# AN EVALUATION OF RESTORATIVE GLOUCESTERSHIRE'S WORK WITHIN THE PRISON

# SYSTEM: Process and Outcome Evaluation of Restorative Reasoning

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# Abstract

The research forms an analysis of the effectiveness of a six-week Restorative Reasoning pilot programme deployed within a UK women's prison (Prison X) in early 2020, with 13 women participating. The analyses are based on a two stage Process and Outcome evaluation based on the QUALIPREV process as developed by Rummens et al (2016) and adapted by Hobson (2019). The analysis is based on data that encompasses the scope of the programme, including: interviews with the two programme designers and facilitators; the programme materials used during the scheme; interviews with the Prison Activities Hub manager and with the Prison Project Manager; and self-completion feedback forms from the 13 women that engaged in the programme. Overall, the pilot was found to have a range of positive effects for those that participated, and was implemented well within the prison as a pilot from an external agency. In particular, both participants, programme managers and the prion staff reported positive changes in attitude for the women that took part. Participants expressed an attitude change, particularly in being more open to discourse and discussion around the harm they may have caused and repair needed in relationships, evident in a subsequent request for referrals for further restorative work. Positive therapeutic relationships between practitioners and participants are also evident, with efforts to diminish any power imbalances and emphasise commonality and inclusivity. The paper also identifies challenges with scheme, including: challenges of accessibility and ensuring that the scheme is available to those struggling with literacy, learning difficulties and developmental issues; and the difficulties in transitioning the support in place in prison into the community on release.

# Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

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# Contents Page

Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1 Introduction	Page 8
1.2 Aims and Objectives of Research	Page 8
1.3 Structure of Thesis	Page 9
1.4 Context to the research: Restorative	Page 10
Gloucestershire	
1.5 The Restorative Reasoning scheme	Page 11
1.6 COVID-19	Page 12
Chapter Two: Literature Review	
2.1 Introduction	Page 14
2.2 Restorative Justice vs Restorative	Page 14
Practice	
2.3 Restorative Practice	Page 17
2.4 Defining Types of Restorative Practice	Page 19
2.5 Evaluating Restorative Practice	Page 20
2.6 Context of Restorative Justice in the UK	Page 23
2.7 Restorative Justice and Practice in UK	Page 25
Prison System	
2.8 Restorative Justice Cross Culturally	Page 27
2.9 Summary	Page 28
Chapter Three: Methods	
3.1 Introduction	Page 30
3.2 Access to Data and Positionality	Page 30
3.3 QUALIPREV	Page 32
3.4 Why QUALIPREV?	Page 33
3.5 QUALIPREV Key Indicators	Page 36
3.6 Data Collection	Page 38
3.7 COVID-19	Page 45
Chapter Four: Process	
4.1 Introduction	Page 47
4.2 Participation & Retention Rates	Page 48
4.3 Implementation & Retention Rates	Page 52

4.4 Accessibility & Feasibility	Page 56
4.5 External Confounding Factors	Page 63
4.6 Key Findings	Page 73
4.7 Summary of Process	Page 78
Chapter Five: Outcome	
5.1 Introduction	Page 79
5.2 (Re)Offending Rates	Page 79
5.3 Changes in Attitude	Page 83
5.4 Increased / Development of Social	Page 87
Skills	
5.5 Cost Effectiveness	Page 89
5.6 Key Findings	Page 93
5.7 Summary of Outcome	Page 98
Chapter Six: Strengths and Challenges of Restorative Reasoning	
6.1 Introduction	Page 99
6.2 Delivery	Page 99
6.3 Approaches	Page 102
6.4 Empowerment	Page 104
6.5 Beyond the Pilot	Page 109
6.6. Summary and Reflection	Page 111
Chapter Seven: Conclusion	
7.1 Introduction	Page 117
7.2 Overall Aim and Objectives	Page 117
7.3 Reflections of the Research	Page 119
7.4 Further Study	Page 120
References	Page 122
Appendix	Page 158

# **Chapter One: Introduction**

#### 1.1 Introduction

The aim of this research, is to evaluate the work of Restorative Gloucestershire within the prison service. This research was in line with Restorative Gloucestershire piloting a restorative programme within a female prison, Prison X, "Restorative Reasoning". The further individual objectives of the research are later outlined.

The following research thesis is part of a wider project within the University of Gloucestershire (Hobson, Grant and Rees, 2019). To begin with this research served as the first objective of the wider project, to establish the extent of Restorative Gloucestershire's work across the county which requires background data to quantify the partner agencies of Restorative Gloucestershire, and their level of involvement with the organisation. This research is timely as it shall give insight into Restorative Gloucestershire's work and the effectiveness and efficacy of such work, in the following counterpart areas, as part of a wider project: within prisons; using restorative justice as an alternative with out-of-court disposals; and an analysis of Restorative Gloucestershire as a hub. Restorative Gloucestershire works as a 'hub' model, with a central body committed to promoting the use of restorative practices through facilitation, advice and by supporting partner agencies to develop restorative skills.

#### 1.2 Aims and Objectives of the Research

The overall aim of this research is to 'Evaluate the effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire's post-sentencing work in prisons'. There are two main objectives within this aim.

The first objective is to 'To evaluate and select an appropriate and recognised method of analysis for a case study of restorative practice intervention in a prison'. QUALIPREV will allow for specific points to be analysed, such as cost-effectiveness, participation and retention as first designed by Rummens et al (2016) as a crime prevention tool, though the researcher is following the adaptation of Hobson et al (2018). The data needed for this is more focused that the previous objective and will require the researcher to contact the chosen prison and interview employees such as the Governor and prison officers to retain in-depth details on the restorative practices they undertake. An overall look using

QUALIPREV will be initially used on the transcribed interviews, and then the researcher will pick imperative parts of the process and evaluation method to focus on.

QUALIPREV is being used in comparison to other existing crime prevention tools such as EMMIE as it is noted that EMMIE is more applicable for a truly mixed methods approach due to a high dependency on quantitively methods to obtain high scores on all dimensions (Johnson, Tilley and Bowers, 2016). It is also noted that EMMIE is a time-consuming process and that often it can be expected that ait is unlikely that any single study will score highly (Johnson, Tilley and Bowers, 2016), therefore limiting the adequacy for it to be used within this research. QUALIPREV has found to be a more user-friendly and easier to use crime prevention tool (Rummens et al, 2016) that considers a wide scope of criteria, and thus it is being used for this research in the adapted form.

The second objective of the research is to 'To implement an evaluation of the impact of Restorative Gloucestershire's work within the chosen prison'. This will consist of an in-depth write up and analysis of the process and outcomes of the restorative work within the chosen prison and how they work with Restorative Gloucestershire to assess its effectiveness and the wider impact of the work using a thematic approach based on the categories of QUALIPREV, including key indicators such as costs associated with the implementation of restorative work, the participation, the changes in attitudes towards offending behaviour, victimisation and cost-effectiveness analysis.

#### 1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is split into four main portions: the introduction and literature review (chapter one and two) assessing the already existing research on restorative justice, restorative practice, the difference in the two, and the effectiveness of existing restorative programmes; then the methods (chapter three) which outlines the QUALIPREV process and outcome analysis and why this is being used, alongside the expected discourse of the process and outcome of the restorative programme. The third portion (chapter four and five)) of the thesis will be the results and discussion which will focus on the objectives of the research, consisting of an analysis of interviews with key stakeholders, to conclude the level of effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire's work. This structure follows discussion of process key indicators, then outcome key indicators, then establishing their strengths and weaknesses. Restorative practice will underpin this work throughout, with the study adopting an interpretivism throughout the qualitative research with constructivism ontology underpinning

this. The fourth portion reflects upon the research, evaluation the strengths and challenges of the Restorative Reasoning pilot, the research is the concluded (chapter seven).

# 1.4 Context to the research: Restorative Gloucestershire – Focus, Funding and Composition

There is no standard, generalised definition of restorative justice used by both practitioners and academics, nor is there an agreed upon criteria for deciding the 'restorativeness' of practices (Sharpe, 2004). Restorative Gloucestershire do not specifically define which crimes they will and will not work with, and will work with any case if it is appropriate for the harmed and harmer, though restorative interventions for hate crimes aren't within the funding for Restorative Gloucestershire. This contrasts to other restorative charities and organisations within England and Wales, which have been seen to specify the crimes or cases they will work with. For example, the Checkpoint programme within Durham Constabulary (2019) lists its eligible offences and specifically excludes hate crimes and anyone detained under the Mental Health Act (1983).

Restorative Gloucestershire is funded by the Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner for Gloucestershire on an annual basis, supported until 2021(Restorative Gloucestershire, 2019). The 'hub' consists of statutory, non-statutory employees and volunteers, who have all undertaken practitioner training to deliver restorative interventions within the local community, as well as working closely with Gloucestershire Constabulary for referrals and cases. Restorative Gloucestershire work with people who come into contact with the CJS, or who come into conflict within the community (Restorative Gloucestershire, 2019). A Why Me? (2015) report examined the funding restrictions that can occur within local PCC funding, and propose the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) should closely examine the distributions of funding, in time for the next government spending round, to address any funding restrictions or cost saving concepts.

Restorative Gloucestershire follows a top-down police-led model, with Gloucestershire Constabulary enforcing the practices within the community. This is in comparison to other bottom-up community led practices, such as within Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, which have been found to be in place within communities as a response to the hate and conflict within their countries. Research has found that at least 33/43 national police forces in England and Wales are using restorative practices (Shewan, 2010), with 18,000

police officers and PCSOs having received restorative training in interventions, not including the number of volunteers and partner staff (Shewan, 2010).

#### 1.5 The Restorative Reasoning scheme

The aim of this research is to evaluate the effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire's post-sentence work. To do this, the research conducted a process and outcome evaluation on a pilot run of a programme, curated by Restorative Gloucestershire. *Restorative Reasoning* is a restorative practice programme, deployed within a chosen prison, Prison X. It has the following learning objectives, as outlined in the facilitator and participant handbooks (Appendix 1, 2):

- For you [participant of the programme] to understand your own needs
- For you to understand fair process
- For you to understand the process of Restorative Justice
- For you to accept responsibility for your offending behaviour
- For you to understand the reasons you offended
- To provide support for you to stop offending in the future
- For you to understand your personal response to shame
- For you to understand the difference between guilt and shame
- For you to decide if you would like to participate in a Restorative Justice conference

Restorative Gloucestershire facilitated this programme through conversations around the participants offences, identification of who has been harmed or affected by that offence and how, coverage of theories from Cognitive Behavioural Therapy, Social Discipline Window and Affect Script Psychology, and reflective conversations around the participants feelings, thoughts, environment, physical reactions and behaviours.

Restorative Reasoning's aims and content (Appendix 1, 2), explored through circles, role play, short films and activities, engaged female participants in exploring restorative approaches through differing mediums to address different learning styles, with the overall aim of creating referrals for Restorative Gloucestershire for restorative justice interventions. The programme was advertised through posters within one wing of the prison (Appendix 3), with six sessions to be delivered over a two-week period, with a certificate of completion and an arts project to be taken away at the end for participants. This programme was part of the education courses offered within the prison and was therefore places on the programme

were paid as part of the incentive scheme, which is in place to encourage prisoners to conform to the prison regime and rehabilitation (Ministry of Justice, 2020).

#### 1.6 COVID-19

The World Health Organization (WHO) on March 11, 2020, declared the Novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak a global pandemic (Cucinotta & Vanelli, 2020). Adaptions to the research occurred in January 2020, to reduce any risk for participants and the researcher, which in place has affected the methodology within this thesis. It is noted that qualitative research usually has face-to-face methods for data collection, such as interviews, focus groups and field work (Jowett, 2020), but it is noted that alternatives such as phone or video call interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2013) were used where face-to-face was not possible. The research is limited in its scope due to COVID-19, due to the difficulties in qualitative research.

Due to the research aim of assessing Restorative Gloucestershire's work within the prison system, it is important to note the effect on the UK prison system during COVID-19 lockdown. The UK government have adapted the daily prison regime, stopped visits to prison for friends and family, and encouraged social distancing for both staff and prisoners (Ministry of Justice, 2020), though it should be noted that the prison system within the UK has struggled to cope in recent years (Hardacre, 2003; Dyer, 2008; Caulfield & Twort; 2012; Heard, 2015; Easton, 2018, chapter 2), so there is concern as to how the prison system has coped during this time. This said, government responses have suggested the impact within prisons has been "lower than had been originally planned", with 45 reported COVID deaths in the period of 16 March to 30 September 2020 (Ministry of Justice, 2020).

It is important to note that the lockdown of prisons will not only affect this research, but further impacts the implementation of the *Restorative Reasoning* programme within the prison and by the programme participants as all recreational activities and education has been suspended, the effect on prisoners wellbeing (Mesa Vierira, Franco, Gómez Restrepo and Abel, 2020) and progress towards rehabilitation (Hewson, Shepherd, Hard and Shaw, 2020; Pyrooz, Labrecque, Tostlebe and Useem, 2020) should be considered. Researchers have also noted that not enough attention has been paid towards the prison population, a vulnerable population, during this pandemic (Hewson, Shepard, Hard and Shaw, 2020), with the frequency of pre-existing psychological disorders, neurodevelopmental health, substance misuse, suicide and self-harm already being more prevalent within prison populations (Kothari et al, 2020), with research also highlighting higher prevalence in women

compared to men (Tyler, Miles, Karadag and Rogers, 2019; Facer-Irwin et al, 2019; McCann, Peden, Phipps, Plugge and O'Moore, 2019). HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales Annual Report 2019-20 states that incidence of self-harm within women's prisons has remained consistently high throughout lockdown, despite enhanced welfare checks and access to Listeners and peer support, the sudden withdrawal of significant structured support had had an impact on the most vulnerable prisoners (HM Chief Inspector, 2020). This report also notes that the suspension of visits and difficulties in videocalling had an acute impact on women who are primary carers for children, and though early release schemes were in place, too high a percentage of women were released homeless (HM Chief Inspector, 2020). This relates back to an ongoing and visible issue within our criminal justice system, where mental health and substance misuse have been identified as an disproportionate and integral part of offending, especially for women. The Corston Report states that women often have more complex, poly substance misuse with around 70% entering custody requiring clinical detoxification (Cortson, 2007). A report by Public Health England (2020), found the number of adults within prison and secure units access detox treatments between 2019-2020 was 132,124, similar to years previous, with 52% of those in treatment for opiate misuse. In a further report by Ministry of Justice (2013) around the gender difference in substance misuse and mental health amongst prisoners, found that 48% of female prisoners surveyed had committed an offence to support someone else's drug use, compared to 22% of male prisoners.

The researcher was also conscious of participants wellbeing during COVID-19 lockdown, with the literature pointing towards effects on emotional wellbeing and mental health being both a reaction to the immediate spike within the UK, but it will also have long term (Holmes et al, 2020), particularly those working in the 'front line' (Pfefferbaum and North, 2020; Plomecka et al, 2020, Sim, 2020). The early literature responses to COVID-19 have indicated lack of concentration, trouble sleeping, trouble making decisions and enjoying activities, as well as senses of depression, lack of confidence and worthlessness during lockdown in the UK, compared to normal (Davillas and Jones, 2020). This information was considered by researcher and used when having to adapt questions within interviews, or the methods of interviewing as discussed in Chapter 2, as well as future adaptions.

## Chapter 2 – Literature Review

#### 2.1 Introduction to Chapter

This chapter critically examines models of restorative justice and restorative practice. Within this piece of research, the evaluation focuses on the work of Restorative Gloucestershire and their work within a prison, delivering a restorative practice course. This is quantified as though the course is taking place within a prison, with prisoners as participants. It has a focus on changing behaviour and not on their crimes and repairing harm caused directly by those crimes which may be expected from a restorative justice perspective. Within the literature, there are a multitude of outlined differences between restorative justice and practice, and within this research both will be explored but there is a focus on restorative practice. It is felt that this differentiation needs to be defined due to the vast amount of literature available on restorative justice and practice which may find the specificity of this research to get lost. This is in line with objective one and two, for establishing the breadth of restorative work and its applications.

#### 2.2 Restorative Justice vs Practice

The difference between restorative justice and restorative practice is important to note within this research, due to the clear differences but overlap within the literature. Hopkins (2015) states that restorative justice in its original conception was an innovative process adopted to addressing criminal behaviour, but since the philosophy, values, principles, skills and applications of restorative justice have been applied to various contexts. Daly (2015) also tells that defining restorative justice and practice, is not clear cut and is a complex and evolving concept. The researcher notes that *Restorative Reasoning* is a restorative practice programme, within a criminal justice setting, and though covers offending behaviour does not focus on offender-victim reparation. It instead forms a steppingstone to referrals for restorative justice interventions.

Restorative justice is viewed as a subset of restorative practice. Restorative justice is reactive / responsive to harm, consisting of formal or informal responses to crime and other wrongdoing after it occurs; whereas, restorative practice is proactive for preventing harm. Griffiths et al (2016) states that restorative practice can be used anywhere to build and restore relationships, prevent and repair conflict by enabling people to communicate effectively and positively. With Marshall (2020) more recently stating restorative justice is used today to refer to specific responses to criminal offending, or to

other significant harms caused by civil conflicts or injustices, that focus on achieving emotional, relational or material repair rather than on conviction or punishment.

McCold and Watchel (2003) outline the typologies of restorative practices which have differing types and degrees. This can be applied to classic restorative justice interventions and restorative practice: victim reparation, communities of care reconciliation; offender responsibility. The three primary stakeholders are victims, offenders and their communities of care, whose needs are respectively "getting reparation, taking responsibility and achieving reconciliation" which in degrees are involved in meaningful emotional exchange (McCold & Watchel, 2003). This is important to note, as the impact of direct stakeholders on the outcome of restorative justice is highlighted by O'Mahoney (2012), who emphasise accountability within restorative justice for participants, and that consistency should be central for restorative approaches. Barton (2003) also believes that this empowerment model supports the validity and strength of restorative justice to engage these key stakeholders. Putting this into practice, an example of a fully restorative intervention as suggested by McCold and Watchel (2003) would be a restorative justice intervention involving a clear victim, clear offender and a supporter for the victim. However, not all uses of restorative justice are as they should be defined, with Braithwaite's (2016) literature review revealing restorative justice helps victims of crime more powerfully than offenders (Braithwaite, 2002; Strang, 2002; Poulson, 2003; Strang et al, 2013, Angel et al, 2014).

Restorative justice is defined in many ways across academia and in practice. For instance, in an academic context, Marshall (1999) states that restorative justice is a process whereby parties with a stake in a specific offence collectively resolve how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future. Definitions have been added to and developed throughout the years, with Gravey (2011, pp 493-520) defining as "an alternative to standard retributive responses to crime that characterise most Western systems of criminal justice"; and Shapland, Robinson and Sorsby (2011) finding that restorative justice events cannot provide victims with all the support and action they may wish for following a crime, but it has been argued that it can add to the possibilities of victims being able to communicate effectively with the offender to add focus onto a more victim-orientated criminal justice system and to aid recovery for the victim. These definitions infer that restorative justice is a progressive alternative to a more traditional way of responding to crime and wrongdoings (Johnstone & Van Ness, 2007), but it is often used in conjunction with traditional criminal justice proceedings such as during imprisonment or within probation in the UK. Conceptions of restorative justice may be limited due to differing knowledge and

the availability of this knowledge within society, though it is becoming a more popular process.

In terms of practice definitions, the EU Victims Directive define it as: "'restorative justice' means any process whereby the victim and the offender are enabled, if they freely consent, to participate actively in the resolution of matters arising from the criminal offence through the help of an impartial third party" (European Parliament, 2012). The Crown Prosecution Service (2017) refines it as a process of ensuring that a perpetrator is aware of the consequences of their actions and have the opportunity to make reparation and agree for a plan for their restoration within the community; to reduce fear of the victim and ensure they feel 'paid back' for the harm that they've endured; and to increase public confidence in the criminal justice system with a responsibility for delivering a response to anti-social behaviour.

These definitions again emphasise the factor of offenders making up for the harm they have caused against a victim, and to retribute this harm to aid society. It is these definitions that are being taken forward throughout this research when referring to restorative justice.

These academic and practice-based definitions can be seen to be quite differing in principle, but all address that restorative justice is primarily used within the criminal justice system to address the harm caused by an offender from a victim focused perspective as an 'alternative' or to aid resolution. With this said, it can also be argued that these definitions emphasise a process of coming together (of perpetrator and victim) and a collective resolution and have less to say about the desired outcome of such a process or the values behind this process. In terms of the criminal justice system and crime reduction, cost-savings and lower recidivism rates have been found to be a large business benefit when implementing restorative justice within police forces (Shapland, Robinson, Sorsby, 2011); and therefore it can be seen that utilising restorative justice not only has a benefit in being a victim-focused approach to aid repairing harm and rehabilitation, but is also a more cost sufficient approach and can therefore provide more funding into different areas within CJS.

#### 2.3 Restorative Practice

Restorative justice is not just limited to the criminal justice system, and is often used elsewhere through restorative 'practice' within schools, youth work, workplaces, neighbourhoods, communities, to repair harm (Restorative Justice Council, 2016). Thomas, Bilger, Wilson and Draine (2019) have defined repairing harm as a primary goal in restorative practice, as it assumes an all-encompassing healing process that happens between justice-involved persons, victims, and communities that have been affected by the harm and repairing it using the community-based approaches. Although this is a restorative justice definition, this basis can be cross-culturally applied to restorative practice approaches and how they're integrated within communities. During the Restorative Practices Knowledge Exchange (Hobson, Payne & Hester, 2019) between Ulster University and University of Gloucestershire, it was found that practitioners and agencies expressed that the benefits and impacts of their work was "empowering individuals and families to find their strengths"; "community responses to community problems"; and "showing a different way to repair harm", which applies to all the areas that organisations work within. McCold and Wachtel (2003) state that restorative approaches have high control and high support alongside confrontation, and disapproves of wrongdoing while affirming the "intrinsic worth of the offender". The power that can come from effective and well-conducted restorative practice interventions, can result in these empowering and effective process for all of those involved including practitioners, agencies and communities.

The essence of restorative approaches is collaborative and problem-solving, providing an opportunity for those who have been affected by an incident to come together to share feelings, describe how they were affected and to develop a plan to repair harm and prevent a reoccurrence (McCold & Wachtel, 2003). With this said, caution may be taken with the language used for restorative practice, and 'offender' and 'victim' could be reconsidered to 'harmer' and 'harmed', as not all restorative approaches taken place within a criminalised setting, as discussed. It is these definitions that are being taken forward throughout this research when referring to restorative practice.

Drewery (2004) describes that within restorative processes, a restorative conference involves the gathering of those who have a stake in a particular troublesome situation to talk together to find ways to making amends (Drewery, 2004), and further discusses the development of respectful language and community-based approaches to wrongdoings, with the benefits of such to reach wider social equality and increases social levels. However, this research was based within a school setting, with a focus on repairing behaviour around exclusions, it was found that restorative practices had little visible impact on improving

behaviour due to the student being excluded. Standing, Fearon and Dee (2012) reflects the difficulties of implementing restorative practices efficiently, with it being stated that "all need to be on board" (p367), however positives were taken from the research with improvements in skills and rich data was obtained due to the research focussing on a singular student, though it was noted in the future a small group of students should be used. Griffiths (2016) state that restorative practice can be used anywhere to build and restore relationships, prevent and repair conflict by enabling people to communicate effectively and positively; and can be used formally or informally. Restorative justice is comparatively defined as "bringing those harmed by crime or conflict and those responsible for the harm into communication, enabling individuals and communities affected by a particular incident to play a part in repairing the harm and finding a positive way forward" (Griffiths, 2016). It can therefore be seen within the literature that there is a clear difference between restorative justice and practices, and can be seen to span across a wide area from victim and offender conferences, to an approach which can be embedded within a cultural change in attitudes and how to handle harm within society.

Research by Rossner (2013) looked at emotional psychology in accordance with the effectiveness of restorative work, with a focus on the community of care within restorative conferences. They found that conferences that are 'successful' appear to be intensely emotional ones with a definitive "turning point" for the harmer, whilst others can fall flat. Those conferences that do not appear to be the most effective, were found to have a common lack of supporter's present, which had an effect most primarily on the victims and how they could portray their harm (Rossner, 2011, p10). Willis (2016) found that community of care within restorative practices leads to benefits such as ensuring the conflict is owned by primary stakeholders (victims, offenders / harmed / harmer, supporters); reintegrative shamming to take place; and an increase in the conduciveness of 'turning points' to arise in a conference, which emphasises the effectiveness of the restorative process.

Community of place can be seen to be a misleading term within the literature, with some authors such as Friedman (1989) defining it as more of a geographical conception, whereas Bell (1993) defines it more within a philosophical basis, as cited in Willis (2016). McCloud and Watchel (2003) described how restorative practice should be a mediation of peace circles (or victim-offender mediation), community conferences or family group conferencing for a fully restorative intervention, compared to victim conferences, family-centred social work, or youth aid panels, for example, which are not classed as fully restorative.

