against Violence activities coming to an end</i>						
New justice approach	1	1	1	1	0	1
<i>Part 5: Restorative justice and family group counselling</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0

Myth Presence						
Article Title	R.J. = Youth Myth		R.J. = First Time Offender Myth		R.J. = Less Serious Offences	
	Inter-Rater	Researcher	Inter-Rater	Researcher	Inter-Rater	Researcher
<i>Punishment no solution to violence</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>What we ignore reflects what we are</i>						
Myth Presence						
Articles Coded Same						
9 of 10					90%	

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