UK based research has also revealed that applying restorative practice to schools is tackling oppositional behaviour, and move towards repairing relationships associated with negative social behaviours (Hopkins, 2002). (Standing, Fearon and Dee, 2011) state there is an emphasis on the individual to take responsibility for their actions and to acquire new knowledge and social awareness that will prevent the same negative behaviour in the future. This point is highly valid and should have an emphasis within literature, as if restorative practice can be implemented within day to day life, from school age, going forward there would be a more restorative society as a whole due to the focus and implementation of communication and repairing harm instead of more reactive responses such as school exclusions to involvement with the CJS.

### 2.4 Defining types of Restorative Practice

The wide applications of restorative practice can be seen from the literature, and demonstrates the scope of restorative approaches, with Marshall (2020) expressing that as interest in restorative work has exploded, so too has the diversity of ways in which the concept is understood and applied. This section outlines types of restorative practice, as a contextual base line.

Victim-offender mediation (Shapland, Robsinson & Sorsby, 2011; Zehr, 2015) is usually a circle between the two, with a mediator who is trained in restorative practices, which has been found to have originated in Canada as an alternate court sanction in 1974 (Johnstone, 2011, p51). Family group conferences (Shapland, Robsinson & Sorsby, 2011; Zehr, 2015) are defined as a wider circle compared to victim-offender, involving family and professionals and is seen to be most appropriate in juvenile cases. This is being more widely adopted within child protection agencies in UK and Australia to address concerns and create solutions within families (Harris, 2008). Community conferences have been found to originate from the values and traditions of North American Aboriginal people, in which deal with community issues collectively, and can be seen to be applied within neighbourhood and community disputes, in order to prevent issues from occurring (Shapland, Robsinson & Sorsby, 2011; Zehr, 2015).

Restorative practices can be used within this variety of settings due to the underpinning theory of it: Roche (2003, p26) suggests that four key values contribute to a better understanding of restorative justice – personalism, participation, reparation and reintegration. This can be applied to family conferences, within schools and education, within

neighbourhoods and community settings and more, due to the overall purpose of harm being addressed and restored. Cameron and Thosborne, (2001) and McCluskey et al (2008) both state that everyday applications of restorative practice are becoming ever popular in classrooms and workplaces.

Thomas, Bilger, Wilson and Draine (2019) state that community integration is an important priority for mental health service systems, which also applies over to a community based restorative approach within the CJS which can provide "opportunity to live in the community and be valued for one's uniqueness and abilities, like everyone else" (Salzer, 2006, p1). Restorative approaches not restricted to minor offences and are more-so being used in sexual and domestic violence cases (McAliden, 2007) with Gacaca courts being used in Rwanda in the aftermath of the genocide to attempt to achieve justice, truth and reconciliation (Waldorf, 2008). This is evidence towards local and community lead conflict resolutions, and recognition of impacts which may not get recognition within the traditional criminal justice system (Lloyd & Borrill, 2020).

#### 2.5 Evaluating Restorative Practices

It can be said that there are difficulties in evaluating restorative processes, as the definitions have the advantage of positioning such processes, whose integrity is to be judged by participants and not by third parties (Johnstone & Van Ness, 2007, p402). Though such evaluations give a helpful insight into the workings of such restorative conferences and approaches, it may miss more valuable insight from the individuals involved within organisations who are working towards a culture change, or involved in restorative conferences such as within the criminal justice system.

Another issue with restorative approaches such as conferences is that they may not be fully "restorative", due to circumstances where such approaches may have an alternative motive for those engaged. This can especially be in place with restorative justice, where individuals may have a choice of either facing prosecution for a crime or have the alternative of engaging with a conference, such as with youth justice and panels. This is prevalent within Gloucestershire, with the Children First Panel who state: "the aim is to divert young people from the criminal justice system ... the objectives are early intervention, practical and effective partnership working, information sharing and the progressive replacement of criminalising sanctions with restorative practice approaches in child offender cases ... the youth restorative intervention will not attract a criminal record" (Public Defender Service,

2018). Zehr (1990, p40) did state that this interpersonal transgression creates an obligation for an offender to repair damage done to restore stakeholders to their prior status.

It can therefore be assumed that a critical stance towards restorative approaches should be taken, as their engagement may have differing motives behind it due to the nature of the programmes and organisations, and the individuals they work with. This may also be limited due to restorative approaches often having to be developed within organisations / teams / communities alongside a cultural change in attitudes (Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, Rooney & McAnoy, 2002), as if only a few individuals are restoratively trained for example, it may be hard to reach the depth required throughout the organisation / team / community if not everyone is on board with the same ideals. With this said, the overall evaluations of restorative approaches within the existing literature point towards it being an effective and growing area of focus with wide applications within families, communities, work places and organisations. Research by Tamarit and Luque (2016) concluded that mediation within the penal system improves wellbeing of those participating, reduces emotional distress and provided a sense of justice and recovery rather than an alternative and is embedded in therapeutic justice. With this said, the researchers were aware of the limitations of evaluating a restorative programme in a qualitative manner, with interviews being those participating being limiting due to difficulties in accessing all those involved such as victims. With this said, it can be noted that this research revealed in depth opinions of how effective the programme was with a main focus on the emotional wellbeing of those involved which revealed positive results of a qualitative manner which makes it easier for further research to see where improvements need to be made.

The use of restorative practice in schools has grown in popularity in recent years, with a reflection of dissatisfaction to how schools manage behaviours, disruption and non-attendance (Cremin, 2007; Hayden 2007; McCluskey 2008; 2008), with a UNICEF (2007, p4) report outlining "one of the bad things noted being a child in England is the very punitive approach to misbehaviour by children and young people. Skinns (2009) evaluated a restorative programme implemented within Bristol schools, and found improved emotional literacy of staff and particularly pupils alongside an improved learning climate. An in depth-study of one inner-London school found congruence in values, congruence in practice (between staff and pupils) and congruence in positive outcomes (again for staff and pupils) which resulted in positive conflict resolution (Bevington, 2015), These positive approaches being implemented within schools, can result in deeper thought into impact of behaviours which resonates wider societal benefits (Morrison, Blood and Thorsborne, 2005), as if

children are being raised within restorative environments then they are developing efficient skill sets to take into adulthood.

Restorative practice can also be applied within workplaces, which share similarities to its wider community, and are not necessarily protective and nurturing environments and often present narrow scopes dominated by those in power (Jülich and Cox, 2013). Thorsborne (2000) observed that many organisations have developed policies and procedures to deal with workplace conflict, they were frequently unable to address the emotional impact and 'aftermath' for its employees, and argues there is space for restorative justice to transform workplace relationships, job satisfaction and productivity. Brainwaithe and Ahmed (2019) highlight the importance of shame and pride management within a workplace, and state that power imbalances can cause harm and emotional responses to shame, and management through reintegration (a revision of reintegrative shaming theory) should be in place to address this. A study by Shin (2005) found that shame acknowledgment in response to workplace bullying scenarios were higher for those who valued collective wellbeing, so propose that dealing effectively with wrongdoings requires responsiveness to both the personalities involved and context. Braithwaite, Huang, & Reinhart (2013) found that those in the general public who refused to participate in a restorative justice conference were more likely to be low in trust and have little time for notions of forgiveness and rehabilitation, and therefore did not highly value social connectedness. Without this value, it may be difficult to implement workplace justice for bullying, if there is not commonality established.

Family conferencing is a further application for restorative practice, with its use within social work aligning with an emphasis for fair play for all participants (Wormer, 2003; McEvoy and Eriksson, 2008). The use of family group conferencing is said to have started in New Zealand in 1989, as a response to native Maori people's mass removal of children from their homes via the courts system (Doolan, 2011), and this family group conferencing model piloted in England and Wales in 1993 (Quinn Aziz, 2011), following the Children Act 1989 which influenced a move towards working in partnership with parents. A research report commissioned for the Department for Education found that 3-12 months after ground group conferences had been convened, 75% of children were living with a parent, and 16% a relative; the proportion of family placements was 61% lower in cases with no conferencing; and 97% of survey respondents felt that they had achieved the best outcome for child or children involved (Munro et al, 2017). This report also found that social worker professionals felt these meetings assisted in families engagement with children's social services, and aided the improvement of this relationship between family and professional (Munro et al,

2017). This literature is reflective of the positive application of restorative approaches for families in increasing communication and collaboration and reducing harm.

#### 2.6 Context of Restorative Justice in the UK

In terms of the practice of restorative justice, it is a growing area within the UK, Australia and South Africa (Hargovan, 2015), and can often be seen to be underpinned by politics. In the UK, we are at a critical turning point in the development of restorative justice, due to the rising costs of incarceration and the failure of the criminal justice system in keeping communities safe, which has led to policy makers to look for alternatives (Gavriellides, 2016). This increase can be said to be due to a growing need for offenders to be aware of the harm they have caused to their victims (building victim empathy) and at a wider scale, in the aim of reducing further harm and lowering the chances of recidivism. Advocates for restorative justice promote that this justice requires more than punishment (Rossi, 2008). The first victim-offender mediation service arose in South Yorkshire Probation Service in 1983, which promoted a growing interest from the Home Office who further set up "victim-offender mediation schemes" in Coventry, Wolverhampton and Leeds, with further expansion county wide in West Midlands and West Yorkshire after expression of high satisfaction from offenders, victims and the courts; though it was noted it should be a more victim "friendly" process (Liebmann, 2007, p176).

Going forward, these schemes were found to use non-probation officer staff in this mediation, who were recruited form other suitable professions and with further country wide adoption of this mediation; such as with Northamptonshire Adult Reparation Bureau. This was found to be a multi-agency initiative (including probation, police, and social services) aimed at diverting adult offenders from the court system, whilst providing harm repair for victims; using staff seconded from the different agencies who were trained in mediation (Liebmann, 2007, p176).

Restorative justice has been in practice for a number of years, with the purpose of enhancing rehabilitation for offenders of a variety of crimes. This is in line with the Criminal Justice System Act (2003) which outlines the aims of sentencing; to punish offenders, to protect the public, to reduce crime, to reform and rehabilitate offenders, and to make reparation by offenders to those affected by their offences (Home Office, 2006, p39). Though it can be argued that within the definition of sentencing does include rehabilitation, it

is not always clear if prison sentencing leads to the most rehabilitative experience for offenders, with an overall proven reoffending rate having fluctuated between 29.3%-31.8% (Ministry of Justice, 2016). Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (formally The National Offender Management Service) works with both prisons and probation services, to work with offenders throughout and after their sentences, and should include restorative approaches "where available" (Liebmann, 2007, p187), and state they: "rehabilitate people in our care through education and employment" (Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service, 2019). Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service also work with resettlement of offenders, which plays a vital role in managing individual's recidivism levels, and often at this level of post-sentence, restorative interventions occur such as REMEDI in South Yorkshire or CONNECT in London who receive a lot of self-referrals from offenders (Liebmann, 2007, pp179-189).

An evaluation by Shapland et al (2008) for restorative justice in custodial settings concluded that: where victims of serious offences wish to meet with their offenders (who is within their custodial sentence), and where both parties consent, the service should be provided; to replicate putting victims at the heart of the criminal justice system. However, it is orchestrated that these meetings may not be able to go through due to time and monetary restraints, and therefore trained facilitators (or practitioners) in each part of the country should be able to deliver this service. Shapland et al (2008) also concluded that there is sufficient evidence for restorative justice conferences to be a mandatory (but still voluntary) process pre-sentence for offenders, as the outcome agreement within the conference can be used for the offender to continue throughout their sentence, to decrease the likelihood of recidivism and provides "practical steps are tare involved in leading a different, nonoffending life" (p30). Miers et al (2001) researched restorative justice schemes over a 15month study in England and concluded that offenders showed substantial improvements in terms of attitudes towards victims and generally towards offending and welcomed the idea of meeting with their offenders and engaging with a restorative conference with their victims and victims' families.

A later study by Beech and Chauhan (2013) researched the Restoration Inside Programme in 7 prisons in England and Wales with the hypotheses of: assessing participants level of victim concern after completion of the course; participants taking accountability and more internally controlled after the course; and participants will be more motivated to change their behaviour after the course. Results found that in fact the offenders did have a positive higher level of concern for their victims after completion of the restorative course and also, could hold themselves accountable for the harm that they had caused to victims after the

restorative course. However, a null hypothesis was concluded for the second hypothesis of participants being more internally controlled after completion of the course. This could be interpreted to be due to the short-term nature of the course (Beech & Chauhan, 2013), but thinking more critically, could be due to the wider level of 'restorativeness' within the prisons e.g., if there was no prior level of restorative practice within the prison before the course, then the impact may have been lesser than anticipated due to the contrast in culture within the prison setting that may have limited the scope of the course in behavioural change. Though this research was effective and had results that are positive for restorative justice research, it is limited due to a lack of control group which limits the understanding of the full impact of restorative justice which limits the number of comparisons that can be made. This said, it does make the results more valid as the participants of the course and victims were all authentic and therefore the results are more valuable.

Recent justice-related peer support, provided by those who have experience a mental health condition and have had CJS involvement as defined by Baron (2011, p1) has been found to be integrated into circles which allows peer "specialists" who have firsthand experiences within the CJS to provide a unique position of support to aid successful community living and reintegration after imprisonment (Thomas, Bilger, Wilson and Draine, 2019). As noted by Baker (2020), during the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, the UK courts and criminal justice system overall experienced mass delays and suspensions of action. Courts have subsequently re-opened but with social distancing and restrictions still in place, practices such as restorative interventions have often been halted or adapted to an online alternative, which raises the question around the efficacy and empowerment especially regarding victims of crime. Millington and Watson (2020) produced 'Virtual Restorative Justice: Good Practice Guide' as part of guidance from Why Me?, who comment that prior to the pandemic, there was not a widespread use of online technology to carry out interventions. An important reflection on this is the accessibility of ensuring all those who could engage with and benefit from restorative interventions is in place, with Baker, Hutton, Christie and Wright (2020) stating COVID-19 has amplified the digital divide.

#### 2.7 Restorative Justice and Practices within the UK Prison System

In terms of restorative justice specifically within prisons; this can occur in several ways. Individual offenders may send in self-referrals to local organisations such as Restorative Gloucestershire, to engage with restorative interventions, or they may go through their

probation worker, or some prisons may have their own restorative practices in house; or at least an individual who is aware of restorative practices who can refer to an organisation.

Sherman et al (2015) concluded from their findings that the average effect of restorative justice conferences on offenders in the UK and comparatively Australia, is to reduce the frequency of repeat offending after 2 years, with a high cost-effectiveness in all UK tests. It was also concluded from 12 conferences that the impact on victims was highly beneficial, again in both UK and Australia. With this said, the short-term victim benefits were weaker in the UK compared to the Australian RISE conferences. It was found that though 72% of UK victims were either satisfied or very satisfied, but the control group expressed that they had a willingness to meet their offenders prior to the random assignment (Sherman et al, 2015), which is what led to the lessened satisfaction within the research which can be said to be a limitation of the research as it is not as generalisable to the general population and is therefore it can be argued that the research is not going to be as transferable to an actual conference, as it may want to due to the limitations of doing such research with control groups; though it was noted within the research that cases were randomly assigned due to grants and budget and time frame limits which led to a large sample size being unanalysed, and also allowed for more control throughout the research and also approached the topic ethically and appropriately to lessen any possible harm to both victims and offenders.

In an evaluation of a restorative justice programme by Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, Rooney and McAnoy (2002), it was concluded that the programme seemed to demonstrate that it was meeting its goals of providing a community-based alternative to offenders likely to be imprisoned; providing restorative services; and reducing recidivism. It was also found that this programme did in fact include medium to high-risk offenders in which had a minimum of 6 months sentence recommendation in front of them. This is in comparison to other "alternatives to incarceration programmes" identified by Bonta et al (2002), in which state that many either exclude higher risk offenders or suffer such selective attrition that it only leaves lower risk offenders within the programme. This is a limitation of restorative justice programmes on a wider level; therefore it can be seen to have these limits in place due to funding and the motives of each programme which reflects a political position within a) research and b) society as a whole. In the Prison Safety and Reform publication by Ministry of Justice (2016), there is minimal mention of victims within the paper, and though this is maybe to be expected due to the focus on prisoner safety and reform, this limits the accessibility of a focus on restorative justice within prisons. Though within the paper it states that there is a focus on rehabilitation, and more specifically tailored support to reduce reoffending, there is no explicit mention of restorative justice, even though it can be argued

that it is one of the most effective ways to support rehabilitation of an offender and reduce their recidivism, alongside giving them detailed support.

Young (2011, p8) concluded that social justice should be concerned with self-respect, opportunity, power and honour, which can be prevalent when restorative approaches take place with offenders, especially within a prison setting, instead of instilling hostility within offenders. Young (2011) defines this 'support' in several ways, but often relates back to Cullen et al(1999) theory which defines positive social support as the provision of affective resources through intimate relationships. This concept of positive social support is important and valid within restorative approaches to both crimes and behaviours, and can be said to be a more natural approach to assisting support, and is not limited in terms of time, power dynamics and planning (Thomas, Bilger, Wilson and Draine, 2019), and can be said to not be clinical in its approach.

#### 2.8 Restorative Justice-Cross Culturally

In terms of cross-cultural evaluations of restorative justice, Canada has been using this approach for a long time, with the first notable adoption being in 1970 in Ontario (Ferdous, Khan and Dulal, 2018). It is noted that there are four point of entry for the initiation of restorative justice in Canada (Latimer and Kleinknecht, 2000): police (pre-charge), crown (post-charge, pre-conviction), courts (post-conviction, pre-sentence), corrections (postsentence, pre-integration), in which offenders can be referred to a programme. Canada has adopted this more restorative approach due to the Aboriginal heritage within the country, whose alternative justice models are known as sentencing circles, elder panels, healing circles and elder / community assisted hearings, similar to parole hearings (Ferdous, Khan and Dulal, 2018). Research by Fortune, Thompson, Pedlar and Yuen (2010) found that Stride Circles (a restorative practice programme aimed at building relationships) in Canada formed the basis of reciprocity and trust with female offenders, which minimised power imbalances and allowed them to increase confidence and gain a sense of self-respect, which can be argued to be vital for offenders for their release into the community after being in prison as it will ease the process and allow for individuals to have more positive decisionmaking and sound judgement which should relieve recidivism.

Northern Ireland has also adopted restorative practices, more often through a community basis to deal with the aftermath and ongoing dialogue of violence within the country; and can be seen to be using community mediation, offender reintegration, youth interventions, family group conferencing, victim offender mediation and punishment interception (McEvoy and

Eriksson, 2008, p157). In mid-2006, Northern Ireland adopted these principles for Community Based Restorative Justice Schemes in an aim to restore the internal values in the communities (Ferdous, Khan and Dulal, 2018) and Sherman and Strang (2007) state that the restorative models in Northern Ireland are: "One important goal for legal authorities is to encourage activation of people's internal values so that they will feel personally responsible for rule-abiding conduct in the future". Both of these approaches in Canada and Northern Ireland can be seen to bottom-up led approaches, unlike within the UK which is a top-down approach, as previously mentioned. New Zealand is similar to the UK, and their restorative justice practice follows a similar process in post-sentence conferences, though an offender's lawyer can ask the judge to consider restorative justice as well as the victim through the court victim advisor, alongside the police officer managing a case. New Zealand has a major focus on youth justice after the Their Families Act 1989 and has a focus of diverting young offenders from the courts system and custody, similar to Children First in Gloucestershire and programmes throughout the UK.

### 2.9 Summary

In summary, the scope and depth of restorative approaches is wide and is applicable in a wider range of areas, from victim-offender conferences to restorative work within schools and workplaces. It is a growing area of both research and practice within the UK, and though the progress of restorative approaches can be argued to be slow within prison settings, it is growing. This will in turn aid rehabilitation for offenders and may eventually be used instead of sentencing for certain crimes, and can be seen to be a beneficial process for both offenders, victims and others harmed by crime. It is hoped that alongside restorative conferences taking place within the criminal justice system, there will be a cultural change over time towards a more restorative society in which prisons will use, probation, courts, schools, workplaces and beyond. This would be beneficial as a more restorative focused outlook for society can be seen to lead to less harm being caused in general, as well as less crimes, which has a benefit on an individual and societal level. It is hoped for that this research will be able to aid this change, and is taking a qualitative and interpretivism view to do so. This gives Restorative Reasoning context within its place in the criminal justice system, in order to meet the overall aim of the research to establish and evaluate the effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire's postsentencing work in prisons. The literature has aided in establish a benchmark of existing restorative approaches in practice, cross-culturally and across contexts.

The following chapter will outline the research methods adopted for this research and exploration of QUALIPREV process and outcome evaluation (Rummens et al, 2016).

# Chapter Three: Method

#### 3.1 Introduction

This section outlines the methods for the research. The researcher has used two main methods throughout this research: QUALIPREV process and outcome evaluation (Rummens et al, 2016), and thematic analysis of interviews (King and Horrocks, 2019). The structure of the following chapter starts with the collective project, followed by an introduction to QUALIPREV and clarification of why QUALIPREV is used, with comparison to alternative EMMIE, explanation of key indicators, followed by the data collection methods and concluding with impact COVID-19 of the methods of this research. This is in line with objective one of the research:

• 'To evaluate and select an appropriate and recognised method of analysis for a case study of restorative practice intervention in a prison'

#### 3.2 Access to Data and Positionality

This data sources used within this research to achieve its aim and outcomes are as follows:

- In depth interviews with key stakeholders involved in Restorative Reasoning –
  practitioners from Restorative Gloucestershire, the activities hub manager, and a
  project manager within Prison X
- Access to participant feedback and follow up data
- Participant progress reports completed by Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners

Reasoning. In terms of positionality, which is defined as the practice of a researcher disclose their own position in relation to the study, with the influence that a position may influence aspects of the study such as the way data is interpreted (Quin, 2016). Dwyer and Buckle (2009) note that an insider-outsider research position is not fixed and that there is space in between. The researcher is a volunteer facilitator for Restorative Gloucestershire and this disclosure is due to the effect on positionality that this may cause, with reflexivity underlying the research and with caution being be taken to ensure the interviews with participants are not biased towards Restorative Gloucestershire and are neutral to lower the overall bias within this research. This is a similar scenario to that of Stockdale (2017) in whom was also researching restorative justice within a police force, whilst being a member of police staff. This said, the researcher is aware that though their positionality classified as an "insider"

(Stockdale, 2017, p315), they did not share the same subcultural bonds as those they will research, such as police officers. This is comparable to the positionality within the this research, as there is a level of separation due to being a volunteer for Restorative Gloucestershire and not a paid employee, and there is therefore a level of being an 'outsider'. Interviewer effects are ever present in research and cannot be eliminated completely and recognising research bias is crucial for determining the utility of study results and the effect on evidence-based decision-making (Galdas, 2017). To support this, a reflective diary is being kept throughout the research (Appendix 4) as it is noted that reflexivity within qualitative research is affected by whether the researcher is part of the researched and shares the participants experience (Berger, 2015, p219), and by engaging with a reflexive process, a reduction in bias and partisanship should occur (Rowe, 2014). The interviews were affected by this positionality, for example, rapport was already established with Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners due to the researchers involvement with the organisation, with Rowe (2014) identifying that positionality influences both how research is conducted, its outcomes, and results.

The researcher is adopting a constructivist ontology for the research, as it is believed there is not one 'single truth' or reality, and that reality is created by individuals (Crotty, 1998; Patel, 2015). This is an important view, due to the positionality of the researcher, as though there is a level of insider perspective, the interviews reflect individuals interpretations and ideals of the Restorative Reasoning course. For epistemology, an interpretivism approach is being adopted as reality needs to be interpreted, and it can be used to discover the underlying meaning of events and activities (Crotty, 1998; Patel, 2015). Both the ontology and epistemology have been adopted due to the researcher focussing on qualitative research through interviews, to gather rich and insightful data, which is appropriate as within social sciences it is aimed to understand why things work rather than explain how they work: looking at culture, contextual background and personal experiences regarding Restorative Reasoning and its implementation. Grix (2010, p57-67) states social research is concerned with the investigation of social phenomena and interpretivism allows us to understand that these phenomena do not exist independently of the interpretations of people and therefore to attempt to be purely objective would be futile. Holmes (2020) also notes that researchers should consistently be aware of their positionality throughout social research, and be aware that it may be subject to change throughout as it is not a fixed position and context dependent. Holmes (2020) further adds that reflexivity is an essential process for informing, developing and shaping positionality, adding to the purpose of the reflective diary.

#### 3.3 QUALIPREV

This research has used QUALIPREV process and outcome analysis to collect data on Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X, with a focus on the Restorative Reasoning course in which Restorative Gloucestershire is piloting. This research has used an adapted version of QUALIPREV process and outcome analysis to collate data on Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X. The course was advertised within Prison X, on one wing, through posters, and had space for roughly 12 participants, with nearly 30 registering interest. QUALIPREV, as first developed as a crime prevention tool on behalf of the European Crime Prevention Network (Rummens et al, 2016). This allows for specific points of analysis, such as cost-effectiveness, and participation and retention rates, and this research will be following an adaption of QUALIPREV (Hobson et al, 2018). Using QUALIPREV for a comprehensive analysis will allow for evaluation of the process and outcomes of the Restorative Reasoning project. By deploying a process and outcome evaluation for this research through key stakeholder interviews, it can provide a valuable and a first-hand insight into the research area (Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey, 2019, p87), though it can be noted that sole reliance on the reports of these individuals may lead to a collection of inaccurate and possibly biased information (Bouffard, Taxman and Silverman, 2003) which should always be considered when conducting such qualitative research. The work of Rummens et al (2016) is based on the existing literature, building the model and the key indicators based on existing discourses, reflecting it is empirical and validity.

The original QUALIPREV tool (Rummens, 2016) provides a practical evaluation and a user-friendly tool in the form of an Excel score form, which evaluates the quality of crime prevention projects "quickly and easily, based on the presence of criteria" (Rummens et al, 2016, p26). Cheng and Metcalfe (2018) state that high quality process evaluation starts with high quality qualitative research, which relies on a "well-deliberated component alongside or embedded feasibly", "a clear description of the phenomenon to be examined in depth", as well as explicit epistemological basis and methodological rationale for the qualitative inquiry. QUALIPREV is flexible which is the primary reason for choosing this model, and though this does not imply that it is inherently better than alternatives, the malleable nature of the evaluation means it can be adapted well to this research.

The literature addressing process and outcomes evaluations within restorative justice outlines that standard evaluation activities, such a process evaluations and intermediate to long-term studies, often compliment interventions that are designed for multi-disciplinary

action (Presser and Van Coorhis, 2002). Bonta et al (2002) found that a majority of evaluations of restorative justice programmes are measured through victim-offender mediation sessions, responses to satisfaction questionnaires, and the number of restitution agreements achieved. Though this is effective, and this research will also be using a questionnaire, this data can be limiting as it may not reveal the full evolution of a programme that a full evaluation can show such as QUALIPREV with its process and outcome format. With this said, the study by Bonta et al (2002) did reveal interesting data such as the impact of restorative justice being evident within the criminal justice system, but how it is limited due to attitudes and practices within the courts system. It can also be said that it is constrained in the sense of victim satisfaction and reduced recidivism being related to apologies within the restorative process, which can be argued to aid rehabilitation and repair of harm but not be the sole reason for this.

It is outlined that QUALIPREV assesses crime prevention projects in two steps (Rummens et al, 2016, p27):

- Step One: scoring of the evaluation quality based on key criteria, a score is determined reflecting the methodological merit of the evaluation process;
- <u>Step Two</u>: effectiveness assessment if an evaluation has been conducted, the
  effectiveness of the prevention measure is taken into account by providing the
  project with colour-coded label to accompany the score from step 1

Rummens et al (2016, p52) states feedback depicted that QUALIPREV should be as objective as possible and should not have different evaluations by different evaluators, and that the criteria used and definitions need to be as clear as possible, which has been kept in mind when using the Hobson et al (2018) adapted version for this research. The strengths of QUALIPREV are that it is a quick and easy tool designed to evaluate the quality of crime prevention projects, as outlined by the presence of key criteria and determined by the relevant literature and practitioners in Europe (Rummens et al, 2016, p53). Equally, Rummens et al (2016) recommends that QUALIPREV can be used as an advisory tool or standard to improve the evaluation process of crime prevention projects, or as a template to plan the evaluation process. Additionally, it is also designed to be flexible by allowing the weights to be adjusted dependant on the priorities set by the user of the tool. This supports the use of an adaption for the current research and demonstrates that QUALIPREV is a flexible but appropriate tool to use to evaluate Restorative Gloucestershire's work within prisons.

Though there seem to be many positives to QUALIPREV as a tool, it does have limitations such as it only being able to be used as an advisory tool and cannot be used to replace the actual evaluation process of a project, so it should be stressed that the tool must be used appropriately. Rummens et al (2016, p53) asserts that as QUALIPREV should be objective and unambiguous, which in turn resulted in some subjective criteria such as 'innovativeness' and 'quality of sponsors' were left out, as well as some criteria only being evaluated on their presence rather than the quality they may hold. However, during the testing of the model it was found that projects scored on more criteria concurrently and therefore were indirectly rewarded for better quality and given a higher score (Rummens et al, 2016), which lessens the quality and efficacy of the tool. Within this research, using an adaption of QUALIPREV is limiting as the full scoring method has not been implemented. However, due to the basis of this research following constructionism, there could be issues around using the scoring system to deduct results from the data due to the research not searching for the objective truth. By just relying on a scoring system, too much emphasis on the matrix which would be over-involved which limits the value of the research area and would only provide this research with a basis of structure for the evolution.

## 3.4 Why QUALIPREV? QUALIPREV vs EMMIE

QUALIPREV was chosen as the tool kit of analysis for this research over other comparative crime reduction toolkits, such as EMMIE. QUALIPREV is being used as it is noted that EMMIE is more applicable for a truly mixed methods approach, due to a high dependency on quantitively methods in order to obtain high scores on all dimensions (Johnson, Tilley and Bowers, 2016). EMMIE is also a time-consuming process and that often it can be expected that ait is unlikely that any single study will score highly (Johnson, Tilley and Bowers, 2016), therefore limiting the adequacy for it to be used within this research. QUALIPREV has been found to be a more user-friendly and easier to use crime prevention tool (Rummens et al, 2016) that considers a wide scope of criteria, and thus its use for this research in the adapted form.

EMMIE is designed to assess the effect, mechanism / mediators, moderators, implementation and economic costs of policies, practices or programmes Johnson, Tilley and Bowers (2015). EMMIE has also been defined as a visualisation tool and coding scheme (Lumsden and Goode, 2016) which uses probity and coverage to evaluate health and criminal justice. When introducing EMMIE, it is important to differentiate between what the evidence suggests, an estimate of effect size, and the quality of that evidence (Johnson,

Tilley and Bowers, 2015). When looking at the effects, it has been noted that EMMIE is addressing the effect direction and size the EMMIE-Q scoring system is as follows:

- 0 which implies sufficient consideration of validity elements;
- 1 which implies sufficient consideration of one element of validity;
- 2 which implies sufficient consideration of two elements of validity;
- 3 which implies consideration of three or four elements of validity;
- and 4 which implies sufficient consideration of five or six elements of validity (Johnson, Tilley and Bowers, 2015).

In comparison to QUALIPREV, both tools evaluate programmes based on a points system in which makes them both easier understandable and accessible within research, which can aid practitioners to assess the level of confidence that can be put into programmes with a structured framework, as supported by Bowers (2014) who suggested such frameworks aid a considerable corpus of literature on reducing crime. Braga and Davies (2014) said that it is important that there is a combination of liaising information with evaluation experts, for a joint effort of using evaluations to reduce crime such as within the police (Bowers, 2014). EMMIE is an effective tool and is implemented within the College of Policing (2019), as part of their Five-Year Strategy through implementing unique partnerships for systematic reviews of literature (Sidebottom et al, 2017). An issue with analysis in such is that it does not reflect the complexity of programme implementation, which is an issue that is round widespread within policing, though it is stated that a broad and eclectic body of knowledge has emerged to try and support programme implementation (Kennedy, Caplan and Piza, 2018, p143).

For this research, the adaption of QUALIPREV is following Hobson et al (2018) as previously mentioned. The key indicators developed by Rummens et al (2016) were followed to outline the process and outcome evaluation, but there will be no scoring element within this evaluation, due to the adaption and following the aim of the overall project. In terms of designing the analysis and methods to support this, such as the interviews to support the analysis of Restorative Gloucestershire's work, the key indicators have been used hand in hand to guide the research. For example, the key indicator of "costs associated with implantation of preventative measures" aided the formation of such questions:

- "who is funding the Restorative Reasoning course?"
- "what is the average cost of a prisoner engaging with the *Restorative Reasoning* course?"
- "what is the average daily cost of a prisoner?" (Appendix 5).

With this in mind, for this research QUALIPREV is the most appropriate. QUALIPREV process and outcome analysis is more rigorous but also more simplistic in terms of user friendliness compared to EMMIE, which can be used to provide an excel spreadsheet which in turn provides an accessible document in which to assess evaluations on. QUALIPREV was developed after EMMIE, so the similarities can be drawn, but it can be argued that QUALIPREV is more enhanced. For this research, QUALIPREV is practical for the research and the research has been designed as an instrument to go alongside QUALIPREV. Evidence of this can be seen through how the QUALIPREV key indications guided the interview schedules for the research.

#### 3.5 QUALIPREV Key Indicators

By using the key indictors outlined in QUALIPREV (Rummens et al, 2016), the analysis of the results should follow a specifically outlined format by addressing indicators, with the appropriate data and analysis to go within each section, splitting the process and outcome indicators as they are within QUALIPREV. Table 1 outlines the key indicators for analysis, with descriptions for each:

Table 1: QUALIPREV key indicators used in analysis

Key Indicator	Description
Participation	'The reach and potential for generalization of the project. It can
	refer to general participation or focus on the participation of
	certain groupsthis indicator is also used in the case of
	vulnerable or minority groups difficult to reach or to retain
	(Rummens et al 2016, 22)
Retention	'Used in the case of vulnerable or minority groups difficult to
	reach or to retainretention rate is an important factor in
	interpreting the final results and to determine whether or not the
	project can have a lasting impact' (Rummens et al, 2016, : 22)
Accessibility	'Assessment of the project process' (Rummens et al, 201, 21)
Feasibility	'A measure of 'whether or not the crime prevention intervention
	was implemented as it was originally designed' (Rummens et al,
	2016, 21).

External Confounding	ng 'Other crime prevention initiatives, wider funding considerations,			
Factors	and local or broader societal issues' (Rummens et al, 2016, 2).			
(Re)Offending Rates	'Impact on offending rates for Social prevention schemes which			
	can be very difficult to ascertain, are measured as 'self			
	reported" (Rummens et al, 2016, 2).			
Change in Attitude	'An indicator of whether or not the targeted offending behaviou			
	is less of a viable actions alternative post intervention'			
	(Rummens et al, 2016, 22)			
Development of Social	'An important part of the intervention in social crime prevention			
Skills	projects to increase the normative barrier against offending'			
	(Rummens et al, 2016, 22)			
Cost-effectiveness	'Compares the strengths and weaknesses of a prevention			
	project against its cost' (Rummens et al, 2016, 35)			

Source: Rees (2021) following adaption of Hobson et al, 2018 and Rummens et al, 2016.

Mills, Barocas and Ariel (2019) highlight the importance of noting participation rates within criminal justice interventions, with awareness that offenders can often be dropped from courses and interventions due to the nature of prison life, with such attributing factors being moves within wings / prisons, being released, limited awareness of the programme, as well as the condition and funding of prisons which may limit external individuals coming into the prison to deliver programmes, as stated by Nowotny and Carrara (2018). Another element to consider when evaluating the effectiveness of a course is the retention rate of the participants within the course or programme. The external factors already discussed link to the retention rates expected within a programme based within a prison, with prison life being the main underlying factor in effecting participants retention levels in programmes, with literature suggesting that non-completion is an issue of concern within prison programmes as a whole, because it is possible that treatment non-completion may actually increase an offender's likelihood of reoffending, with McMurran and Theodosi (2007) finding a correlation in lack of completion of programmes and re-offending in prisoners, and McMurran and McCulloch (2007) also linking the retention rates in programmes to the cost effectiveness of the programme, which critically is a factor that should be taken into consideration when evaluating such programmes in prisons.

Rummens et al (2016) has defined the costs of implementation in terms of financial outlay, staff time and resources, with a consideration of whether such costs are reasonable in line

with the scope of the programme or project. For the evaluation of Restorative Reasoning, this will mostly consist of qualitative data from stakeholder interviews who have designed and delivered the course. However, it is considered by (Pecora, Fraser, Nelson, McCroskey and Meezan, 2017, p15) that addressing cost-effectiveness of programmes can be difficult, though the importance to do so is needed for planning programme replications. This is important for this research, due to the *Restorative Reasoning* course being a piolet and an adaption of a pre-existing programmes, it is important to evaluate the cost-effectiveness of it compared, and also for Restorative Gloucestershire who have funded the programme in terms of time, staff and resources. Hansson (2007) argues that there are two main criticisms of cost-benefit analysis: the first is the assignment of monetary value to human life; and the second being contingent valuation, in which relies on what people are willing to pay for them. However, Hansson (2007) does outline that not all practices require these elements within a cost-benefit analysis, and due the several components that make up a cost-benefit analysis such as the framing of the decision, a subsequent analysis can be concluded without interpreting all the philosophical issues around the matter to aid accessibility.

Rummens et al (2016) links a change in attitude and development in social skills to a reduction in reoffending due to changes in behaviour and social skills resulting in offending behaviour to appear less attractive post intervention. This is vital to evaluate within the Restorative Reasoning course due to it taking place within a prison setting, it is arguably one of the most important outcome key indicators due to the nature of restorative practice and the aim of the Restorative Reasoning programme. The Sycamore Project is a prison fellowship charity in which is a volunteer-led victim awareness programme which focuses on restorative justice, and played a part in the basis for Restorative Reasoning course. An evaluation of The Sycamore Programme found positive evidence for changes in behaviours for the participants, particularly for victim empathy and anticipation of future offending (Feasey and Williams, 2009). They also found that to further these attitude changes, future offending behaviour should be reduced, which is positive for further programmes such as Restorative Reasoning, and can be applied across all institutional categories (Feasey and Williams, 2009) which is beneficial literature. However, it is noted that this research used quantitative data and therefore was not able to be as valid as qualitative data is due to the lack of depth within the nature of the research, but can be seen to be representative due to the volume and scope of the research being done.

The UK government guidelines outlines that offender behaviour programmes and interventions aim to: "change the thinking, attitudes and behaviours which may lead to reoffend" (Ministry of Justice, 2018). Within these programmes or interventions, the level of

support provided within such a period should match an offenders risk of reoffending, as well as approaches being adapted to respond to peoples individual needs and circumstances (Ministry of Justice, 2018). This implies there is a certain level of a person-centred approach within these programmes or interventions which is in line with social skills and development linking to changes in offending behaviour. There is also a vast amount of research that shows a clear and defiant link between offending, reoffending, and education, with Davies, Bozick, Steele, Saunders and Miles (2013).

#### 3.6 Data Collection

Using QUALIPREV aided the formation of interview schedules, to assess the implementation of restorative work within the prison by Restorative Gloucestershire. Interviews were selected for this research as it seemed the most appropriate method of retrieving data, with Beck and Manuel (2008, p82) suggesting that if questions seem best answered in prose rather than with numbers; and if you are exploring a trend, experience or looking for themes, then interviewing is a good choice for data gathering. Furthermore, semistructured interviews were selected as it allows for flexibility within the interviewing process (Wilson, 2012), and though the QUALIPREV key indicators aided the formation of the interview schedule, the researcher allowed for flexibility to follow the topic of interest within the interviews to allow for a wider scope, and the questions were not rigidly kept to, to provide an insightful guide for questions. It can therefore be seen that when the interviews are taking place, the researcher will be preceded by observation (Stuckey, 2013) and guided with the key indicators to have the best interviews as possible, whilst keeping the participants as comfortable as possible and taking into consideration the idea of narrative interviews which are based on unfolding events or actions of the participant and their life experiences (Stuckey, 2013) which can be seen to be relevant due to the interviews being held before and after the Restorative Reasoning course is held within Prison X.

An ethical consideration around the interviews is underlying throughout this research, as the researcher was aware that interviewing within the prison may be restricted or difficult, so alternatives such as phone or Skype interviews were first proposed (and later adapted where needed due to COVID-19) to the participants to see what the most appropriate and comfortable scenario for them would be. A limitation to using interviews is that interviewer bias may occur through the pre-set questions alongside the interviewing effect which occurs when an interviewer gives a response, they think the researcher wants due to social pressure, creating issues with validity (Fisher, 1993). As there may be a conflict in terms of

relationships, such as when interviewing employees of Restorative Gloucestershire who have developed and will deliver the *Restorative Reasoning* course within Prison X, the ethical consideration and disclosure of dual relationships will be established, and a professional body will be carried out throughout interviews. Table 2, an example abstract of the initial interview schedule, and Table 3 (adapted from Hobson et al, 2018) shows the refined interview schedule with adaptions for COVID-19:

# Table 2: Abstract of initial key indicators table with interview schedule questions for Prison X

	bess: Key indicators and Description nmens 2016: 21)	Types of evidence/tools	Interview Schedule		
1.1	Costs associated with implementation of preventative measures	Interviews with Restorative Glouosstershire and Prison X	Who is funding the restorative reasoning course? What is the average cost of staff involved in restorative work within the prison? What is the average cost of a prisoner engaging with restorative reasoning course? What is the average daily cost of a prisoner? (to compare to cost of course)		
1.2	Correct implementation of preventative measures (ie Fidelity)	Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X	How would you say that restorative work is implemented within the prison? Do you have staff members within the prison that were implementing restorative practices before the Restorative Reasoning course piloted? How are the facilities to support restorative work within this prison? How strong was your relationship with Restorative Gloucestershire before engaging with the Restorative Reasoning course?		
1.3	Accessibility	Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X     Participant feedback	What are the risk factors for prisoners engaging with restorative work? What are the risk factors for employees of the prison for engaging with restorative work? What is the accessibility of estorative work in the prison? Are there any restraints? Do you think the prison could improve the level of restorative work present?		
1.4	Feasibility	<ul> <li>Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X</li> </ul>	Do you refer cases to Restorative Gloucestershire often? If not – why? Are there restraints? Is it not widely known about for prisoners and employees? Do you believe there is a demand for more restorative practices within the prison?		
1.5	Participation	Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X     Participant evaluation forms	Is there a variety of cases / scenarios that engage in restorative work? – with Restorative Gloucestershire, or restorative work within the prison What is the engagement rate with the Restorative Reasoning course? For prison employees, do you think there could be engagement with restorative practices? Are there any incentives for prisons for engaging with the course? If so, do you think that is beneficial? Are there any other restorative courses within the prison? If not, has there been before?		
1.6	Retention	Interviews with     Restorative     Gloucestershire     and Prison X     Participant data	<ul> <li>What is the retention rate like within the prison with restorative work?</li> <li>What do you think the effectiveness of restorative work is? On a personal level and for prisoners</li> </ul>		
1.7	External Confounding Factors	<ul> <li>Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Are there any external factors to the prison that effect your level of restorative work? (multi-agency work, politics, funding, etc)</li> <li>If so, how do you think these factors could be minimised in limiting your restorative work?</li> </ul>		

Outcome: Key Indicators and Description (Rummens 2016: 21)		Types of evidence/tools	Interview Schedule		
2.1	Offending (and problem behaviour)	Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X     Participant Progress Records     Restorative Reasoning Evaluation Forms	Do you believe restorative work can aid reoffending rates?     Do you believe restorative work can aid other aspects of prisoner's lives?		
2.2	Victimisation (and problem behaviour)	Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X     Participant Progress Records     Restorative Reasoning Evaluation Forms	<ul> <li>Do you believe restorative work aids vicitmisation?         Do you believe restorative practices overall within the prison will reduce problem behavior? (e.g. with prison guards and prisoners, between staff, between prisoners, etc)</li> </ul>		
2.3	Changes in attitude towards offending behaviour	Interviews with Restorative Glouosatershire and Prison X     Participant Progress Records     Restorative Reasoning Evaluation Forms	<ul> <li>Have you witnessed positive changes within those who engage with restorative work? Be that prisoners, employees of the prison, etc.</li> </ul>		
2.4	Increased/development of social skills	Interviews with     Restorative     Gioucestershire     and Prison X     Participant     Progress     Records	<ul> <li>Have you witnessed an increase in social skills throughout the duration of the Restorative Reasoning course?</li> </ul>		

		Restorative     Reasoning     Evaluation     Forms	
2.5	Cost-benefit/cost- effectiveness analysis	Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X	Do you believe the Restorative Reasoning course to have been a cost-effective course for the prison to run? Will you follow up with further courses? Do you believe the engagement of prisons with the course to have been cost-effective? Do you believe engagement with the Restorative Reasoning course will result in direct money being saved within the prison? Such as positive behavior changes reducing incidents within the prison population

Table 3: Interview participants

Role (Participant Identifier within the thesis)	Planned Duration of interview / Data Source	Category of Participant	Details of interview questions	Adapted (COVID-19) data collection:
Prison X: Head of	45 minutes to	Role within	Engagement with	Unable to
Reducing	an hour	reoffending within	Restorative	interview
Reoffending (P1)		the prison engaging	Gloucestershire	
		with Restorative	Reasoning for the	
Prison X: Activities		Gloucestershire	implementation and the	
Hub manager (P2)	45 minutes to		idealised success of	Unable to
	an hour		Restorative Reasoning	interview,
Prison X: Project			course	refined
Manager (P3)			Costs around implementing	questionnaire
			such courses	sent and data
			After Course: how effective	received
	45 minutes to		was the course?	
	an hour			Interview
				successful
Restorative	30 minutes to	Role with Prison X	Why Prison X	Interview
Gloucestershire:	an hour	and reasoning for	Guide through Restorative	successful
Restorative		engaging with them,	Reasoning	
Reasoning project		and how Restorative	Implementation of	
designer (G1)		Reasoning course	Restorative Reasoning and	
		was developed and	how restorative is it?	
Restorative	30 minutes to	why	After the course: how	
Gloucestershire:	an hour		effective do you believe it	Interview
Restorative			has been	successful
Reasoning project				
aid (G2)				
Prisoner Feedback	13 feedback	Comparison of data	Previous experience in	Feedback
Forms for	forms	throughout course,	restorative justice / practice	forms
Restorative		feedback on impact	Expectations of the course	successful,
Reasoning			Any changes in behaviour	though only
				9/13 due to
				prisoners
				being
				released
	1	I	I	I

These interviews were then transcribed using thematic analysis (TA). An inductive approach to this analysis will be taken, as it is accepted that the analysis in part will be shaped by the researcher's standpoint, disciplinary knowledge, and epistemology (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p175). Other literature within restorative justice has used thematic analysis to analyse their collected data, such as Peterson Armour, Sage and Windsor (2005) who used thematic analysis to derive the themes within the participants responses to the open-ended questions. This transcription is classified as a "partial transcription" (King and Horrocks, 2010, p143), due to time constraints associated with a full transcription with all verbatim and interactions. Instead, guidance from (Bailey, 2008) was taken, with some visual data being noted throughout the transcriptions, such as laughter or agreement, but without including all spoken language and excluding fillers, such as "um" and "uh" and tones of speakers. Though it is noted this it can add value and full insight into the data sets (Bailey, 2008), the transcription remained focused to the research aims and be as concise as possible during the analysis stage of the research. The interviews were then coded, without using coding programmes such as 'Atlas-IT', as the researcher aimed to be as familiar with the data as possible (Langdridge, 2007, p13), with quotes being used to sustain the themes and were used for describing the results.

Keenan, Zinsstag and O'Nolan (2016) also used thematic analysis to analyse the presence of sexual violence and restorative practices in Belgium, Ireland and Norway. The thematic analysis assessed the provision of restorative justice cases of sexual violence by looking at the development of practices, the legislative aspect in the differing countries, the timing of restorative justice, training of restorative practitioners and inter-agency work (Keenan, Zinsstag and O'Nolan, 2016). Moyle and Tauri (2016) also used thematic analysis whilst researching family group conferencing, using it after interviews with practitioners to reveal the following themes: a lack of cultural responsiveness and capability; the mystical origins of the family group conferencing forum; and a forum for removing Māori children. This reflects that the literature supports the research method of interviewing and thematic analysis in obtaining positive outcomes with rich data sets.

Limitations of using interviews are such that it is a time-consuming process for researchers to organise, conduct and transcribe (Braun and Clarke, 2019), as well as it being noted that there will be a lack of anonymity (Braun and Clarke, 2019) within the interviews for this research due to the direct nature of the interviews which may be off-putting to participants especially if it is hard to engage. Braun and Clarke (2019) state that such interviews may not necessarily be empowering for participants as they have less control over the data produced

compared to email interviews or a qualitative survey. The research adopted a constructivism view in terms of ontology, as it is believed there is not one 'single truth' or reality, and that reality is created by individuals (Crotty, 1998; Patel, 2015). For epistemology, an interpretivist approach is being adopted as reality needs to be interpreted, and it will be used to discover the underlying meaning of events and activities (Crotty, 1998; Patel, 2015). This is due to the researcher focussing on qualitative research through interviews (to gather rich and insightful data), which is appropriate as within social sciences it is aimed to understand why things work rather than explain how they work; looking at culture, contextual background and personal experiences.

When reflecting upon the interviews conducted throughout this research, the positionality of the research can said to have benefitted the flow and content. Though the researcher is not an insider, as disclosed, a relationship with Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners had been built and therefore for those interviews, there was less rapport building present. Two of the six interviews conducted occurred face to face, within a bookable room at Police HQ. Considerations on how these face to face interviews went, compared to the later virtual interviews, was part of the reflexivity involved in the methodology of this research. Dodds and Hess (2021) identify that conducting qualitative research during the COVID-19 pandemic provided unprecedented insights into qualitative research approaches and how methodology can be adapted to online. Though the online interviews followed the same structure and format as those in person, the researcher notes it was harder to conduct due to connectivity issues such as lag, it was harder to read and interpret body language and harder to ensure confidentiality and privacy, similarly found by Lobe, Morgan & Hoffman (2020), Roberts, Pavlakis and Richards (2021) and Saarijärvi and Bratt (2021).

#### 3.7 COVID-19

Delays within the data collection process of the research were experienced, due to COVID-19. The desired nature of wanting a focus of qualitative research, based in in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, is still strived for. Creswell et al (2007) note that interviewing is the most widely used form of data collection in qualitative research, and this was strived for due to the philosophical backing of the research. During lockdown, interviews were adapted to online or telephone calls to, to aid accessibility of retrieving data sets, with the guidance of literature (Seidman, 2006; Deakin and Wakefield, 2014; Hershberger and Kavanaugh, 2017) to achieve this. The literature also notes that traditionally, online qualitative research is usually limited, with an estimated 4% of all psychological (social) research being conducted online (Skitka & Sargis, 2006) compared to more traditional forms

of interviews, focus groups and other data collection. With this said, there were not any issues around anonymity, informed consent and issues around if the data is fair use, which is noted by (Roberts, 2015) as a few of the main issues around typical online qualitative research which can consist of chat room analysis, forum analysis, etc, which would have different ethical implications; as four of the five the original planned interviews still went ahead but was just adapted to being online using various platforms such as Zoom, Microsoft Teams and Google Duo.

With this said, the research did have to adapt gaining consent for interviews, and to ensure participants were sufficiently briefed and debriefed after participation. Researchers obtain informed consent from the participant before recording the interview, which then allows for the interview to be audio recorded for later transcription (Cater, 2011). The researcher is also aware of the participants right to withdraw; a participant could withdraw at any point with the click of a button (Janghorban, Roudsari & Taghipour, 2014). It was emphasised before the interview started and within the debrief of the interview, that participant forms would be sent via emailed and needed to be read, signed and returned to the researcher. By using online interviews, it is also noted in the literature that using web camera calls gives the researcher an equivalent for the presence of non-verbal and social cues (Sullivan, 2012), similarly with face-to-face interviews, though it is also noted that due to the restrictions of common webcams, there are still obstacles in observing all of an participants body language (Cater, 2011).

Though the *Restorative Reasoning* course was able to finish, with participants giving positive feedback, shortly after the pilot, Prison X went into lock down due to isolation of prisoners being required. This meant interviews that were planned with stakeholders to obtain a more reflective aspect onto the course and the impact it had on the prison and prisoners, was not possible, due to education and activity departments being shut, and the prison resorting to lock-down. This has resulted in the anticipated reach of *Restorative Reasoning* being lower than hoped for, as it is noted from the data that the prison was unable to focus on working restoratively quite sooner after the end of the pilot, with guidelines to stirp the prison down to its very basic function during the pandemic. However, the researcher refined a list of questions in the form of a self-completion questionnaire from the interview schedule originally outlined for a stakeholder within the prison, who Restorative Gloucestershire worked with to pilot the course, and received some short answer responses, as an interview could not go forward, so this provides some valuable insight into Prison X.

# Chapter Four: Process Evaluation

#### 4.1 Introduction

The results from this research are mostly in line with the un-adapted proposed data originally outlined within the methods, with two interviews with stakeholders in prison X not taking place, and one of those being replaced by a self-completion questionnaire which was formed using the interview schedule as a basis. The researcher is aware of both the positives and negatives of using such a research method, such as the cost-effectiveness of it, it can provide the participant with more time to think and complete the questions, and puts less strain on the participant due to the absence of the researcher (Oltmann, 2016). There is little control for the researcher around the questionnaire due to the self-completion method, and there can also be issues around interpretation of questions and how they are perceived from the participant (Phellas, Bloch & Seale, 2011). Five interviews (251 minutes / 4 hours) were able to take place, in which the literature supports that 3-4 hours of data for a small scale research project being sufficient (Braun and Clarke, 2013), in which the interview schedule was used to guide the interview but not formally structure it, to allow for participants to provide their own insight and to ensure rich data.

The findings gathered for this research are as follows. Such data retrieved from interviews with key stakeholders of Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X, *Restorative Reasoning* engagement forms and *Restorative Reasoning* participation feedback forms. After the thematic coding, the following process themes have been identified, in line with the QUALIPREV key indicators:

- Participation and retention in Restorative Reasoning
- Accessibility and feasibility of Restorative Reasoning
- External confounding factors effecting Restorative Reasoning

The following section outlines the process evaluation of Restorative Gloucestershire and their work within prisons, with each portion outlining a singular or combined key indicator from QUALIPREV with a brief introduction with outlined findings and analysis, under relevant subheadings. Each interview with a key stakeholder was analysed for themes using thematic analysis, and the following table displays the key indicators / themes, alongside the data sources that have been used (Appendix 7).

The process evaluation indicates how well an intervention or programme has worked, with Rummens et al (2016) states that participation measures the reach of a policy, compared to retention rates which measure the potential impact of an intervention and can be used to assess the longevity of programmes such as *Restorative Reasoning* Rummens et al (2016) further state that within QUALIPREV, a series of process and evaluation indicators gives structure to said evaluation. It is noted that an adaption of QUALIPREV by Hobson et al (2018), and the full points system is not being adopted for this research, with the indicators forming the data analysis and discussion. Wilkinson (2005) has an insightful reflection that the basis of the success of prison based programmes, such as Reasoning and Rehabilitation which is comparable to Restorative Reasoning, is only based on its outcomes for offenders, and not its process or implementation, By examining the process, an evaluation of how the programme is working can be fulfilled.

# 4.2 Participation and retention rates in Restorative Reasoning

Participation can be defined as the reach and potential for generalisation of the project, and it can refer to general participation or focus on the participation of certain group, this indicator is also used in the case of vulnerable or minority groups difficult to reach or to retain (Rummens et al 2016, 22). Retention rates are being used with the guidelines of Rummens et al (2016, p22) who state "retention rate is an important factor in interpreting the final results and to determine whether or not the project can have a lasting impact". Where the pilot was limited in its population sample, this research obtained data from 100% of the sample of Restorative Reasoning.

From the interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire the programme started with thirteen participants in week one, and by week six there were eleven, due to two prisoners being released before the end of the programme. Delays in the programme were due to prison lockdowns (see section 5.4). *Restorative Reasoning* pilot presented to have a high retention rate:

"Retention rate was high – as with our other restorative programme" (Questionnaire, Prison X)

"And I was warned, you will have lots of people like dropping off, dropping out... of people staying on it's usually down to half, if not a quarter" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"So in actual fact, two three of them I think have been released by the time the course finished... A real shame that they missed out, but what we're doing is follow up with that, so I'm going get in touch with their probation officers because several wanted referrals" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Participation was measured by Restorative Gloucestershire throughout the programme, with participation progress records (Appendix 8), with gatekeeping to this access from Restorative Gloucestershire. These records show over the 6 sessions, a pattern of improvement in participation for all participants (N = 13), which is a reflection of not only the participation throughout the weeks, but also the participants understanding of the content and the application to themselves. This is encouraging for Restorative Gloucestershire and the engagement of the programme and the core focus of teaching restorative practice.

Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners collated participant progress records to be completed at the end of each *Restorative Reasoning* session, as a reflection on individual participation, understanding of content and application to self. These factors are rated on a Likert scale from 1-4, 1 = poor and 4 = excellent (Appendix 8). Wu and Leung (2017) identify that a four-point Likert scale with categories of 'strongly agree'; 'agree'; 'disagree'; and 'strongly disagree' can be assigned conventional values of 1-4, which Restorative Gloucestershire have used as part of their evaluation. Table 4 presents the collated average scores increased throughout the session, with the outlier of session 6 as three prisoners had been released from prison and being unable to complete the programme.

Table 4 – Likert Scale of Average Participation, Understanding and Apply to Self scores

	Average Participation Score	Average Understanding Score	Average Apply to Self Score		
Session 1	2.15	2.19	1.92		
Session 2	2.38	2.65	2.54		
Session 3	2.46	2.77	2.69		
Session 4	2.77	3.3	3.07		
Session 5	3.36	2.69	2.92		
Session 6	2.76	3.07	3.0		

Source: Rees (2021), compiled from Restorative Gloucestershire data from Participant Progress Records (Appendix 8), Likert scale of 1-4, 1 = poor and 4 = excellent)

The average scores have been presented for accessibility, and generally reflect an increase in participation from all participants of Restorative Reasoning. This demonstrates that throughout the weeks, and as the relationship between practitioner and participants developed alongside knowledge and understanding, the participants overall engagement increased which is a positive reflection of the engagement on delivery from the practitioners, alongside participants perhaps feeling more comfortable and confident as the weeks went on. This reflexivity from practitioners is a reflection of positive practice, with Toews (2013) finding course evaluation an essential part of a creative and co-created learning environment. Toews (2013) further found these evaluative and debriefing discussions serve as a way for facilitators to assess the degree to which participants needs are being met and determining any appropriate modifications.

The high participation rate throughout the weeks of the course could be attributed to the programme content, with a focus on arts and crafts within the sessions to aid engagement:

"That is an important part of this. Doesn't matter so much this time, but after the last pilot, it was a good way of people winding down. They've been talking about things that quite emotional for them. I think we're women in prison are more guarded and protect themselves more than maybe people do when they're in the community. I think they have plenty of outlets for having those difficult conversations if they want them, but also identifying that they're very able to park them if they if they also need to. So those difficult conversations have happened, but not as a master designer. But that's one of the sort of reasons for having arts and crafts" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

The use of arts within prisons as an aid for rehabilitation had been used for years, with Hughes and McLewin (2005) stating arts activities are considered to have a range of benefits, from increased self-confidence to transferable skills, which can help divert people away from pathways to crime or break the cycle of re-offending, and similar findings have been identified by Marcus-Mendoza (2004); Venable (2005); Johnson (2007); Johnson (2008); Sandoval, Baumgartner and Clark (2015); Erickson (2008); Barak and Sebbins (2017) and Wilkinson and Caulfield (2017). The use of arts was used in RESTORE programme, with Hance (2016) stating its use was used to build up trust within female prisoners in which often the line between victim and offender is blurred, "facilitators have been able to win over that trust by extending the course and introducing creative elements in order to give expression to silence and peel away the layers of resistance" (p212). This is important to consider both within the participation and retention of Restorative Reasoning, but within all prison rehabilitation programmes as noted by Tett et al (2012) and Brewster (2014).

Earlier studies on programme engagement having reported non- participation and non-completion rates of up to 50% (Brocato & Wagner, 2008; McMurran & Theodosi, 2007; Nielsen & Scarpitti, 2002; Wormith & Olver, 2002). In a meta-analysis on offender treatment attrition, dropout rates between 27.1% (all programs) and 37.8% (specific programs) were documented (Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2011). However, there is evidence from the literature that if the programme is effective, or if there is minimal impact of the prison regime on the programme, with (Friendship; Blud; Erikson; Travers and Thornton, 2003) finding sixty-six offenders, or 10% of their sample, had dropped out of treatment; this attrition rate is

relatively low for offender treatment programmes. The reasons for dropout were as follows: offender terminates treatment; treatment terminated by staff; offender transferred to another prison; offender released from prison; and other reasons which included injury or illness.

Quinn et al (2018) also found that there is a variance of retention rates between 38-99%, although higher values were achieved alongside their lower retention rate, with minimal effect of the prison regime and release of prisoners. This literature reflects that the participation and retention rate within *Restorative Reasoning* is more than adequately comparable to the literature and similar prison-based programmes, though the researcher acknowledges Prison X has high retention rates in general for engaging programmes as taken from the data from staff within Prison X.

In conclusion, the strengths of *Restorative Reasoning* for the participation and retention key indicators, are its high retention rate with participants within Prison X, as well as the low non-completion rate from voluntary drop out. It was also evidenced that participation rates for *Restorative Reasoning* increased across its sex weeks of delivery. A further strength identified in *Restorative Reasoning* was its use of arts to engage and deliver the restorative practice content of the programme. It was also demonstrated in the participant progress records, as well as within an interview with Restorative Gloucestershire, that the arts and crafts was a key benefit of enrolment on the programme for participants.

# 4.3 Implementation and Fidelity of Restorative Reasoning

Rummens et al (2016) defines fidelity as a measure of 'whether or not the crime prevention intervention was implemented as it was originally designed' (Rummens et al, 2016, p. 21). Prison X presented to follow a risk assessment and thorough plan of how to implement Restorative Reasoning:

"There were two programme facilitators from Restorative Gloucestershire who were vetted and DBS checked via the prisons vetting process. Both attended a 'Security Talk' at which point they were approved for access to keys. Myself (the Activities Hub Manager) met with the facilitators to show them around the prison and let them get used to using the keys. The group work room was agreed and discussed fire exits/general alarms/access to phones etc. A risk assessment of group work was undertaken by the prison. A taster session was agreed so that women could come and see if the programme was

something they would be interested in completing prior to starting the programme. A total of 17 women had been invited. Those 17 women were deemed 'suitable' for group work after reading their individual case notes, checking alerts on the prison system as wells as checking their risk to themselves. Both programme facilitators were provided with ACCT training from a Safer Custody Custodial Manager to ensure ACCT documents (Assessment Care and Custody Teamwork) were completed and handed over correctly" (Interview 5, Prison X)

It was also noted that there were no restraints made by the prison as to who could attend the taster and apply for a place on Restorative Reasoning:

"No restraints set by prison – probation approval sought for more serious offences" (Interview 5, Prison X)

Data showed that probation services, presumably National Probation Service as the service who manage high risk offenders (National Probation Service, 2020), sought approval for those wanting to participate in *Restorative Reasoning* with serious offences. Tangen and Briah (2018) note the roles of the probation service are to accept public protection and multiagency working (Burke & Collett, 2010), as well as the assessment and management of risk posed by offenders under supervision (Robinson and Raynor, 2006).

Data from Restorative Gloucestershire showed caution was taken around the expectations within *Restorative Reasoning* and of the facilitators and participants:

"It took them ages and ages to stop calling me Miss, which is really hard for me. And so one of the things we negotiated the beginning in the ground rules was... that you call me [removed] not Miss, I'm not a prison warden, and it's habit and it's difficult for them. But it creates a real power imbalance" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Care around the ground rules and language used was taken throughout the programme, to ensure that restorative boundaries were in place, and that there was a minimal impact of power imbalance imposed on the participants, which is commonplace in the prison environment. Braithwaite (2002) states that power imbalances are structural phenomenon's,

and so in turn restorative processes must be structures to minimise any power imbalances, with an integrity of an empowering the process for stakeholders. O'Mahony (2012, p90) also states power imbalances, if left unchecked within the restorative process, that stakeholders involved can be negatively affected by behaviours and responses, and also highlights that a major criticism of restorative processes is its lack of acknowledgement towards race, gendered patterns of crime, class. By establishing at the very start of *Restorative Reasoning* that the facilitators did not want to present as authoritarian or that they are in a position of power compared to participants, but aimed to ascertain commonality with accountability:

"What I look for when we're having a group is actually, what do we have in common? And in a sense, restorative justice about opening those communications and facilitating those communications between people from all different walks of life" (Interview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Delays in delivering *Restorative Reasoning* occurred due to restraints in the prison regime, with staff shortages resulting in education being suspended, alongside time restraints of the prison regime resulting in short sessions compared to the amount of content. This said, Restorative Gloucestershire were found to be adaptable within the prison and the environment and timings they were served, and the data also noted the participants were adaptable also:

"The work is quite adaptable. And the clientele by definition are quite adaptable within the prison setting. So where you might feel that some of them, if we were doing it in the community, they might be quite upset about being let down by their colleagues or co-workers in the prison setting. They're not because they understand the reasons why we might be having another one or they might be prevented from coming because they had an altercation.... You need to bear that in mind and be adaptable" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Ensuring the programme is adaptable to the needs of the environment it is being presented in, and to the population it is being present to, is vital for Restorative Gloucestershire to ensure fidelity of the programme, which in turn should present positive and consistent outcomes. It is outlined by (MaGuire, 2006) that part of accrediting offender programmes within England and Wales is proving a correct process of implementation, the appropriateness of how it is done, the level of resources provided, and the quality of the

delivery of sessions. This is an important reflection as if *Restorative Reasoning* is seen to be implemented effectively and correctly within the prison, and continues after this pilot, then there are grassroots in place for accreditation.

In terms of *Restorative Reasoning* meeting it's aims, the following are the learning outcomes for *Restorative Reasoning* (Appendix 1, 2):

- For you [participant of the programme] to understand your own needs
- For you to understand fair process
- For you to understand the process of Restorative Justice
- For you to accept responsibility for your offending behaviour
- For you to understand the reasons you offended
- For you to understand your personal response to shame
- For you to understand the difference between guilt and shame
- To provide support for you to stop offending in the future
- For you to decide if you would like to participate in a Restorative Justice conference

Data from interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire show that the overall aim of the course was to increase a working connection between Restorative Gloucestershire and the prison, as well as to increase the number of referrals into Restorative Gloucestershire:

"We had five referrals which is a really good take out rate but I think I told you only 5% of the prison population is from Gloucestershire so only one of those is from Gloucestershire so the others we'll have to refer on however we might still be involved in that" (interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

This data reveals the difficulty of through the gate work for agencies navigating the criminal justice system, with only 11 women estates across England and Wales, an issue of local connection and access to local services or continuing services into the community can restrict the scope of work done by such agencies like Restorative Gloucestershire, who due to funding are limited to work with a link to Gloucestershire. This is supportive of Burke, Taylor, Millings and Ragonese (2017), who explored through the gate schemes in England and Wales and found there is a need for a renewal of structures, processes and mechanisms for administering support and readdressing rehabilitative needs of prisons for effective outcomes. This could be seen to be an issue with the outcomes of prisons, but if the implementation of programmes such as Restorative Reasoning, which should be beneficial to prisoner's rehabilitation, cannot occur fully to due overriding wider issues within prisons that effect this implementations, then agencies such as Restorative Gloucestershire

are already set up at a disadvantage navigating how they can support individuals navigating through the criminal justice system.

In conclusion, Restorative Reasoning has displayed both strengths and weaknesses in terms of its fidelity and implementation within Prison X. Restorative Reasoning was implemented within one wing of the prison, with no other specific restraints in place, and support of probation approval for those with serious offences. With this said, more support for practitioners could be strived for, with the prison environment being a demanding one, and with extra responsibilities such as ACCT folders, which may not have initially been considered when designing the programme. Restorative Reasoning was also impacted in its implementation, with various factors such as prison staff shortages, participant appointments and education timetable crossovers resulting in delays and nuisances to the pilot. Through the gate work was also a challenge which impacted the fidelity of Restorative Reasoning, with geographical and financial restrictions, limiting the work that came from Restorative Reasoning and its participants. With this said, Restorative Gloucestershire have worked effectively to support participants with accessing support with neighbouring organisations.

## 4.4 Accessibility and Feasibility of Restorative Reasoning

Accessibility and feasibility of *Restorative Reasoning* is being defined as the assessment of the project process (Rummens et al, 2016, p21). Accessibility of educational courses within prison is vital, with the literature reflecting that isolation of 'what works' in preventing reoffending is complicated, especially when tracking outcomes of ex-prisoners, but there is a substantial amount of evidence that education promotes rehabilitation (Stickland, 2016). However, Czerniawski (2015) suggests that conclusive claims about subsequent reductions in recidivism due to education, is hard due to other factors such as increased maturity within an individual, or post-prison opportunities, and prisoners who volunteer to take part in prison education may be more motivated than some to 'go straight' which limits the extent of the impact of education.

Considerations towards the accessibility of the programme were made, in terms of who was given access to the programme:

"It has had challenging moments, the women have been selected by the prison, they've been selected as women who are not totally compliant... At

the start women should be wanting to engage but still not be in a position where they've done all their work and they're now ready to be put forward for release, they should be one stage before that" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire, p26)

"I think it would still have to go through the through the present because they have got their own risk assessments to do and if they yes they in theory allow someone onto the course who is poses a serious threat or risk, because they're not coming in there as well to manage that situation, I think they've got a first call on that" (Interview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire, p11)

The issue of the pilot and its limited accessibility is that it was only advertised to one wing within the prison, and those who got a place were selected by the prison. The safety of all those involved in a programme such as this should be at the forefront, but this does raise questions about efficacy of who is being offered access to such programmes.

With this said, the prison did not restrict who could and could not apply to be on the course from within the wing, but those with serious offenses had to be approved by the probation service. The researcher considered the impact selecting prisoners for a course could have on the behaviour outcomes of those prisoners, with the literature reflecting that voluntary clients are normally seen to be intrinsically motivated for their rehabilitation (Hachtel, Vogel and Huber, 2019), with others arguing if prison based restorative programmes align with the goals of the prisons (Crocker, 2015) due to restrictions in place within the day-to-day life of a prisoner. *Restorative Reasoning* is a pilot programme within the prison, and therefore the justification for the selection of prisoners is evident due to the nature of the pilot.

The accessibility of *Restorative Reasoning* was considered in terms of literacy and whether or not it is feasible for a prison population. Interviews early into *Restorative Reasoning* revealed there were no issues with literacy within the group of participants:

"Not necessarily due to the issues one might have thought like literacy and sorts... But people [removed] require time more so to understand the kinds of questions and things and instructions then and also we've had quite a lot of time constraints" (interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Restorative Reasoning did not experience many issues around literacy across the sessions, though literature has shown that literacy rates are predominantly an issue within the UK prison system, with evidence showing that prisoners basic skill levels are "disproportionately poor" compared to the population (Dawe, 2007; Davis et al, 2013; Prison Reform Trust, 2013; Creese, 2016), with organisations such as Shannon Trust, who in 2019 aided 3280 prisoners in learning to read across 19 prisons in the UK (Kent, 2020). Creese (2015) concluded a difference with literacy and numeracy rates compared to those presented by the Ministry of Justice data, with lower literacy rates within the English and Welsh prison populations, with 50% at a Level 1 or 2 compared to 85% of the general population. Creese (2015) subsequently found contrasting data for higher numeracy rates within the English and Welsh prison populations, with 79.4% at a Level 3 for numeracy, compared to 76.4% of the general population. This is drastically lower for Level 2 however, with only 9% for the prison population, compared to 21.8% for the general population (Creese, 2015), both reflective of low rates. Czerniawsk (2015) proposes two sets of dispositional barriers within the England and Wales Prison System that effect access to education:

- The first set includes disadvantaged childhoods; previous educational failure low selfesteem; mental health disabilities and drug and alcohol abuse.
- The second set includes: institutional and situational factors and barriers such as: overcrowding; classroom space; ration of learners to teachers; limited curriculums; shortage of resources such as computer facilities (Czerniawsk, 2015).

A later interview with Restorative Gloucestershire revealed that considerations on how adaptions could be made to the programme, a reflection after the pilot:

"A few things that have come out of it perhaps is about people with learning difficulties etcetera and I'm actually in the process of working with an artist at the moment who produces infographics... if somebody is autistic for example or is visual learner or has trouble literacy we would like to look at how we can present all the materials pictorially, and they have something called storyboarding... I also think that might be the case for working with young people as well" (Interview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire)

These reflections post-pilot are vital, with considerations and adaptions being put in place, with Restorative Gloucestershire commissioning infographics and storyboards to go alongside the *Restorative Reasoning* content, to ensure it is accessible to all, and all learning styles. A report by the Prison Reform Trust exploring those with learning disabilities

experiences of prison, revealed individuals often did not feel fully understood whilst in prison and did not fully understand what was expected of them throughout prison (Talbot, 2008), which is an important consideration for the aims of prison which are said to be to provide safety, respect, purposeful activity and resettlement (Inspectorate of Prisons, 2018). The report also revealed individuals had difficulties access the prison regime including offending behaviour programmes, though over half said they attended education classes and were likely to say if they had possible, borderline or diagnosed learning disabilities (Talbot, 2008) which is a positive insight into prison education. With this said, it should be ensured all prison education is accessible and can have adaptions in place where needed for all variants of learning difficulties and disabilities.

Discussions around the specificity of *Restorative Reasoning* revealed that due to the nature of the pilot, adaptions should not be made until it has been trialled with further populations and settings. Restorative Gloucestershire are aiming for *Restorative Reasoning* to be used within further prisons, probation services, housing and community services, so the broadspectrum application of the programme should be considered:

"What I look for when we're having a group is actually, what do we have in common? And in a sense, restorative justice about opening those communications and facilitating those communications between people from all different walks of life... I'm looking for the commonality I'm looking for people not to be othered" linterview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire)

It was discussed that the aim of restorative approaches is to facilitate communication, between all different people with different life experiences and backgrounds, and therefore by creating adaptions of Restorative Reasoning, such as for specific communities, could lead to a sense of othering. Othering has been defined to be in part understanding of the self and part how we then see the self in others, in which we draw generalisations from to subjectively understand behaviours (Jensen, 2011). Bazemore and O'Brian (2002) state offender rehabilitation should be aimed for, but also warn against restorative justice becoming too offender-centric, while Robinson and Shapland (2008) raise concerns about the potential dominating influence of criminal justice which has led to a lack of discussion and vague guidelines for offender-orientated purposes of restorative work. Claes and Shapland (2017) further state how restorative work should be inclusive, due to the nature and fundamentals of the process. Inclusivity should be a primary underlying focus of restorative work, with 2020 having increased support for the Black Lives Matter movement

sparking more conversation around the criminal justice system. Individuals, groups and academics have articulated a need for systematic redirection of power and access to funding that lies within the criminal justice system, and redirect this into community based work and support (Joseph-Salisbury, Connelly & Wangari-Jones, 2020). Similar considerations of inclusivity occur within health care, which similar aims to offer rehabilitative care, with Dewilde and Burton (2016) stating an ignorance towards individual's life and sociocultural environments can have negative outcomes.

A more inclusive approach to this programme could be to focus on the inclusivity of those delivering and representing the course and its values:

"I think it would be really really good if we can start having people from a variety of different backgrounds rather than you know white middle class English me, teaching the course and then what was you know, is there anything in this course that you find trying to deliver that you think doesn't apply to this community? That they might be willing to tell you and not me?" (Interview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Barton and Brown (2017) discuss that prisoners tend to historically and contemporarily share similar social demographics and therefore diversity within populations is overlooked, and questions around the complexities of these populations can often be ignored with the prison voice presenting as 'small' compared to official and political rhetoric's present. They further argue that an examination of 'small voices' would provide a better understanding of the politics that lie within prison punishment and its trajectories. This is an important discussion, when considering different experiences that should be accounted for within prison education and how these experiences should be accounted for. Qiu (2020) found that specific backgrounds of prisons have to be considered within the educational plans and that issues such as stress about employment, accommodation or substance abuse can adversely affect learning, with Norwegian prisons taking the stance of taking time to 'create positive expectations, strengthen inmate's faith in themselves and improve self-control'. This can be seen to reflect similar, positive findings as presented in Restorative Reasoning.

This data shows that the accessibility of the course is adequate, for the participants, the prison, and Restorative Gloucestershire. Nonetheless, the course being piloted within a prison has had its own restrictions, such as the prison regime restricting the time Restorative Gloucestershire could spend with the participants delivering the course content. Crabbe

(2016, p6) argues that a learning culture should be present within prisons, with a "whole-prison approach to learning... education should be part of a sentence plan and properly sequenced and structured with other interventions across a sentence" and therefore considerations towards how time restrictions may be limiting prisoner learning and rehabilitation. Interview 2 with Restorative Gloucestershire found that if the course was to be run further, it would be preferable to spread the duration of the programme across "four weeks in total" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire, p4) to give more time to cover the content within the programme and ensure time restrictions do not restrict the accessibility of the programme for prisoners.

The literature can be seen to point towards prison programmes needing to meet the needs of offenders in order for programmes to be accessible and feasible, and to ensure the programme is focusing on appropriate topics. Hollin and Palmer (2006) similarly identify that prison programmes need to meet the needs of offenders, with a range of criminogenic needs that can be identified involving aspects of individual functioning such as attitudes to crime, moral values, drug use, and family relationships; another source of evidence lies in the study of offenders' own accounts of their history and their offending. It can be seen that Restorative Reasoning addressed the needs of the participants, with extracts of the Restorative Reasoning handbook (Appendix 1) showing a focus morals and values; emotions, thoughts and feelings; relationships; accountability of crimes and those effected.

# Abstract from Participant Handbook, Restorative Reasoning

## **Restorative Reasoning**

A Restorative Justice programme



# **Participant Handbook**

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You are asked to write down what you consider to be your most serious offence.

In the circle, you will be asked to read out these words:

"I accept full responsibility for....." (followed by your most serious offence).

What do we notice about all offences? Please decide which one of the following they are:

Mood

**Physical Sensation** 

**Behaviour** 

Thought

**Environment** 

Group discussion – about our thoughts and feelings on being asked to complete this task. Re-cap on CBT diagram from previous week. Discussion – a small change in any of the parts of the CBT diagram can effect a change in another area.

Victim The Ripple Effect: Making connections between one action and the effects it can create.

We will be asking for a volunteer to take part, who is willing to speak to the group about their own offence, but this can also be a fictional offence. We will be looking at how a restorative conference might work and who might participate.

24

(Source: Restorative Gloucestershire, see Appendix 2)

Carlen (2013) states that within new discourses for women's imprisonment within England, there is a need for accreditation of a prison programmes, that focus and have a "professional concern about the therapeutic needs of the client". Though *Restorative Reasoning* is not yet accredited, due to the nature of the programme being a pilot at this stage, it has a clear therapeutic underpinning in the way it is delivered from Restorative Gloucestershire, the topics that are covered, and the accessibility that Restorative Gloucestershire provided in the context of the language and dialogue used throughout the programme to empower the women. This is supported from the interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire, prison X, and the feedback forms of the participants which expressed their appreciation for the course and what it had done for them.

In conclusion, the strengths of *Restorative Reasoning* are that there were no prominent literacy issues within the pilot, and adaptions are being made to ensure it is accessible to those of all levels of comprehension. It can also be concluded that *Restorative Reasoning* has a positive focus on commonality amongst participants and facilitators, and is striving to be inclusive to all as following restorative practice standards. Challenges for accessibility and feasibility are that the selection process within the prison is not representative of a wider population, and therefore has limited scope.

# 4.5 External Confounding Factors for Restorative Reasoning

External confounding factors are defined by Rummens et al (2016) as "other crime prevention initiatives, wider funding considerations, and local or broader societal issues" (p. 2). Within this research, external factors can be seen to be the prison regime; lack or resources; administration; demanding nature of the programme; and COVID-19.

These themes have been formed around the data from interview 1, 2 and 3 with Restorative Gloucestershire (Appendix 7), and the interviews (Appendix 6) with Prison X.

#### Prison Regime

The prison regime was an apparent major factor in which effected Restorative Reasoning, in terms of the prison timings and restrictions around how long sessions could run for and when:

"Another big challenge is the prison regime of course... You are also responsible for not only their welfare but also them moving around... For them to move around for any reason" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire);

"I mean the most disruptive thing is the prison itself needs to be. You need to bear that in mind and be adaptable. So I've got quite a good experience of prison life, though. I'm that, you know, if something happens in prison that is beyond our control, there is nothing you can do about it" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"[The| main impact was the regime during the initial two week period that meant two final sessions had to be cancelled at last minute, only finally going ahead on the third attempt. This had an effect on the number of women at the final ceremony as 4 women had been released by then and some other women had been allocated to other education course" (Questionnaire, Prison X)

The environment also caused issues such as causing some participants being unable to complete the course due to being moved onto different courses, or having been released from prison. This is frustrating for all stakeholders and participants involved, as it is clear from the feedback forms and participation forms that the Restorative Reasoning programme is effective in engaging and building participation and confidence throughout the time of the course. Though, both Restorative Gloucestershire and the researcher appreciate that the nature of running a programme within a prison, compared to say a community run programme, will have restrictions around how it can be run, when, and how as noted within the literature (Friendship, Falshaw, Beech, 2003; Van Ness, in Johnstone & Van Ness, 2011; Currie, 2012). Despite the overwhelming supporting evidence of restorative practices and justice interventions, restorative programmes continue to face difficulties in obtaining funding to support launches and sustain work in creating partnerships with referral agencies (Dhami & Joy, 2007), and in support of increasing community involvement which continually impacts the level of community based work that can be achieved. This said, Gal (2016) and Umbreit and Armour (2011) argue that there are thousands of restorative programmes running across the world, many community based and reliant on voluntary engagement with community representatives, participation of many parties from both harmer and harmed, again often with community volunteers and facilitators, which demonstrates that community based programmes can be effective. With this said, this literature seems to point towards

more restorative justice intervention-based programmes, compared to restorative practice based such as Restorative Reasoning. Evidence from the literature also points towards restorative based probation programmes such as REMEDI or CONNECT (Liebmann, 2007, pp179-189) are both successful community-based programmes, with high retention and engagement rates, not restricted by a prison regime and its time.

#### Lack of Resources

Lack of resources was also a consistent factor effecting *Restorative Reasoning* throughout the research:

"Another challenge is getting the resources you need" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"They seem to have a real shortage of courses in that" (interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"They simply didn't have enough staff lots of calling in sick and so on and that meant they had to pull all of the prison staff off the education block" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"Yeah, um, I think that's a good idea for the prison to do that, because we would say well I would say it's quite rehabilitative and I think its in the prisons interest to do that so its not just educational, serves a two fold purpose" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"We talked to them about what they'd what materials they'd like us to get for that" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"It was not a nice room at all... I think that was one of the things I mostly did struggle with, because obviously the environment does play a toll on it, tell me there's hardly any windows in there you know, there was no hardly any lighting there next door to residential... but probably have an issue with [Prison X]" (Interview 4, Prison X) National Offender Management Service (NOMs) was reduced funding by 13% between 2009-10 and 2016-17 (Comptroller & Auditor General, 2017), resulting in a 30% reduction in staffing numbers in public prison, reduced resources and less access to services such as mental health, education, rehabilitation, with prolonged time in cells (Burki, 2017). This shows that not only Prison X has been affected by lack of resources, funding and staffing issues but it is more of a nationwide concern due to governmental cuts throughout the criminal justice system. This is a difficult issue to address as the wider macroeconomic restraints in place with budget cuts and limits to prison funding impacting the efficacy of such programmes like *Restorative Reasoning* as the scope of the work is limited beyond just this pilot, with UK Government spending for prisons in 2017/18 14% lower than in 2009/10 in real terms (Institute for Government, 2019). This reduction in funding is a serious limiting factors in how far programmes such as the *Restorative Reasoning* Couse can be rolled out to a wider audience:

"My understanding is we [Restorative Gloucestershire] have difficulty either because of being funded by the police commissioner or being part of the Constabulary in actually accepting funding" (interview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"It comes it comes to my knowledge this week only that I may have misunderstood or it's been miscommunicated that we may be able to apply for funding from various places, so whether that means we can take payment from say National Probation Service and [removed] for delivery or whether that means we apply and bid for funds to deliver this in a certain prison I'm not yet clear on" (Interview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire)

It is clear that without clear and accessible access to funding and therefore resources, Restorative Gloucestershire scope could be limited due to funding restraints, and therefore an increase in overall funding directly to Restorative Gloucestershire would be beneficial to ensure their work is not limited and they can have quick and easy access to resources if needed when delivering programmes such as Restorative Reasoning.

#### Administration

Administration was another external factor that effected the Restorative Reasoning. This administration took the form of Assessment, Care in Custody and Teamwork (ACCT) process which is used within the prison system to identify prisoners at risk of suicide and self harm (Pike and George, 2019). Within the interviews, the ACCT was referred to as the "orange folders" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire, p5) in which required behaviour observations from Restorative Gloucestershire of certain prisoners who are at risk, during Restorative Reasoning. An inspection of Prison X revealed that a high number of prisoners were subject to ACCT documents, due to their complex needs and vulnerability, which is complicit with the overall findings from Women's Estates in England (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales, 2020, p60). The ACCT folders were present in two separate Restorative Gloucestershire interviews and the questionnaire with the Prison X activities manger:

"There's a lot of administration that you have to involve yourself in" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire);

"They might arrive with an orange folder" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"So, week two into the course, two, sometimes three, huge orange folders and that was a type of risk assessment for, you know, maybe three women" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire);

"So what we did was sit down, I think pretty restoratively, and I said, what you'd like me to write. Let's talk about it" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"So I've emailed them over to [removed], I've said, can you please print them out and make sure that they get them so that they can have a read through. And then if they want to discuss anything that Paul and I've written with us, and they've all got our own contact details" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

It was noted from Restorative Gloucestershire that this process lacked confidentiality as a prison officer delivered the orange folders to the class and announced the names on the folders, which Restorative Gloucestershire felt was an issue:

"It wasn't great confidentially. Confidentiality wise for the other women either" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

It was also found that the project manager within the prison raised concerns around confidentiality due to the nature of the prisoners vulnerable information being known to external providers, though it is known that the data protection within the prison is key:

"You have to be very careful that when you have such deep discussion groups that they're not too big, because there is always this thing of confidentiality" (Interview 4, Prison X)

"Can we trust that confidentiality is being kept" (Interview 4, Prison X)

This is difficult as data confidentiality is important, therefore the researcher believes this is a concern that should be noted for prisons using external organisations to deliver educational and rehabilitation programmes, as breeches can affect wellbeing for prisoners, as well as staff both internal and external. Elger, Handtke and Wangmo (2015) state that confidentiality is important in prisons and has to be respected based on the same ethical principles as outside the prison, especially alongside the high prevalence of suicide rates within prisons. This is important to note with the ACCT folders, as other prisoners may know the purpose of an ACCT, and therefore having it known within the population who has folders, may be distressing to the individuals involved. Cabral and Santos (2016) found that with external providers being in prisons delivering a service, there is a dynamic of accountability mechanisms within services, with a high threshold of administrative change, in which can be seen that there are multiple obstacles in which an external provider to a prison may face in which they may not have anticipated. McGuinn (2014) also states that the prison administration itself is fundamental relationship in prison management, which can be said to form a formal and informal ethos within prisons. This is in line with the Restorative Justice Councils outlined work within custodial settings, with other restorative organisations such as REMEDI Restorative Services having a partnership with a number of different category prisons and secure hospitals for the past 20 years, to deliver restorative justice, with "information sharing, regulated by agreed protocols" (Restorative Justice Council, 2016, p9),

which reflects in practice another restorative hub model working to deliver programmes within prisons, similarly to Restorative Gloucestershire with Restorative Reasoning.

### **Demanding Nature of Prison Programmes**

The interviews also emphasised the demanding nature for Restorative Gloucestershire of delivering a programme in such a short amount of time, whilst delivering high quality but adaptable work to the prisoners. It can be seen from other restorative programmes that staff engagement with the work has a big impact on what the participant takes from the programme (Bates, 2017), but it is also widely acknowledged that working within prisons is demanding due to the nature of the environment (Xanthakis, 2009; Short et al, 2009; Lovell and Brown, 2017). The interviews found that Restorative Gloucestershire who developed and delivered *Restorative Reasoning* found the overall process:

"It means that you're mentally tired at the end of those two hours" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"You've got half your mind on delivering then you've got the other half on managing to deliver what you're not actually delivering" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"I come out of there absolutely knackered" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"There's a huge amount of responsibility on you" (interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Within this interview with the two members of Restorative Gloucestershire, it was present that there is a lot of pressure when delivering such a programme within the prison, due to managing the programme from their side by monitoring what has been covered in each session (planned and unplanned), monitoring the participants, having some open and difficult conversations with participants, as well as the administration. Hedderman, Gunby and Shelton (2011) found from their evaluation of work within women's prisons, that the women perceived the staff working with them as "personally interested in their clients, with a long-term commitment to seeing them through, rather than seeing then as 'cases' to be resolved quickly" (p11).

The participant evaluation forms, given to all participants on the last day of the course by Restorative Gloucestershire, also reflected that the level of engagement and effort from Restorative Gloucestershire allowed the participants to feel at ease and learn about restorative practices and how to improve relationships:

"I had never heard of it [restorative practice] before so was unsure what to expect but doing this has helped me to open to more and understand my families thoughts and feelings more... [removed] have been fantastic and so has the course" (Evaluation form 2, Prison X)

"It has made me realise my behaviour wasn't correct and how to change it safely... thank you for everything you was so considerate and helped me understand a lot" (Evaluation form 3, Prison X)

"We had great teachers and I'll never forget there help. Thank you" (Evaluation form 6, Prison X)

This is important to note as though *Restorative Reasoning* may be demanding, passion and engagement can see to worth the offset of time and planning that went into Restorative Reasoning. It is important to note the time and effort that goes into developing and delivering a prison programme, and it was noted within the interviews that beyond this pilot, volunteers could be trained (Tewksbury & Dabney, 2004; Kort-Butler & Malone, 2014; McNamee & Peterson, 2016) to help aid deliver the programme which would elevate some strain on Restorative Gloucestershire:

"I would be more than happy to start training volunteers if they're interested and if they have time" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire);

"When this current situation is over and we get back to normal, then we will be putting it out to everybody who would like to get involved" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

#### COVID-19

The impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic can be seen tenderly within the UK prison system, with The World Health Organization's (2020) guidelines on responding to COVID-19 recommending that custodial and health agencies jointly engage in risk management, prevention and control, treatment, and information sharing. The first cases of COVID-19 were confirmed in HMP Manchester mid march (Jarvis et al, 2020), with estimates of over 500 (287 prisoners, 217 prison staff and 8 Prison Escorting and Custody Services staff) cases in the following month across England and Wales (PRT, 2020).

Prison X was put into COVID-19 lockdown shortly after *Restorative Reasoning* was complete, which initially limited the access to gaining insight into the outcomes of the programme. The impact within the prison can be seen from the interview with the project manager within the prison:

"It's really, really difficult I mean we've never had anything sort of quite like this, of course, we have to find a way how to, how to cope with all these isolating women... and making sure that the self-harm and suicide rate doesn't go up" (Interview 4, Prison X)

"Everything now has stopped... it's the prison on lockdown... education staff don't come in anymore... I'm trying to get a programme together so that they can do some activities because you know they're in their cells all the time now... and you know also no visits anymore... it's all these ripple effects" (Interview 4, Prison X)

"It's absolutely awful... they still have not really realised how difficult that is for us on the outside at the moment... social isolating I mean they haven't got it...it's so unreal" (Interview 4, Prison X)

This reflection of near total isolation, and these 'ripple effects' that can prove so damaging for prisoners, with Nishiura et al (2020) noting transmission of COVID-19 in a closed environment was 18.7 times higher compared to an open air environment, which is just a small reflection of the reality the prison system during a pandemic. It also raises the issues of overcrowding in prisons, and how prisoners and staff are meant to social distance with some prisons having over 160% their capacity (Howard League for Penal Reform, 2020).

Short scrutiny visits to female prisons by HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2020) revealed COVID-19 lockdowns have resulted in:

- Social distancing being established within estates, but highlighted some issues in isolation for new, and vulnerable prisoners being kept away from main populations
- Regimes are severity limited, with 30-60 minutes (up to 120 minutes in some estates) of exercise daily for female prisoners, with face-to-face education and courses being suspended and adapted into in-cell activities were possible. This raises issues around the accessibility of education within prisons currently, and also questions if the outcomes of a prison such as to provide safety, respect, purposeful activity and resettlement (Inspectorate of Prisons, 2018) are being met for individuals in custody in 2020
- The vulnerability of many women in prison has been documented throughout this
  period, with suspension of face-to-face visits since March 2020, resulting in many
  women not having been able to see their children and families, with self-harm rates
  increased from the already elevated levels experienced pre-restrictions
- The report found positive practices within female prisons, with positive staff-prisoner relationships in place despite the restrictions, though a priority of women with multiple and complex needs to be in place, with alternatives to visits and access to education and rehabilitative programmes

This report highlights that the impacts of COVID-19 go beyond what may be presented at face value, with a detrimental effect on prison-based education and rehabilitative programmes, such as Restorative Reasoning, and the delays in adaptions such as in-cell activities which may be inaccessible for those with complex needs or literacy issues. The impact on prisoner mental health is important to focus on, with the report highlighting that the restricted regime meant prisoners already at risk of self-harm felt isolated from others and "craved more human contact", and access to gyms and formal exercise classes also stopped. Studies have pointed towards COVID-19 raising negative psychological effects including confusion, anger, infection fears, frustration, boredom, inadequate supplies and information (Brooks et al, 2020; Serafini et al, 2020). This further supports studies looking at the long-term impacts of quarantines revealed high psychological distress and posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms, including emotional disturbances (Hawryluck et al, 2004; Lee, Chi, Chung and Chou, 2006; Reynolds et al, 2008) as witnessed with the SARS outbreak in 2002-2004. Early indicators from cross-sectional studies or bespoke online COVID-specific surveys have already shown lower levels of subjective wellbeing and higher anxiety in the UK population than those observed in the last quarter of 2019 (ONS, 2020).

These wider impacts of COVID-19 needs to be considered at a meta level, with the individual impacts of the pandemic being wider than just the virus. Research has indicated that young people and women are experiencing the largest decline in mental health as noted by Banks and Xu (2020), who argue there may be wider scopes more fundamentally important for the current or future health of individuals, such as sleep; depression and sense of purpose, related to GHQ scores

# 4.6 Key Findings of Process

In summary, the strengths experienced on external confounding effects on *Restorative Reasoning* was that it was found to have a more positive process with participation and engagement compared to its first pilot based in the community. This was identified within the data to be in part due to the nature of prison-based programmes, and the somewhat unvoluntary nature of education within a prison regime which resulted in high engagement. Table 5, 6, 7 and 8 below presents the summarised key findings from Process indicators of Restorative Reasoning.

# **Table 5: Participation and Retention Rate Key Finings**

#### **Successes**

- A high retention rate was present throughout the programme.
- Non-completions were due to participants being released from prison or moved onto a different education programme.
- · Participation increased throughout the sessions,
- The use of arts within the programme was also found to aid participation.

#### Challenges

- Non-completions were due to participants being released from prison or moved onto a different education programme.
- Uncertainty on if the participation and retention rates would be replicable

Table 5 summaries the key findings for the participation and retention rates as a process of Restorative Reasoning, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. A high retention rate was maintained throughout the six-week sessions of the pilot, and non-completions due to dropouts were caused by external factors beyond Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners control, such as participants being released from prison early, or a cross-over in the education timetable. Alongside this, practitioners recorded participants progression (Appendix 8) throughout the programme and found participation, understanding and apply to self all increased in scoring across the weeks, reflective of increase participation and engagement. The use of arts for increased engagement from prisons has been documented in the literature (Hughes & McLewin, 2005; Hance, 2016; Wilkinson & Caulfield, 2017), with results indicating that arts help to minimise resistance from participants providing a creative outlet (Hance, 2016). However, there are questions over the replicability of participation and retention rate, as it is unclear if any one factor is having more of an impact on the participants such as:

- The practitioners the data does not allow the researcher to establish if individual
  practitioners have an effect on how positive therapeutic relationships are established
  with participants, and it is unknown if *Restorative Reasoning* would achieve the same
  result with different practitioners, such as volunteers as discussed.
- The population due to the pilot, the population remits were limited to one wing within Prison X, and it cannot be concluded if the positive results in this research would be replicable in a wider population, a male population, a population with serious offences that probation needed to approve, in a differing setting such as in probation or housing associations.

# Table 6: Accessibility and Feasibility Key Findings

#### **Successes**

- There were no present issues with literacy in the Restorative Reasoning pilot.
- Adaptions of Restorative Reasoning are being made to ensure the programme is accessible for individuals with low literacy rates.
- Restorative Reasoning has a focus on inclusivity and commonality.

# Challenges

• The selection process for *Restorative Reasoning* was not representative of a wider population, which limits its accessibility and scope.

Table 6 summaries the key findings for the accessibility and feasibility of the process of Restorative Reasoning, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. Restorative Reasoning was overall found to be accessible and feasible, with no direct literacy issues present within the pilot. In a later interview with Restorative Gloucestershire, practitioners reflected on the accessibility and have designed adaptions for future runs, such as commissioning infographics and storyboards to go alongside the programme content. Though the population used for this research was 100% of the sample available, this sample may not be representative of the wider population and is therefore limited in scope for establishing its overall accessibility level. This said, the practitioners evoked a focus on establishing commonality with participants and creating an inclusive environment. Practitioners felt the importance of treated all participants with the same level of time and respect was important in establishing a good working relationship with participants, as well as increasing their confidence within the practitioners, the programme and themselves. O'Mahony (2012) raised concerns on the effects of restorative practices if power imbalances are in place, so for Restorative Gloucestershire to strive for this not to be the case reflects positive practice and overall aim and objectives of Restorative Reasoning.

# **Table 7: Fidelity and Implementation Key Findings**

#### **Successes**

- Restorative Reasoning focuses on the whole person with a focus on accountability
- Restorative Reasoning has a cognitive behavioural therapy underpinning, with Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners meeting the outcomes of the programme
- Prison X report correct implementation of using an external agency, with vetting and DBS checks, security and ACCTs training
- Practitioners diminished power imbalances to establish effective delivery
- Restorative Reasoning presented as adaptable to the prison regime
- Reflections in Restorative Reasoning's fidelity in producing referrals to Restorative Gloucestershire for further engagement

#### **Challenges**

- Will Restorative Reasoning be replicable in a different setting e.g. a different prison, with a differing population, or with different practitioners leading the programme
- Though this research sample is 100% of the available sample for Restorative Reasoning, the programme itself was limited to one wing of one prison, and is not reflective of a wider population, however provides valuable insight
- Practitioners were provided training by Prison X, but this could have been more extensive to increase confidence and knowledge on the prison
- Delays to *Restorative Reasoning* implementation occurred due to external factors within Prison X such as staff shortages, education timetable cross-overs and delays

Table 7 summaries the key findings for the implementation of *Restorative Reasoning* and its fidelity, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. Practitioners from Restorative Gloucestershire implemented cognitive behaviour therapy underpinnings within the course content, which positively aided the delivery, participant accountability and outcomes of the programme. Prison X staff also reported correct implementation for Restorative Gloucestershire as an external agency, with practitioners undergoing vetting and DBS checks beforehand, as well as security and keys training, and training for ACCTSs. However, the data indicates this training could have benefitted from being more extensive, all stakeholders in Restorative Reasoning. Practitioners worked to ensure power imbalances between them and participants were diminished, aside from normal relationships between prisoner and staff. Restorative Gloucestershire also had to overcome further challenges as an external agency within the prison which the literature points to as commonplace (Warr. 2008; Bosworth, 2017). Practitioners also had to overcome the prison regime and ways of working, with delays; staff shortages and timetable crossovers effecting the pilots implementation, and had limited sample access for the pilot by being limited to one wing within Prison X. This limited the pilots scope in terms of wider implementation with a larger sample size.

**Table 8: External Confounding Factors Key Findings** 

The Prison Regime

Lack of Resources

Administration

Demanding Nature of Programme

COVID-19

#### Successes

- Positive process with adaption to the prison regime
- Restorative Reasoning is comparative to other restorative prison based programmes such as REMEDI and CONNECT
- Restorative Gloucestershire access to resources which enables arts and crafts for the programme which was positive for engagement
- Admin which presented in form of ACCTs was completed appropriately and as confidentially as possible, with a person-centred focus

#### Challenges

- Prison regime limited the scope and accessibility of Restorative Reasoning, with timetables and restrictions resulting in 3 non-completions
- Lack of access to resources was an issue within Prison X, and staff shortages had impact of suspended all education
- ACCTs were found to be time consuming and an extra strain on facilitators, with concerns raised around confidentiality for women
- The nature of delivering Restorative Reasoning was found to be demanding on the Restorative Gloucestershire facilitators, exploring options of training Restorative Gloucestershire volunteers to disperse the work load amongst the hub
- COVID-19 impacted some of the process of Restorative Reasoning, with a complete prison lockdown since March 2020

Table 8 summaries the key findings for external factors of *Restorative Reasoning* that impacted its overall process, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. The prison regime served as a limiting factor to piloting in a prison setting, with delays and restrictions in resources as well as three non-completions. However, *Restorative Reasoning* posed as an adaptable programme, with practitioners ensuring all course content was covered to ensure participant understanding and satisfaction. The lack of resources available to the pilot due to limited funding and the prison environment, but programme aims were still met and participants successfully used arts and crafts to create end products to take away from the final session, a positive reflection as Bara and Stebbins (2017) note the use of arts as a widespread practice within the prison system. In part in its implementation, *Restorative Reasoning* was affected by the introduction of ACCTs for some participants, to be completed by Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners. Practitioners reported this as part of the

fatiguing experience of delivering within prison, and raised issues around its confidentiality. This said, the data reflects empowering practices, where conversations were had with the prisoners about their engagement and mental health, rather than about them, to ensure they felt involved and happy with this person-centred approach. The biggest overall external factor for *Restorative Reasoning* was COVID-19, which in turn restricted the overall pilot in terms of its outcomes due to national and prison lockdown. The HM Chief Inspector of Prisons report (2020) demonstrates that catastrophic impact COVID-19 has had on the prison population, with severely restricted regimes and lack of all formal education and rehabilitation. The data from Prison X reveals some of the extent the women have been effected by changes to their day to day lives. This is disheartening for those in prisons during this time, and had limited Restorative Gloucestershire further work with participants and any follow up meetings from Restorative Reasoning. The permanence of any positive attitudinal and behavioural changes in participants may have been severely hindered by these restrictions, but this data is not known.

# 4.7 Summary of Process

The first objective is to 'To evaluate and select an appropriate and recognised method of analysis for a case study of restorative practice intervention in a prison'. QUALIPREV will allow for specific points to be analysed (Rummens et al, 2016), following the adaption of Hobson et al (2018). The second objective of the research is to 'To implement an evaluation of the impact of Restorative Gloucestershire's work within the chosen prison'. This process evaluation has outlined Restorative Reasoning's effective design and implementation within Prison X, with the programme meeting its learning objectives and receiving positive feedback. The process evaluation found Restorative Reasoning to be adaptable to external factors that could hinder the process, and maintained high participation and retention throughout the six-weeks.

The next chapter will outline the outcome evaluation for *Restorative Reasoning* in line with the overall research aim of *evaluating the effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire*'s post-sentencing work in prisons.

# Chapter Five: Outcome Evaluation

#### 5.1 Introduction

The outcome evaluation indicates the impact and bearing of Restorative Reasoning, with Rummens et al (2016) stating that the outcome analysis refers to the 'evaluation of the short and long-term effects of the prevention project' (p35). The outcome analysis will be formed from the following key indicators: changes to offending behaviour; victimisation; changes in attitude towards offending behaviour; development of social skills; and cost-benefit analysis.

The following outcome themes have been identified, in line with the QUALIPREV key indicators: (re)offending rates; changes in attitudes towards offending behaviour; development of social skills with Restorative Reasoning; cost-benefit analysis of Restorative Reasoning.

This outcome evaluation outlines the impact of an intervention, with Rummens et al (2016, p22-23) stating social prevention interventions should have an explicit aim to impact long-term structural economic and social factors. Beech and Chauhan (2013) researched the outcomes of a programme across 7 prisons in England and Wales and found positive and reflective participant outcomes, such as motivation to change behaviour and a higher level of accountability for the harm participants caused. This study was found to be limited in its outcomes, with short-term effects recorded (Beech and Chauhan, 2013), limiting the scope of the known longevity of these positive changes. Bergseth and Bouffard (2007) investigated the long-term impacts of restorative programmes within youth offending, and found positive outcomes up to 3 years post-referral, but noted that research with even longer follow-up times and larger samples are needed to investigate how long desired restorative justice outcomes last. The importance of establishing the outcomes of *Restorative Reasoning* are reflected within the literature, with the scope of known outcomes limited.

# 5.2 (Re)Offending Rates

Rummens et al (2016) states that the impact on offending rates for social prevention schemes, which can be exceedingly difficult to ascertain, should be measured as 'self reported' (p2). *Restorative Reasoning* as a pilot did not have self-report methods, instead, reflective evaluation forms assessed:

any previous experience with restorative work;

- if *Restorative Reasoning* had changed any pre-existing views or perceptions towards restorative work;
- and the expectations of Restorative Reasoning and the impact it has had on behaviour for the participants.

The researcher recognises the outcomes of *Restorative Reasoning* are hard to acknowledge due to restrictions such as prison lockdowns and 4 prisoners being released before the end of the programme. With this said, 5 restorative justice referrals into Restorative Gloucestershire have been generated from participants of the programme so far, which indicates the programme outcomes are successful and that the programme has generated the participants to start thinking about their behaviours and repairing damage in relationships, as well as a clear sign of victim empathy for wanting an restorative justice intervention through Restorative Gloucestershire.

"5 referrals which is a really good take out rate... only 5% of the prison population is from Gloucestershire... 40% hit rate" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

It is important to note that Restorative Gloucestershire is restricted in the referrals it can take in, due to funding, which means the cases must link to the local area. This is an important consideration when assessing programmes in prisons, especially with female estates in England and Wales, in which there are limited numbers meaning local connections for prisoners may be diminished. This may result in women struggling to find services and support both within prison and in communities.

Where referrals have not been able to go forward with Restorative Gloucestershire, facilitation to similar organisations has taken place to ensure the participants of *Restorative Reasoning* can continue to work and develop themselves and repair harm. Referrals are a positive indication of *Restorative Reasoning* displaying positive outcomes in terms of more constructive behaviours and ways of thinking, as well as reduced chances of reoffending with engagement in restorative justice to further their rehabilitation specifically.

Supporting data from Restorative Gloucestershire interviews can be seen in the following:

"I'm quite surprised how well that group of women were about to talk about their feelings openly in a group and even talk about their offences" (interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"Changed attitudes to each other and in relationships... we have some great outcomes...An issue, can be a bit of an issue in the programme, and the money is just being used for all the work that we're doing is just aimed at offenders and later victims are involved. But our faith is to do that by working where the offenders, you're actually reducing the amount of victims going to be created in the future" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"Shows that there's been a huge impact on them, and huge development of empathy and another understanding of how they have impacted other people's lives" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"You're actually reducing the amount of victims going to be created in the future... huge development of empathy" (interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Data from interviews also supported changes in participant behaviour, displaying more victim empathy compared to the start of the course, with Restorative Gloucestershire providing a space for the participants to talk openly and safely about their emotions, experiences and offences. This is supported by the evaluation forms, which gave insight into the participants reflections on *Restorative Reasoning* and what it meant to them:

"I am now more aware of how my actions impact other people... it has made me think before I act as my behaviour may affect people around me"

"I feel that I can now talk about my feelings in a group with other, I hate public but I now feel more confident"

"I now have a better understanding of how my actions have impacted on my family and friends... I had never heard of it [Restorative Reasoning] before so was unsure what to expect but doing this has helped me to open up more and understand my families thoughts and feelings more"

"It has helped me a lot and helped me to have skills I can put into daily life... It has made me realise my behaviour wasn't correct and how to change it safely"

This is in line with Shapland's (2004; 2009) suggestion that adult offenders have differing needs and issues that need to be considered throughout whilst developing a restorative project, where these needs will need to be met. *Restorative Reasoning* evaluation forms have displayed that all (nine) had a positive experience with the programme, and had behaviours challenged resulting in more positive behaviours and recognition of harm caused by the participants, such as family members, children and friends. Throughout the programme, the participants were openly able to discuss as a group, which is beneficial as encouraging conversation and discourse between prisoners is a further benefit of teaching restorative approaches within a prison, with Newell (2002) arguing that restorative practices can be introduced as the best way to deal with internal conflict within a prison, such as between prisoners or between prisoners and staff.

Wallace and Wylie (2013) state that hierarchies are present within the prison system, and that an environment where restorative approaches are in place and based on principles of respect are used to aid conflict and tension. This could result in restorative prisons which encourage prisoners to acknowledge the impact their actions have had; though this supposed to be a pre-existing aim of prisons (Wallace & Wylie, 2013). Wood (2015) highlights that research on the ability of restorative justice in reducing reoffending has been growing since 1980s, with many limited by the selection process leading to systematic reviews, with wider meta-studies concluding support for the reduction of recidivism.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that a reduction in recidivism for those who partake in restorative justice or practice programmes within prison, may not lead to direct reductions in levels of imprisonment (Wood, 2015), with evidence cross-culturally as well as from the UK, finding restorative justice is used predominately in youth justice and for less serious offences (Daly and Hayes, 2001; Dignan and Marsh, 2001; Shapland et al, 2006; Cunneen and White, 2006; Dzur, 2011; Greene, 2013; Larsen, 2014). A notable Canadian study by Bonta et al (2002) found a sizeable reduction in recidivism 3 years after engaging in restorative approaches, with a reoffending rate of 35% compared to 66%. This study is important as it concluded only 12% of those engaging with restorative justice met with victims of their crime, which is a critical reflection to have within this research, as the importance of preventative restorative work is highlighted, rather than the reactive response to a crime being committed.

The value in restorative practice, and the content covered by *Restorative Reasoning* such as: internal locus of control and addressing offending behaviour, can be seen to relate to the existing literature and the need for restorative approaches to be more widely used to prevent crimes and harm from occurring in the first place, in which then has wider meta-value. Due to not having specific re-offending rates after completion of Restorative Reasoning, it is incomparable to some research assessing similar restorative prison-based programmes (Berman, 2004; Joy Tong & Farrington, 2007).

# 5.3 Changes in Attitudes

Data from the interviews has also been collated to assess changes to behaviour throughout the *Restorative Reasoning* programme:

"There's been a huge impact on them [participants]... huge development of empathy... there are not adequate courses for the amount of prisoners that need them" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"She feels bad about it. Wants to make amends. I also think she wants to talk a bit about what got her there as well" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"I would never have the courage to open up about how I first started using wouldn't be strong enough to be able to hear how it's affecting my family if I hadn't met you amazing guys and done your course. I am stronger and more focused and more committed than ever to stay clean and in recovery" (Interview 6, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Interviews with Restorative Gloucestershire revealed that the practitioners who designed and delivered the course recognised the impact the course had on the participants across the weeks, with increases in empathy being fundamental. An argument around victim empathy and forgiveness is strong within the literature (Van Ness, 2007; Day, Gerace, Wilson & Howells, 2008; Baglivio & Jackowski, 2015; Narvey, Yang, Wolff, Baglivio, Piquero, 2020), with it being noted that rehabilitation is effective where there is a safe environment to express often-inhibited negative emotions that can secondarily lead to remorse or self-forgiveness (Cantacuzino, 2019). *Restorative Reasoning* can be seen to present this element with the programme, due to its focus on healthy relationships and a focus on the self through restorative practice, presented in an accessible and obtainable way for

participants working on their rehabilitation. Data supporting this can be seen from the evaluation forms, completed by the participants at the end of the *Restorative Reasoning* programme:

"I had never heard of it [Restorative Reasoning] before so was unsure what to expect but doing this has helped me to open up more and understand my families thoughts and feelings more"

"It has helped me a lot and helped me to have skills I can put into daily life... It has made me realise my behaviour wasn't correct and how to change it safely"

"Definitely has made me think differently. More positively. Yes it has impacted [me] because now I think before I talk, I never used to"

These quotes demonstrate the impact that *Restorative Reasoning* had on some participants, with a clear recognition of behaviour changes due to the programme and the skill sets that were built upon through restorative practice. A common theme within the evaluation forms was the increase in confidence for the prisoners, which is a positive outcome of the programme as building confidence and self-esteem within prisoners can be vital, with low self-esteem and confidence being associated closely with psychological distress, antisocial behaviour and enhanced mental health issues (Baumeister, 1998; Trzeniewski et al, 2006; Debowska, Boduszek and Sherrets, 2016). Literature also points towards a relationship between high self-esteem and positive personal traits, with individuals having high self-esteem displaying characteristics such as psychological maturity, calmness and realism, and great ability in bearing disappointment and failure.

This is important to note, as the timing of *Restorative Reasoning* should align with prisoners actively wanting to engage with rehabilitation within their prison sentence and therefore encouraging and building confidence and self-esteem and enhancing such positive personality traits may be vital to offender behaviour change and rehabilitation. This is supported by the data from Restorative Gloucestershire:

"So in terms of their reoffending, would it reduce it? Might it make them think twice? I think it has the potential to because I think people have, they've taken something from it, they now know what restorative is, they know recognise, say, for example, the difference between their offence, their behaviours and them as

a whole person... I think you could have it probably at any point during the sentence, probably I would suggest midway or towards the end" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"We had some good outcomes from both of those, I wouldn't say we changed their lives, but we certainly changed attitudes to each other and in relationships and what they were doing themselves" (Interview 4, Restorative Gloucestershire)

It is also important to note that Restorative Reasoning's outcomes within a prison setting appear to be effective within the prison environment in offender behaviour change, more so compared to a community setting, in which it has previously been piloted:

"Our first pilot was in the community. And we had 12 people actually sign up to it. And by the second sessions...we're down to two" (Interview 3, Restorative Gloucestershire)

It is important to be critical of the outcomes of a restorative practice programme within a prison setting, as the prisons aims of rehabilitation can often be entangled in the reality of being a prisoner, though Taylor et al (2017) concluding that prison and through the gate services still need attention, with similar findings to Scott (2016, cited in Taylor, 2017) of "dehabilitation" resulting in difficulties in offending behaviour. Data from the prison activity manager supports that though *Restorative Reasoning* showed positive initial behaviour changes within the participants, it is hard to know how imperative the course is in the long-term:

"I believe as the programme stands, it could be a contributory factor for reducing poor behaviour but unsure if alone it would have that effect" (Interview 5, Prison X)

Research from similar prison based restorative programmes such as the Sycamore Tree which runs in both male and female estates within the UK, found that a demand of compensation (relationship of victim & offender) does not resolve anything, and in fact adds to conflict and can exacerbate existing problems further (Brigg, Chadwick and Griggers, 2015). *Restorative Reasoning* instead focuses on healing and restoration of relationships, but too the outcomes were hard to measure in terms of attitudinal change, due to difficulties

in follow-ups when prisoner when they are released into the community. This makes assessment of long-term successes hard to establish, with further follow ups needed to allow for a wider scope of insight from prisoners. These follow ups are needed to establish if there had been an impact on the animosities and tensions experienced by prisoners when released and reintegrating back into the community with family and other stakeholders. It is proposed in the literature that the model needs to be adapted to this transition into the community and the needs that need to be accommodated within this transition and settlement (Brigg, Chadwick and Griggers, 2015).

In conclusion, changes in attitudinal behaviours can be seen from the outcomes of Restorative Reasoning, with the QUALIPREV process acknowledging that social crime prevention schemes may often be 'an indicator of whether or not the targeted offending behaviour is less of a viable action alternative post intervention' (Rummens et al, 2016, p. 23). Supporting data from Restorative Gloucestershire, Prison X and the participants of Restorative Reasoning has pointed towards Restorative Reasoning being an effective tool for changes in behaviour, at least initially, with increases in self-esteem and confidence and active participation that have all contributed to positive behaviour changes for participants of Restorative Reasoning. Limitations in this instance, appear in the lack of follow ups in the changes in attitude from the participants. Due to participants of the programme leaving prison before the end, alongside the lockdown of the prison and suspension of education, the outcomes of Restorative Reasoning were hard to follow. This makes evaluation difficult, as it can be said to be unclear from the current outcomes how effective Restorative Reasoning is in the short-term compared to the long-term, and if these positive changes in behaviour will continue for the participants when they are in the community, or in other pathways such as using restorative practice for relationships, workplaces, education.

Without following up with participants, it is also hard to know the outcomes due to the facilitation of emotions throughout restorative practices, with Rossner (2008) arguing that collective emotions can lead to emotional and behavioural transformation, and that power balance, turning points and public displays of solidarity are often associated with positive behavioural changes and reductions of reoffending. Therefore, it cannot be concluded there are concrete attitudinal changes in the participants of Restorative Reasoning, as though they may display 'turning points', no measure was used to assess these changes in the long-term. Restorative Gloucestershire did measure participant progress record which reflected positive attitudinal changes weekly, but this was to be completed by Restorative Gloucestershire facilitators, at the end of each *Restorative Reasoning* session and therefore has limited insight.

# 5.4 Increase and Development of Social Skills

With this said, it was concluded that *Restorative Reasoning* had a positive change for the prisoners who engaged, an increase in social skills was also recognised, with relationships being the biggest change in behaviour:

"Yes I do [believe restorative work can aid other aspects of prisoners lives], most significantly relationships with all those around them" (Interview 5, Prison X)

Additionally, a development in social skills in terms of leadership skills being developed as part of group work within the programme, with Restorative Gloucestershire facilitating participants to engage with the group and deliver tasks:

"These women do self-regulate, talk to each other about respect responsibility, when you remind them to... And some of them I think have proven to be really key to actually assist others in teaching the course" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"They've been talking about things that quite emotional for them. I think we're women in prison are more guarded and protect themselves more than maybe people do when they're in the community" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"We did notice was quite a few interesting things about leadership skills coming out where you may not expect them so when you have somebody out in the group, what Paul and I try to do is to get right, okay, well, they're obviously capable to do more here, let's get them to lead a task" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

These findings are in line with the purpose of a restorative practice programme, meeting Griffiths et al (2016) definition of restorative practice: it can be used anywhere to build and restore relationships, prevent and repair conflict by enabling people to communicate effectively and positively; and can be used formally or informally. They also relate back to

Cullen et al's (1999) theory which defines positive social support as the provision of affective resources through intimate relationships (p190). Masson and Österman (2019) concluded that restorative work with women may be more heartfelt and consist of more dialogic, and overall point towards the restorative process being "particularly beneficial to female participants" compared to male counterparts due to gendered conditioning and traditional social norms resulting in women being more accustomed to a more emotional gender identity. With the primary focus of restorative practice being the formation and restoration of relationships, restorative programmes based in prison have been found to assist the development of social skills and aid individuals into reintegration in a productive and nonharmful manner (Cohen, 2010). This is an important reflection to consider, with Goulding, Hall and Steels (2008) stating not only do prisons destroy law abiding networks, they often build anti-social networks, and when a prisoner is released from prison, many previous prosocial contacts have been lost and have been replaced with anti-social networks built up during the period of incarceration. This is an important consideration to have when looking at restorative practice within an environment such as a prison, as the unwritten rules of such an environment may have bearing on the impact of a programme such as Restorative Reasoning and its outcomes such as increases in social skills.

RESTORE, a similar restorative practice programme in UK prisons, has been described as having a specific tone and content to help offenders change their thought processes within a CJS setting, rather than being "scared straight" (Canatacuzino, 2019). It is important to note that though similar to Restorative Reasoning, RESTORE has both male and female specific programmes, with Adler and Mir (2012) concluding it encouraged a greater awareness of victims and victim empathy; and attitude changes such as the value of anger and revenge, the value of forgiveness, motivation and positive thinking (Straub, 2013; Edwards, 2013; The Forgiveness Project, 2020).

An analysis of The Sycamore Project, another similar prison based restorative programme, also found significant positive attitudinal change in key areas of victim empathy and the anticipation of future offending (Feasey and Williams, 2009), though this programme does focus on restorative justice rather than practice and therefore has a focus on victim awareness and understanding the impact of crime. This type of course very much has a place within prisons, with victimhood being at the centre of rehabilitation, but a need for a proactive focus on restorative practice may be very beneficial to allow for prisoners to explore the impacts of behaviour in a context outside of their specific offence. With this said, prisons are difficult environments to instigate attitudinal changes such as development of

social skills due to entrenched social and economic interests as proposed by Dhamia, Mantle and Fox (2009).

# 5.5 Cost-effectiveness of Restorative Reasoning

The cost effectiveness of Restorative Reasoning is being assessed following Rummens et al. (2016) who states that comparing the "strengths and weaknesses of a prevention project" (p35) provides important information for evaluating a project such as Restorative Reasoning. The direct cost effectiveness has a financial value, such as money or time saved, with indirect being a wider social benefit and value of the programme, complimentary to system level evaluation proposed by Latimier and Kleinknect (2000). Cost effectiveness of prevention projects and programmes is important as it reflects the value of restorative work within prisons, with Braithwaite and Gohar (2014) concluding high cost-effectiveness in restorative justice interventions, with Shapland et al (2008) and benefits of restorative justice exceed costs by 8:1, implying significant savings within the criminal justice system could be made. Nevertheless, Gavrielides (2016) argues that restorative work is a costly process and excludes and disregards the voluntary nature of these third sector services, which are not conducted for profit but for breaching the gap in public service provision, which is seen across the UK, Netherlands and France. This implies the assessment of cost-effectiveness to be necessary, with the estimated cost of reoffending being up to £15 billion a year (Ministry of Justice, 2016). The UK government also argues that the savings of 8:1 should be diminished, as it does not take account of differing levels of cost and effectiveness across several types of offences and only relates to a victim-offender mediation (Ministry of Justice, 2016).

Restorative Reasoning was financially limited due to the nature of it being a pilot programme within the prison, after an initial pilot within the community. The length of the sessions was limited by the prison regime, which reflects the limitations of rehabilitation within prisons:

"We're limited by the prison regime... we can't run the sessions for longer" (Interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

This is a key point to discuss, as it would be beneficial to know the impact of the prison regime across the board in restricting rehabilitation, rather than the selected prison used for this research. A report Ministry of Justice (2016) stated that there is a huge variation in the cost of running prisons, with a mismatch between what is available to prisoners and what is needed, with an environment that is "inflexible" and "poor value for money" (p58). As

rehabilitation is an aim of prison, it should be expected that all prisoners are given the same opportunities and equal opportunity to learn at their own pace, encouraging the accessibility of programmes. Bullock and Bunce (2018) found that prisoners perspectives on prison rehabilitation is not reflected in practice across England and Wales, with regime restraints putting prisoners in marginalised positions when it comes to their rehabilitation, stating: "any prisoners who wish to take control of their own rehabilitation face numerous practical barriers" (p12).

With this said, *Restorative Reasoning* had the benefit of being adaptable to the prison regime, with the sessions being spread over a longer period due to prison lockdowns, with Restorative Gloucestershire ensuring the programme content was covered within the sessions they had, to ensure the pre-planned sessions were delivered to a high quality. Data from the prison and Restorative Gloucestershire reflected that the pilot was in fact cost effective for a pilot with the following attributing factors:

- Space within the prison to deliver the programme was provided by Prison X cost save for Restorative Gloucestershire
- The nature of Restorative Reasoning being a pilot resulted in low costs for Prison X

Data from interviews reflects that though there were low costs associated with running Restorative Reasoning, the value of the course may need some consideration. The space provided by the prison had its own limitations:

"We need we could have done with more physical space so yeah, there's sort of logistical bits and pieces... we had a room not much bigger than this" (Interview 2, Restorative Gloucestershire)

"We have a classroom and a toilet but that toilet has no lock and opens directly into the classroom... the women's needs are tied in with the logistics of the prison" (interview 1, Restorative Gloucestershire)

The space provided by the prison for the classroom was small in size, which accommodated 13 prisoners and the 2 members of Restorative Gloucestershire staff delivering the course. The size of the room was limiting in terms of the space provided to the prisoners, with space and resources needed to aid the arts and crafts used within the programme. The room was equipped with a toilet, so Restorative Gloucestershire did not have to gatekeep and take prisoners back to their wing to use the bathroom, but it did raise issues of dignity and

respect of the participants for Restorative Gloucestershire throughout the sessions due to the toilet opening up into the room with no lock, which is a common theme reflected within literature around prison restrictions (Austin and Hardyman, 2004; Morgan, Van Horn, MacLean and Bauer, 2019). This reflection of inadequate space and resources for a restorative practice programme is important to note, a possible reflection of the wider issue of funding and resources within prisons in still ever-present England and Wales. This relates to the practical, economic and ethical issues of prison architecture and the role it plays in the performance, and the effect it is having on rehabilitation and value for money (Karathaus, Block and Hu, 2019), and should be considered when establishing value for money, or cost-effectiveness of a prison-based programme.

Data from the prison indicated that the initial outcome of the programme is sufficient, but the scope and long-term impacts of the programme, or the programme in conjunction with other rehabilitation or education programmes, is not yet apparent:

"I believe as the programme stands, it could be a contributory factor for reducing poor behaviour but unsure if alone it would have that effect" (Interview 5, Prison X)

"You have to you have to think about it the potential for a lifetime offending imprisonment and everything else. You have to think about how long it takes to deliver. I do think it's cost effective and if it if it stops sort of one / two people in a group in their tracks in terms of re-offending, then that would have saved an awful lot of money... so I think you know if you worked out if it if the prevented any re-offending then any savings to the criminal justice system would be massive" (Interview 5, Restorative Gloucestershire)

Data shared from Restorative Gloucestershire revealed estimated costs of delivery of Restorative Reasoning, cost of resources to be used within Restorative Reasoning and the establishment and preparation of *Restorative Reasoning* can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9: Estimated cost of Restorative Reasoning

Restorative Reasoning = 24 hours duration	Approx. £1000
through 2 x member of staff from	
Restorative	
Gloucestershire	
Costs of resources	£250
Establishment and preparation time of	Approx. £1500
Restorative Reasoning = 100 hours	

Source: Rees (2021) complied from Restorative Gloucestershire estimates

Ministry of Justice state the 2018/19 figures show that in England and Wales:

- The average direct cost per prisoner in was £26,133 but taking into account all resource expenditure the overall cost per prisoner was £39,385.31
- The average direct cost per prison place in was £28,088 but taking into account all resource expenditure the overall cost per place was £39,922 (Sturge, 2020).

Costs associated with prisons programmes have seen to fall victim to shrinking budgets, resulting in prison governors having to weigh up activities, especially those that can fall under education, to see if programmes are affordable and in line with prisoner needs (Czerniawski, 2015; Piper, Forrester and Shaw, 2019). Financial restrictions can be seen to be a reflection of top-down processes within the UK, thought the literature does note that there were significant cost savings from RJ through a reduction in frequency of reconviction, up to 14% when taking into account differences between groups (Shapland et al., 2008; Shapland et al., 2011) which would imply the argument that restorative based work has not only positive results (Restorative Justice Council, 2010), but would have a financial gain for the criminal justice system.

In conclusion, it can be seen *Restorative Reasoning* is a cost-effective programme as it has low estimated overall cost of £2750, which includes facilitation and delivery of the programme, cost of resources and preparation time. The programme can be said to have been financially limited to start with, due to the nature of it being a pilot programme, and with Prison X providing the space for Restorative Gloucestershire to facilitate the programme. An issue faced for *Restorative Reasoning* was the fact it had to adapt and fit in to the prison regime, with limited time and sessions, and therefore Restorative Gloucestershire had to

ensure all the content was covered within this time, and though this is a positive reflection on their adaptability, it may not translate the cost-effectiveness of the programme. With this said, it is also not known if *Restorative Reasoning* can be cost-effective for its aims, as a stand-alone programme. *Restorative Reasoning* compliments offender rehabilitation well, and has shown positive outcomes, but due to the nature of this being a first pilot run, it is hard to predict the cost-effectiveness of the course alongside its longevity.

# 5.6 Key findings from Outcome

In summary, the strengths experienced for outcome was that *Restorative Reasoning* was that it met its learning outcomes, had a positive impact on participants behaviours and attitudes towards themselves, those closest to them, their victims, and the wider impact of offending. It was also faced with a multitude of factors which in turn, effected the outcomes seen for participants, Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X. Tables 10, 11, 12 and 3 below presents the summarised key findings from Outcome of Restorative Reasoning:

#### Table 10: Re)Offending Rates Key Finings

#### **Successes**

- At least 5 referrals to Restorative Gloucestershire for restorative justice interventions / conferences
- Restorative Gloucestershire were able to facilitate referrals on to other partner agencies, where they could not take a referral
- There was a clear display in change in behaviours for participants, with a recognition of wider impact of their offending and increases in victim empathy, data seen from both Restorative Gloucestershire and participant feedback
- Participants had positive outcomes such as increases in confidence which is in line with criminogenic needs
- Comparable results compared to the literature

#### **Challenges**

- Restorative Gloucestershire were not able to take all referrals due to restraints in place such as financial and geographical
- No follow up data available to ensure longevity of positive changes in participants

Table 10 summaries the key findings from (re)offending rates as an outcome of Restorative Reasoning, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. To date, five separate referrals into Restorative Gloucestershire from participants of the pilot have been done, with participants wanting to further their restorative work and addressing harm caused and relationships. Where referrals could not be taken by Restorative Gloucestershire, such as the participant being out of county upon release from prison, Restorative Gloucestershire facilitated onward referrals to other applicable restorative working agencies. These referrals lead to more intensive, one to one work, around offending and the harm that has come from it, through Circles McCloud and Watchel (2003; Fortune, Thompson, Pedlar and Yuen, 2010; Ferdous, Khan and Dulal, 2018). Overall, the positive feedback from both practitioners and participants indicates the pilots potential for behaviour change. This said, the pilot is limited in its scope, and a long-term exploration of these effects could be beneficial to explore.

#### **Table 11: Changes in Attitude Key Finings**

#### **Successes**

- A clear development in victim empathy from the participants of Restorative Reasoning
- Positive participant feedback reflected individuals were able to 'open up' in a safe space
- Feedback from Restorative Gloucestershire states Restorative Reasoning should be most effective in a mid-to-end of an individuals sentence, to ready them for reintegration into the community
- More successful that first run, community based pilot of Restorative Reasoning
- Comparable changes in attitudes to other prison based programmes such as Sycamore Tree.

# Challenges

- More positive and evident changes in attitudes compared to first run community pilot, but prison based programmes can be effected by a 'dehabilitative environment' and non-voluntary aspect of imprisonment
- Lack of follow up data and therefore, long-term attitudinal changes within participants is unknown

Table 11 summaraises the key findings from participants change in attitude as an outcome of Restorative Reasoning, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. The data revealed participants had clear development of victim empathy across the six-week course. Practitioners were able to create an environment that served as a safe and empowering space, for participants to open up about their emotions and the effects on relationships their behaviours have had on themselves and those around them. These positive results are comparable to other programme results, which is indicative of *Restorative Reasoning* meeting its aims. Practitioners also feel this pilot would sit well within an individuals mid-to-end point of a prison sentence, to serve as a framework of application to take forward into the community for reintegration purposes, and there were reflections around the increase in this positive outcome, compared to *Restorative Reasoning* initial pilot run which first launched in the community and had much higher drop-out rates and lower retention week to week. This said, the scope of change in attitudes for participants is not clear, and longitudinally could be established, and factors that may be impacting these outcomes such as the individual practitioners, or the dehabilitative environment of prison are unclear.

# Table 12: Increased / Development of Social Skills Key Finings

#### **Successes**

- An increase and / or development in social skills had a positive impact on how participants viewed their relationships
- Social skills built between participants in sessions, with Restorative Gloucestershire noting development in leadership skills in some, which is positive for relationships within the prison setting as well as when participants reintegrate in the community

# Challenges

- The prison environment had an effect on development or increase in social skills as participants presented as having up a 'guard'
- Similar results found in *Restorative Reasoning* to other prison based programmes and is therefore considered analogous

Table 12 summaries the key findings from participants increased or development of social skills, as an outcome of Restorative Reasoning, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. The data presented a clear increase and development in social skills for participants, with increased self-worth, confidence and improved public speaking reported in the evaluations. Practitioners were also able to identify participants within the group who presented well, to encourage them to lead some tasks and activities within the Restorative Reasoning sessions. This reportedly improved the group dynamic, encouraged conversation between participants and broke down barriers, to increase their social skills. However, it is again noted that the prison environment may be having an effect on participants, a known issue within criminal justice system especially women (Crewe, Hulley & Wright, 2017) having their guard up. Laws (2019) explored prisoner emotional suppression, and found female prisoners relayed an employment of a variety of imagery to explain how they pushed down their emotions, including fluid containment 'You're almost like a kettle, you're waiting to boil, but you're suppressing everything' (page 567); and dissociation '[you] just do the zombie thing and go through the motions...rather than dealing with the actual emotions' (page 567). This highlights that the environment and overall system of rehabilitation is not meeting the needs of these individuals, with Wooditch, Tang, and Taxman (2014) exploring which of the criminogenic needs is most important and found though antisocial cognition and criminal thinking is a core criminogenic need, this need was not being met effectively. Wooditch, Tang, and Taxman (2014) proposes this is due to it taking individuals longer to change in this area or that certain criminogenic need areas are more amenable to change at specific times than others. Redevelopment of the overall prison environment may be beneficial to create a more therapeutic environment for significant attitudinal change within prisoners.

#### **Table 13: Cost Effectiveness Key Finings**

#### **Successes**

Though there were time / prison regime restraints in place, Restorative
Gloucestershire ensured all content of Restorative Reasoning was delivered to
meet aims Restorative Reasoning can be deemed cost effective due to the space
used being provided by the prison, the nature of the pilot had low costs of
approximately £2750

# Challenges

- Restorative Reasoning was financially limited due to being a pilot run of the programme, and therefore was limited in the recourses it could use and access for both Restorative Gloucestershire and participants in the programme
- Restorative Reasoning sessions were limited by the prison regime and its timings, which limited the time Restorative Gloucestershire had to deliver meaningful work
- Unsure if *Restorative Reasoning* is cost effective as a stand alone programme but complimentary of offender rehabilitation

Table 13 summaries the key findings for the cost effectiveness as an outcome of Restorative Reasoning, in line with Rummens et al (2016) key indicators. *Restorative Reasoning* is cost-effective in relation to its low costs of an estimated £2750 for its overall positive outcomes. Though the pilot did experience restricting factors such as time restraints for sessions and prison regime restraints around the room environment, confidentiality, delays to delivery and drop-out rates, the pilot met its aims and practitioners successfully met learning outcomes for the programme. Latimer and Kleinknect (2000) raise that indirect cost-effectiveness could be a wider social benefit and value for implemented programmes, while Gavridelides (2016) raises that these indirect costs such and time and effort may not often be accounted for. The data from Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners reported that designing and delivery of *Restorative Reasoning* was a time consuming process, and an exhaustive one due to the nature of delivery within a prison including travel. This said, insight from those working within Prison X noted *Restorative Reasoning* may be beneficial to costs where used complementary to offender rehabilitation.

# 5.7 Summary of Outcome

The first objective is to 'To evaluate and select an appropriate and recognised method of analysis for a case study of restorative practice intervention in a prison' with the second objective of the research 'To implement an evaluation of the impact of Restorative Gloucestershire's work within the chosen prison'. This outcome evaluation has outlined Restorative Reasoning's outcomes through following and encouraging changes in attitude, development in social skills and changes in reoffending such as development of victim empathy. The outcome evaluation found Restorative Reasoning to have been successfully deployed to produce outcomes, and to have a positive influence on participants, but the data remits do not allow for the longevity of this impact to be established.

The next chapter will outline the success and challenges of process and outcome for Restorative Reasoning in line with the overall research aim of 'evaluating the effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire's post-sentencing work in prisons' where themes have been established from the key indicators of QUALIPREV.

# Chapter Six: Successes and Challenges of Process and Outcome

#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the strengths and weaknesses of both the process of Restorative Reasoning, and its outcomes. Restorative Reasoning's aims and content were explored through circles, role play, short films and activities, and engaged female participants in exploring restorative approaches through differing mediums to address different learning styles, with the overall aim of creating referrals for Restorative Gloucestershire for restorative justice interventions. The chapter is divided into – themes complied from analysis, with delivery, approaches, empowerment and beyond the pilot being explored. Within each of these sections, strengths and challenges are both explored within the key indicators outlined by Rummens et al (2016). These themes were established through a commonality of issues identified by the research throughout and intertwined with the process and outcomes of Restorative Reasoning.

# 6.2 Delivery

The prison posed as challenging environment for a restorative programme implementation and delivery. The literature points towards rehabilitative cultures within prisons in England and Wales, though Mann, Fitzalan Howard and Tew (2018) argue that many aspects of being imprisoned are criminogenic and can encourage crime, with prison sentences separating an individual from their non-offending network, reducing employability, and adding to stigma and alienation. *Restorative Reasoning* was able to be implemented correctly within Prison X, and reached completion with some really positive insights from participants, and Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners ensured to adapt to this environment. Brunton-Smith and McCarthy (2016) highlight that the prison environment serves as a legitimate source of control for prisoners, who can feel obligated to obey rules, express moral value alignment with staff and believe in the existence of a core set of rules that are followed within the prison, all to be exercised through fair use of authority.

#### Implementation of Restorative Reasoning

In terms of the design and implementation of Restorative Reasoning, it is clear that there was a process in place with Prison X to ensure the practitioners were trained, as an external organisation coming into the prison environment. Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners underwent a Disclosure and Barring Services, as well as being individually vetted before coming into the prison. The prison then presented security talks and keys training, as well as

some training on Assessment, Care in Custody and Teamwork (ACCTs), which reflects appropriate protocols were followed for the implementation of Restorative Reasoning and appropriate safeguarding of stakeholders. This is beneficial to the working relationship between Restorative Gloucestershire and Prison X, with Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (2012; 2018) detailing a framework that outlines best practice in responding to safeguarding needs of prisons, with needs of care support and though this is not prescriptive, it can help to form the development of safeguarding arrangements in local prisons and similar settings. A further strength of this safeguarding was a risk assessment of potential participants before enrolment onto Restorative Reasoning. Though it is noted there were no specific restraints in place for enrolment onto the pilot, those with serious offences had to be approved by offender managers within the probation service, so it can be assumed there were a mix of offences present within the cohort of the pilot and subsequently a mixture of lived experiences. Probation are adhering to their role, as noted by Robinson and Raynor (2006), Burke & Collett (2010) and Tangen and Briah (2018). Nevertheless, it is unknown if probation did restrict any potential participants of the pilot, which raises the question of why someone may not be approved for a restorative programme, in which should be made available to everyone and is inclusive in its nature (Shapland, Robinson and Sorsby, 2011; Rossner, 2017). Banwell-Moore (2019) suggested that there is an institutional inertia combined with the culture, mechanisms and approaches adopted by criminal justice professionals, which can dictate participation in restorative approaches. Banwell-Moore (2019) further suggests that there is an ideal restorative justice victim, which may limit how proactive the work may be. The literature is vast with definitions of what restorative justice is, and paradoxically has widespread applications, and there is therefore disagreements as to how restorative approaches should be used (Vaandering, 2011). O'Mahony (2012, p90) states power imbalances, if left unchecked within the restorative process, stakeholders can be negatively affected by behaviours and responses. so caution should be taken within the implementation. Restorative Reasoning is a programme that is aims for inclusivity, and therefore limiting the scope for potential participants is ineffective of meeting the programmes design.

# Participation

A strength of *Restorative Reasoning* for the participation and retention key indicators, are the high retention rate with participants within Prison X, as well as the low non-completion rate from voluntary drop out. This is positive for *Restorative Reasoning* as notably, prison programme retention rates can be low, as shown within the literature (Brocato & Wagner, 2008; McMurran & Theodosi, 2007; Nielsen & Scarpitti, 2002; Wormith & Olver, 2002; Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2011). It was also evidenced that participation rates for *Restorative* 

Reasoning increased across its six weeks of delivery. Though this was a pilot run of the programme, with a limited population, this bauds well for future pilots or full runs of Restorative Reasoning. Similar participation and retention rate should be predicted if other variables are restrained and the variant factor is the population.

The non-completion for three participants, was due to factors outside of Restorative Gloucestershire's control, and did not reflect voluntary dropout rates. Two participants were released from custody before the end of the programme due to delays in delivery; and one participant starting a different educational programme due to overlap timetables from the delayed duration of Restorative Reasoning. These three non-completions therefore restrict the scope of the work done by Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners and the process indicators, and data from these three participants was not completed so the outcomes of the pilot such as changes in offending behaviour and reduction in reoffending, are limited. These reasons for non-completion are complementary to offender reasoning for drop-outs as found by Friendship; Blud; Erikson; Travers and Thornton (2003), which is a negative reflection as it is clear there are restricting factors in the prison environment and non-completion of programmes and courses within prisons is common. An evaluation of prisoner noncompletion rates by McMurran and McCulloch (2007) found that reconviction rates for those non-completions, was higher one year on compared to those who completed treatment. Themes for non-completions as identified by McMurran and McCulloch (2007) are as follows: lack of motivation; the timing of programme in prison sentence and its relatability; the demand level of the programme with some finding it too challenging and others not challenging enough; and the nature of group based work.

Practitioners were cautioned on average completion rates before the start of delivery, but this is still in these cases preventable if it was not for the prison regime constraints. Delays to the delivery of *Restorative Reasoning* caused its predicted end date to be delayed and subsequently overlapped with the start of other programmes within the prison, which if not to staff shortages which caused the education department to suspend, should not have occurred. This is a consideration for future runs of the programme, and was noted as a reflection from Restorative Gloucestershire within the data.

#### Culture

The overall prison environment can be argued to be based on power imbalances, reasoned by Warr (2008) and Bosworth (2017), especially for external organisations. It is noted by Crewe, Liebling and Hulley (2011) and Brunton-Smith and McCarthy (2016) that prison culture can be inherently affected by prison officers and staff, with notable differences for

private run prisons, with 'hands off' cultures relating to staff powerlessness including failures to provide basic safety and security within the prison. These structural phenomenon's and power imbalances between external agencies such as Restorative Gloucestershire and the participants, may have affected participation and engagement rates. However, practitioners were found to be adaptable to the prison environment, to allow for effective and proper implementation to take place, with reflections on establishing commonality between practitioner and participant, from the initial taster session and throughout. Nonetheless, there is no supporting data from the participants of *Restorative Reasoning* for this, and so this power imbalance or therefore lack of, is heard to measure and establish as a contributing factor. This should be considered at a wider level, on the limitations of presenting within a prison environment, especially when considering the level of voluntary participation within a prison setting which is seen to be a feature of a vast amount of prison programmes crossculturally such as Restorative Opportunities in Canada, victim-mediations in Belgium and Supporting Offenders through Restoration Inside, in Cardiff (Liebmann, 2010).

# 6.3 Approaches

Further strengths that were highlighted in the Restorative Reasoning pilot was the nature and approach in which it was delivered, to engage and support participants. Restorative Reasoning implemented arts and crafts into the weekly sessions, which served the purpose of engaging participants and giving them a project to work towards week by week. The use of arts and crafts can be seen to be beneficial to individual's mental health and served as a way to debrief participants. Bara and Stebbins (2017) highlight that artmaking in prison is widespread practice, and often referred to as creative arts therapy (CATs). CATs identified four main areas in which benefit participants: in-prison involvement; quality of life management; deemed educational; and deemed therapeutic (Bara & Stebbins, 2017), with Gussak (2017) noting that it can additionally reduce depression and increase socialisation and problem-solving skills. A critical evaluation of Scottish prisons and their learning contracts further reflected the benefits of arts within rehabilitation and education as a mediating tool, with results exhibiting a "discourse indicative of rehabilitative purposes is revealed claiming support from academic research demonstrating how music and art programmes offer participants a creative outlet [sic] have a positive impact on offenders" (Galloway, 2019, p73). This is all reflective of the positive influences art and its applications can have for offenders in this environment, indicating that art can be utilised as a tool to communicate through and convey emotions, which can be positively attributed alongside rehabilitation and retribution of harm.

The participant progress records as well as interview data positively support that the use of arts and crafts within *Restorative Reasoning* was viewed as a key benefit of enrolment on to the programme for participants. This valuable asset which allowed for a therapeutic release for participants whilst discussing emotive topics as well as serving as a continuous project to work on week by week. This strength is both supportive of, and reflective of the literature of use of arts within prisons (Marcus-Mendoza, 2004; Hughes and McLewin, 2005; Venable, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Erickson, 2008; Johnson, 2008; Sandoval, Baumgartner and Clark, 2015; Hance, 2016; Barak and Sebbins, 2017; Wilkinson and Caulfield, 2017). Seeker, Hacking, Spandler, Kent and Shenton (2009) who pieced evidence-based research on the use of arts for mental health and social inclusion, concluded that the use of art participation had the following outcomes and indicators:

- Improved mental health: indicated through increased levels in mental wellbeing; decreases in mental distress; decreased access to support services; reduced medication use
- Increased social inclusion: indicated through higher levels of social bonding; reduced levels of perceived stigma; higher levels of engagement with education and employment; neighbourhood safety and stability
- Distance travelled towards increased mental health and increased social inclusion: indicated through increases in confidence and self-esteem; enjoyment of arts participation; learning and skills gained; pride in work produced

Data was also reflective of the use of arts empowering self-efficacy for participants, similar to the findings of Seeker, Hacking, Spandler, Kent and Shenton (2009) who determined the use of arts was empowering; allowed for participants to connect with their abilities; self-expression; and allowed for time out. These conclusions are encouraging for *Restorative Reasoning* and reflects similar findings within this pilot as within the literature.

MacKenzie (2006) states that for rehabilitation, education is particularly important, with prisoners tending to be less educated and have fewer desirable and transferable skills, including high rates of illiteracy. *Restorative Reasoning* had no prominent literacy issues within the pilot, and adaptions are being made to ensure it is accessible to those of all levels of comprehension. It can be evidenced there were few challenges with literacy issues within *Restorative Reasoning* is in contrast to the literature, which presents literacy issues being a noticeable issue across prisons in England and Wales (Dawe, 2007; Davis et al, 2013; Prison Reform Trust, 2013; Creese, 2016), with cross-comparisons of prison populations to the general population evidencing overall lower literacy and numeracy rates Creese (2015).

However, Creese (2015) further said that this was only 6.5% of the assessments used for this research were representative of the female prison population, in which was the population present for Restorative Reasoning. This poses challenges when applying Restorative Reasoning across different populations such as different prisons, within the probation service, with different facilitators, or any other number of factors, and raises a question around its replicability in positive results from this pilot.

It is challenged that programmes such as *Restorative Reasoning* need to ensure that they are accessible to their population, account for literacy rates, learning difficulties and developmental issues. Research by Hatton et al (2016) estimates 930,400 adults with learning disabilities in the UK, with most being mild or moderate disabilities, and roughly 20% of those adults are known to learning disability services. It is unclear within the prison population, what percentage may have a learning disability, with Talbot (2009) reporting 7% of the population, and Young, Goodwin, Sedgwick and Gudjonsson (2013) reporting 6.7% within London police stations. Post-programme reflections on *Restorative Reasoning* has resulted in adaptions being made to increase accessibility through infographics and storyboards to marry alongside the pre-existing *Restorative Reasoning* content. This is positive as it is preferable to ensure all participants of *Restorative Reasoning* feel encompassed within the programme and that where possible all learning styles can be accounted for to encourage participation and inclusivity.

#### 6.4 Empowerment

Restorative Reasoning was found to be an empowering programme, with Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners focusing on the importance of establishing commonality between them and the participants, and building a therapeutic relationship. This attempted to diminish any power imbalances in place, and followed restorative principles. Barton (2003, p63-78) believes that an empowerment model maintains a source of validity and strength of restorative justice to engage participants, and with Brainwaite (2002) and O'Mahony (2012) raising concerns on the effect of restorative practices if power imbalances are in place. Restorative Reasoning presented a whole focus on commonality between facilitator and participant, and levelling any power dynamics that may be present due to the prison environment and nature of 'prison society'. This process of Restorative Reasoning being accessible and feasible to its population is a positive to take from the evaluation and going forward beyond this pilot of the programme and displays positive projections for future pilots,

with Restorative Gloucestershire reflections of actively establishing commonality from the start of the pilot and throughout.

The positive outcomes that can be identified within Restorative Reasoning, were a development in social skills; positive changes in attitude; and reflections on offending. This increasing or a development of social skills for participants was present throughout the programme, in terms of increased social confidence, leadership skills and group work. Insight from Prison X, from the Activities Hub manager, showed a positive stance towards the programme and its outcomes, and that it can have significant effect in aiding relationships to those closest to them. This is an encouraging insight to have from someone who works closely with the prisoners and within the same. Cultural change within prisons towards more restorative ways of living and communicating could establish more comfortable environments for all stakeholders. Liebmann (2007) notes subsequent establishment of a restorative culture within HMP Corton Vale, a Scottish female estate, resulted in reduced levels of self-harm, bullying and assaults/fights; and prisoners reported that they felt safer. Jaffe (2012) notes that the literature lacks reference to the problematic nature of prison environment and the influence such an environment can have on relationships and the nature of interactions within it, especially in reference to assessing trustworthiness, helpfulness and supportiveness which are all strived for within restorative practice. Crewe (2009, p307) also notes that prisoners use their observations of the prison environment and with their peers when making decisions about who to form truthful, meaningful connections and the nature of the prison environment. Rummens et al (2016) links a development in social skills to a reduction in reoffending due to offending behaviour posing as less attractive post-interventions, alongside aligning with Ministry of Justice (2018) guidelines for offender behaviour programmes which should aim to change the thinking, attitudes and behaviours which may lead to reoffending. This is an important reflection when considering the development of skills such as social, building relationships and repairing harm. However, across the six sessions, positive social skills were observed and recorded by Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners, which is supportive of the aims of the programme as well as the literature.

The impact on (re)offending rates in relation to Restorative Reasoning, are that Restorative Gloucestershire have had at least 5 referrals thus far from participants (40% of the participants), which positively shows the impact the six-week programme had. Participants who referred into Restorative Gloucestershire displayed clear victim empathy and a desire to repair harm caused by their offending. Restorative Gloucestershire liaised with other partner agencies, where they were not able to facilitate referrals themselves for the participants of

Restorative Reasoning, to ensure participants were able to be supported. Restorative Gloucestershire noted themselves, alongside supporting feedback from the participants, that there were positive behavioural changes such as recognition of the wider impact offending can have, for example of relationships, alongside an increase and recognition of victim empathy being present within the group. The increase and development of positive changes in attitudes towards victims, family members and themselves, is reflective of conclusions supported by Van Ness (2007); Day, Gerace, Wilson & Howells (2008); Baglivio & Jackowski (2013); Cantacuzino (2019), and Narvey, Yang, Wolff, Baglivio, Piquero (2020). Shapland's (2009) found that offenders reported the restorative process useful, with none saying it was not very useful or not useful at all, and that it provided offenders with a space to discuss their thoughts and feelings of their offending, often relating conversation to substance abuse as rational for offending behaviour, which similarly can be seen in the feedback of Restorative Reasoning. Participant feedback forms further gave insight that they felt provided an environment in which they could open up, in a safe space. This is in line with Shapland's (2004; 2009) suggestion that adult offenders have specific needs that need to be addressed during interventions such as with Restorative Reasoning. This safe space provided the opportunity to talk and think openly about what they have harm caused by the participants prior behaviours, and changes they want to make. A report by Ministry of Justice (2013) into gender differences with substance misuse and custody, found female prisoners reported more class A drug use in the 4 weeks prior to custody, and were more likely to report that their offending relating to supporting someone else's substance misuse. This report findings further found when entering custody, 68% of females stated "yes" to having used illegal drugs when the committed their offence(s), and 66% stating they offended for money to buy drugs. This highlights the need for gender-responsive work within the criminal justice system, with substance misuse and mental health issues within the prison population being disproportionately higher than the general population, though findings cannot report on whether gender-specific policies and interventions are the most effective in addressing substance misuse and mental health issues amongst prisoners (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Rummens et al (2016) states that the impact on offending rates for social prevention schemes such as Restorative Reasoning can be exceedingly difficult to ascertain and should be measured as 'self-reported'. Within this research, there is no self-reported data from participants of the pilot on their reoffending rates, so this rate cannot be extensively measured. With this said, Restorative Gloucestershire received five referrals upon completion of Restorative Reasoning, which is a good indication of reducing offending behaviour.

The literature provides interesting reflections in terms of *Restorative Reasoning* and its strengths, adhering to conclusions by Wood (2015) meta-analysis of reduction in recidivism where restorative approaches are used, as well as results found by Bonta et al (2002), Wallace and Wylie (2013) and Larsen (2014), with participants reporting positive outcomes in line with criminogenic needs, such as increased confidence and victim awareness. *Restorative Reasoning* similar reflects findings from Hollin and Palmer (2006) who state that prison programmes need to meet the criminogenic needs of offenders, such as identifying attitudes to crime, moral values and family relationships. This positively reflects the strengths of Restorative Reasoning, and that it is achieving its purpose and learning outcomes of:

- Acceptance of responsibility of offending behaviour;
- Understanding the reasons for offending and providing support to stop offending in the future (Appendix 1, 2).

In conclusion, it can be seen that Restorative Reasoning, in terms of its outcomes, reflects the literature that argues for the importance of raising victim awareness and forgiveness.

Restorative Reasoning has similar results to similar prison-based programmes such as RESTORE or The Sycamore Tree Project, though still differentiates itself from the format, content and presentation of existing programmes such as these. Though this is a positive of the programme and its outcomes, it raises the question of similarity between these programmes and the efficacy of Restorative Reasoning in turn. A challenge in the lack of follow up data to support outcome indicators, is that the longevity of any positive, or in turn negative, effects or behavioural changes the participants experienced. It is not known if the participants displayed changes in attitudes and development of skills only in Restorative Reasoning, or if these positive outcomes continued outside of the programme, and for some participants, outside of prison. An international review of restorative approaches in prisons by Liebmann (2006) revealed positive changes in behaviour cross-culturally, with restorative approaches being used within prisons, for all relationships, recognition of victim empathy and social reintegration. Participant feedback from Restorative Reasoning also demonstrated these positive changes, but with no further data to support this, the longevity of these changes in unknow. This dehabilitative environment that occurred, is reflective of Taylor et al (2017), with Scott (2016), who note prison and through the gate services need attention to ensure a rehabilitative, progressive environment for offenders to thrive and prosper, rather than a restrictive environment that may hinder an individual's progression of offending behaviour, social skills and changes in attitudes. It is important to be mindful of the prison environment and its limitations when looking at Restorative Reasoning strengths, as the evaluation forms note an increase in confidence and self-esteem for participants, which

can be associated closely with reduced anti-social behaviour and mental health issues (Baumeister, 1998; Trzeniewski et al, 2006; Debowska, Boduszek and Sherrets, 2016).

A further issue with the lack of follow up data is that where positive behavioural changes may have taken place, and where some participants may have wanted to continue their work with the Restorative Gloucestershire in the community, the organisation is restricted in its referrals due to financial and geographical restrictions in Restorative Gloucestershire funding and in turn how they work. Referrals to other partner agencies were made, such as to restorative organisations based in Wales. Presser and Van Voorhis (2002) state that reoffending can be measured in terms of the number of repeat contacts with criminal courts (Niemeyer & Shichor, 1996; Nugent & Paddock, 1995), rearrest (Roy, 1993), and reconviction (Haley, 1995; Morris & Maxwell, 1997) following program participation, and can sometimes be compared to matched comparison groups. A further consideration of this issue faced by Restorative Reasoning, is the difficulties in transitioning the support in place in prison, into the community. This is an important consideration when assessing programmes in prisons, especially with female estates in England and Wales, in which there are limited numbers meaning local connections for prisoners may be diminished. This may result in women struggling to find services and support both within prison and in communities, an issue highlighted by Burke, Taylor, Millings and Ragonese (2017) who reviewed through the gate services in England and Wales.

Liebmann and Braithwaite (1999) state that where restorative programmes have been implemented in prisons across countries, there were disproportionately fewer opportunities available for women prisons to participate. O'Mahony (2012, p90) also highlights that a major criticism of restorative processes is its lack of acknowledgement towards race, gendered patterns of crime, class. Othering and adaptions of the programme for more specific communities, such as black or ethnic women, and men, was discussed and reflected upon, and though it was concluded that restorative processes are inclusive to all due to the fundamentals of restorative practices. A challenge for Restorative Reasoning may be that it is still limited in its diversity and exploration of different lived experiences that may be present within a prison population, which in turn can affect rehabilitation, especially where there is a crossover of victim and offender for participants which is prevalent amongst the female prison population. To conclude that Restorative Reasoning is not the place for more specific focused programmes within prisons, but that there is a lack of diversity of programmes to aid rehabilitation across prisons in England and Wales, may be appropriate. A research briefing commissioned in wake of the Black Lives Matter protests in summer of 2020 by the UK government, found a largely disproportionate amount of those arrested,

prosecuted, convicted and imprisoned to be from ethnic groups, in which the Ministry of Justice categories as 'BAME' (Pyper, 2020). Evidence also suggested that offenders from ethnic backgrounds receive longer custodial sentences, which can partly be due to a higher rate of 'not guilty' pleading amongst these defendants (Pyper, 2020), in which raises more questions amongst the efficacy of the criminal justice system in England and Wales and the white privilege that is rife throughout as raised in The Lammy Report (2017). This report concludes that 'BAME' individuals still face bias, including overt discrimination, in parts of the justice system, and that overt, covert and unconscious bias need to be examined, even the use of technology throughout the CJS in which algorithms have been proven to hold biases toward particular groups (Lammy, 2017).

#### 6.5 Beyond the Pilot

This section is exploring *Restorative Reasoning* moving beyond the pilot. COVID-19 and other external factors impacted the scope of this pilot, with limited follow-up data to establish the longevity of positive changes and Restorative Reasoning's overall cost-effectiveness.

Hui Kim and Clarke (2013) found that completion rates of prison-based education programmes resulted in reoffending rates 35.9% lower than those who did not complete the programme, and went on to conclude that prison-based educational programmes can reduce recidivism. The literature further supports a correlation in lack of completion of prison-based programmes and reoffending rates, with McMurran and Theodosi (2007) and McMurran and McCulloch (2007) also stating that retention can be linked to the costeffectiveness of a programme. As mentioned, the non-completion rates in *Restorative* Reasoning were due to external factors that impacted the breath of the pilots outcomes. Alongside this, Restorative Reasoning has similar results to other prison-based programmes with similar aims and objectives. Though it does have a differing format, content and presentation to RESTORE, The Sycamore Tree Project or others, it does have similar outcomes and participant feedback. This raises the question of if Restorative Reasoning can distinguish itself enough amongst other existing programmes to fill a gap in the market of aims, delivery, outcomes and strived for referrals, of a restorative practice programme such as this. The literature points towards programmes such as this being supplement to what the criminal justice system usually does, and are designed to meet the needs of offenders and victims where the criminal justice system does not (Johnstone, 2014). With the same underpinnings as restorative justice behind such programmes, there is still a need for Restorative Reasoning, but the long-term effects on participants and any sustained change in offending behaviour and victim empathy is unknown.

As mentioned prior, a challenge for *Restorative Reasoning* being a prison-based programme, was teaching in a prison environment. It is noted by Restorative Gloucestershire practitioners that delivering content in a prison compared to the community, is different, and you have to take into practice differing ideals and be more cautious of prior trauma and experiences. Johnstone (2014) further states that there are prison sub-cultures concerned with the inner social organisation of the prison, which can be seen as a particular kind of society 'inside' the prison walls within the wider society on the 'outside', and therefore consideration of these factors when assessing the outcomes of a programme should take place. This said, Braithwaite and Braithwaite (2001) and Braithwaite (2002) argue that potentially the greatest strength of restorative justice is as a superior delivery vehicle for rehabilitation programs that work. It is also prominent within the literature that restorative approaches within the criminal justice system provide a forward-looking way that differs from the typical forensic gaze, with restorative justice having an explicit future-orientation that decidedly looks at what's to come for offenders (Roche, 2006; Crawford, 2015).

The cost-effectiveness of the overall programme, was limited due to the nature of the pilot, and therefore had limited resources, access and scope from the onset. The challenges faced by Restorative Reasoning were the prison environment, such as the space provided to deliver the programme which was small, hot, and somewhat unfunctional for the purpose, which is reflective of the literature (Austin and Hardyman, 2004; Morgan, Van Horn, MacLean and Bauer, 2019) and issues experiences across prisons in England and Wales. The term 'cost-effective' can be directly defined as the financial value of the programme, whereas indirect cost effectiveness could be the wider social benefit and value of a programme (Latimier and Kleinknect (2000). Gavrielides (2016) raises the issue of the wider, indirect costs of restorative work, such as the time and effort which is not always equated for in a 'price', which is complimentary to Rummen et als (2016, p35) definition of cost effectiveness being compared the strengths and weaknesses of a project. The average estimated cost of Restorative Reasoning was £2750, including approximate time and resources which equated to 24 hours for delivery and 100 hours of preparation time. The average cost of a prisoner in the UK from 2018/19 figures was £39,385.31 including resource expenditures (Sturge, 2020). The current UK prison population figure as of January 2021, stands at 78,032 (Ministry of Justice, 2021). If Restorative Reasoning can aid alongside in prisoners' positive outcomes, and reducing recidivism rates, the overall prison population may start to see a further decline, which is both financially and socially beneficial and viable. This is important to note where reflection on budget cuts and funding restrictions, the researcher notes that approximate spending on the prison system in England and Wales

was £4.37 billion in 2019/20 (Clarke, 2021), which is both an astronomical figure and a decrease on spending compared to the previous year. It is important to ensure that prisoner needs are being met when conversing budgets (Czerniawski, 2015; Piper, Forrester and Shaw, 2019), with reflections on the evidence of restorative approaches can reduce recidivism up to 14% Shapland et al, 2008; Shapland et al., 2011).

It is hard to conclude if *Restorative Reasoning* is a cost-effective programme, as a standalone programme due to its limited scope, but it did deliver meaningful work to those participants, and had reflections from Prison X as being complimentary to a prisoners rehabilitation. As stated by Restorative Gloucestershire, if used at the right time of an individuals sentence and rehabilitation, it can have huge benefits for self-confidence, repairing relationships, with Presser and Van Voorhis (2002) stating that dialogue is a medium for establishing and repairing relationships but relationship building is its own core process of restorative justice inventions.

## 6.6 Summary and Reflection

In summary, there are a multitude of confounding factors effecting *Restorative Reasoning* and how it objectively performs to meets its aims. The research has explored the process and outcomes of Restorative Reasoning, through the semi-structured interviews which allowed reflections to be explored with practitioners where limiting factors such as the time and space they had to deliver the programme could be discussed. Programme participant feedback and insight also allowed the research to gain valuable insight into the participants experience, through gatekeeping from Restorative Gloucestershire, and this access to anonymised prisoner experiences is valuable in telling of the positive or negative outcomes for Restorative Reasoning.

The first reflection on the research is its limited sample size and scope. *Restorative Reasoning* was a six-week, six-session programme that piloted in one prison, only available to one wing, further limiting the population. With this said, the research is qualitative in nature, and had gathered rich, insightful data for the first run of Restorative Gloucestershire's pilot in a prison. Silverman (2016) notes a qualitative approach captures the complexity and contradictions of the real world whilst allowing patterns of meaning to be explored. The use of restorative approaches in prisons has been growing both in the UK and cross-culturally. *Restorative Reasoning* both positively and negatively had similar results to other programmes such as Restorative Inside Programme (Beech and Chauchan, 2013),

REMIDI, CONNECT (Liebmann, 2007) and The Sycamore Tree (Feasey and Williams, 2009). Omale (2009) argues that post-sentence restorative work has been present over the years, usually in use for serious offences such as the Hague experiment (Wemmers & Caunto, 2002), Launcey's (1987) work with youth and Bonta et al (1998) work in Canada, which all reflect positive experiences for those involved, consistent with findings from Miers (2001) and Bonta et al (2002). This raises the question of if there is a need for another restorative programme within the criminal justice system, as restorative approaches and programmes should already be implemented widely. However, Gavrielides (2014) notes that in 2011, the UK government spent £1.3 million on training on restorative justice in prisons, whereas at that time, Belgium had in place restorative justice consultants within all its prisons. Published statistics also indicate that Ministry of Justice funding in 2019-20 was 25% lower compared to 2010-11 (Struge, Robins, Zayed & Bellis, 2019). If appropriate funding is not in place within the criminal justice system, desirable programmes such as Restorative Reasoning may not be implemented. Though it does have similar results to other comparable programmes, this is also beneficial as it further supports the need for restorative approaches being implanted within prisons, in other ways than just victimoffender mediation. Noakes-Duncan (2015) argues that there are high rates of victim unawareness in prisons, and that awareness and empathy programmes deigned for prisoners to understand impacts of offender, is positive. Restorative Reasoning as a standalone programme, has limited known outcomes due to limitations within the research

There is growing argument for the consideration and adaptions of gender to be made for rehabilitation, with growing evidence that demonstrates that women entering the criminal justice system, are doing so with different backgrounds and needs to men (Elis, 2005; Corston, 2007; Annison and Brayford, 2015). Masson and Österman (2017) argue that mental health and substance misuse problems have significantly stronger links to female offending compared to male (Baird, 2003; Belknap and Holsinger, 2006; Malloch, 2003), as well as lower self-esteem and confidence (Dehart, 2008). This consequently adheres with women who offend often dealing or living with trauma and abuse (Covington, 2012), higher rates of self-harm and suicide (Light, Grant & Hopkins, 2012), alongside often managing motherhood and childcare. Gaarder and Hesselton, (2012) argue that the restorative justice field must acknowledge differences in these offender populations and draw lessons from the existing body of knowledge of gender-aware practices in other parts of the criminal justice system.

Interviews conducted by Masson and Österman (2017) demonstrated this cross-over of victim and offender, with one participant a victim herself of burglary and survivor of domestic

violence and rape, she then became pregnant as a result of sexual violence. She developed post-natal depression and subsequently had to have her child adopted. It was around this time that she committed her offence, which she described as out of character for her: "I didn't realize what I was doing, I wasn't in the right mind . . . I went stir crazy after I had [my son]. It was horrible, I wasn't the same person". Masson and Österman (2017) went on to conclude from their findings that practitioners should have an awareness of the higher likelihood of such needs, including mental health issues and the presence of previous or current abusive/coercive relationships, in female offender cases and that special care should be taken to consider how these factors might affect restorative justice processes. To aid the consistency across the restorative field, a core recommendation was the development of a standardised assessment tool to explore participants mental health, coercive relationship past and other gender-based factors (p18). It is also suggested by Masson and Ostermann (2017) and Miles (2013) that a basic level of gendered aspects of offending would be a complimentary addition to restorative justice training, to ensure a basic awareness to these issues. Furthermore, an aspect on the effectiveness of restorative work can be reduced to the timing, with data indicating it might be beneficial for restorative justice to be offered at the earlier stages of the criminal justice process, when the offence is still 'fresh' for all parties, to help tackle guilt and manage challenging emotions Masson and Östermann (2017). This is an important reflection for Restorative Reasoning, as it was deemed appropriate to be implemented from the middle to end point of a participants sentence, and a more in-depth consideration of where such a programme should take place within a women's sentence may be needed due to these external factors. Kirkwood and Hamad (2018=9) suggests that these adaptions and considerations may be minimal, if restorative approaches can be used for diversion from prosecution, pre-sentencing and post-sentencing processes, which widens the lens of gender-focused work within our criminal justice system, reiterated by Cobbina (2009) who describes a need to research women's pathways into criminality to ensure appropriate and useful services are available.

Though the nature of inclusivity is noted by the researcher, consideration of BAME and ethnic cultures needs to be a more prominent motive within the criminal justice system. Restorative justice is fundamentally supposed to be inclusive and about bringing people together to repair harm, and not separating those people into differing labels as supported by Claes and Shapland (2016). An issue for Restorative Reasoning, is that due to its limited population, it is limited in its diversity and lived experiences of participants. The Lammy Report was commissioned as an investigation into the treatment of, and outcomes for, Black, 'Asian and Minority Ethnic individuals in the criminal justice system. This report concludes that 'BAME' individuals still face bias, including overt discrimination, in parts of the

justice system, and that overt, covert and unconscious bias need to be examined, even the use of technology throughout the CJS in which algorithms have been proven to hold biases toward particular groups, such as 240% higher chance of receiving a prison sentence for a drug offence as a BAME individual compared to white (Lammy, 2017). A research briefing commissioned in wake of the Black Lives Matter protests in summer of 2020 by the government, found a largely disproportionate amount of those arrested, prosecuted, convicted and imprisoned to be from ethnic groups, in which the Ministry of Justice categories as 'BAME' (Pyper, 2020). Evidence also suggested that offenders from ethnic backgrounds receive longer custodial sentences, which can partly be due to a higher rate of 'not guilty' pleading amongst these defendants (Pyper, 2020), in which raises more questions amongst the efficacy of the criminal justice system in England and Wales and the white privilege that is rife throughout as raised in The Lammy Report (2017), 3 years on.

This said, a major criticism of this report, is the lack of reference to the disproportionality and institutional racism that by nature give process to the overrepresentation of BAME individuals within the criminal justice system in the first place, as stated by Fekete (2017), Hunter (2019) and Bhatia (2020). This is an important reflection for the world of restorative justice and practice, as the disproportionalities within our criminal justice system can make it hard for individuals to be wholly accountable for where they are within this system, that is designed to be biased, prejudiced and discriminatory. By overlooking this overwhelming problem, it is hard to focus on the purposes and practicalities of rehabilitation, when an overall of the structures in place that keeps these biases remain unshifted. When putting this to the context of Restorative Reasoning, it was concluded from the data that this restorative programme is not a programme that requires specific adaptations, and that the aims of inclusivity and commonality are strived for and achieved. However, this is a position that practitioners delivering such programmes should be aware of, and similarly to gender indifferences, should perhaps have training on.

One recommendation for *Restorative Reasoning* is to ensure diversity amongst practitioners, to emphasise commonality but also to reduce any miscommunications, misunderstandings or revictimisation that can occur when cultural backgrounds between participants and programme staff member are different (Umbreit, 2000). Restorative Justice Council (2011) outline in their best practice guidance that practitioners should create a safe environment for participants, including being sensitive to diversity and difference. Ensuring efficient and effective communication is present for practitioners is vital to ensuring the restorative approaches are embedded throughout a programme. The participant feedback from *Restorative Reasoning* indicated that having a speaker within one of the sessions served as

a vital source of relatability, having someone with lived experience and from a similar background to some of the participants. Going forward, it may be that more individuals with lived experience take part in delivering programmes such as *Restorative Reasoning* in part to engage and communicate to all members of the population to ensure their needs are being recognised and met. (Kligman, 2019) states that while restorative practices are about sharing power and authority, white colleagues need to engage in widening the circle of participation, though to do this in a way that does not create further biases, but not adapt a 'colour blind' stance which can be undignified and overshadowing. (Willis, 2020) also noted from their research that class-differences highlighted middle-class participants being more familiar with restorative-communicative approaches, which subsequently resulting in class-based linguistics differences. This effected how participants were received by others within restorative justice conferences, with quieter offenders presenting as less sincere compared to those who were more vocal and 'engaged' (Willis, 2020).

This again is a further consideration of how practitioner diversity may affect the participation and overall engagement of a programme such as Restorative Reasoning, with adaptability and diversity. The researcher believes the wider criminal justice system needs to ensure there is accountability and impartiality present, and to ensure that all those who come into contact with the criminal justice system, are just. To conclude that *Restorative Reasoning* is not the place for more specific focused programmes within prisons, but that there is a lack of diversity of programmes to aid rehabilitation across prisons in England and Wales, may be appropriate.

To conclude, *Restorative Reasoning* was limited as a pilot but did overall achieves its aim and objectives. The population sample was limited, but the rich qualitative data has provided insight into what works for participants of such a programme and what does not, equally what works for those delivering the programme. A prison setting is restrictive in its overall environment, but if appropriate access, funding and adaptations are in place, then programmes can run successfully. This said, adaptions to a post COVID-19 world may need to be made. Participants reported positive feedback as a whole about the course content, delivery and facilitation, and engaged well with developing positive attitudinal changes and increased victim empathy. However, the longevity of impact of *Restorative Reasoning* is unknown, the specific reoffending rates of participants is unknown and it has otherwise similar results to other restorative programmes. It is not clear if *Restorative Reasoning* is providing a new, inclusive space for offenders to explore restorative practice, or if it is simply too comparable in terms of results. Where restorative approaches are due to be inherently inclusive of all , there has to be a question of if offender needs in the UK criminal justice

system are being met, or if a more trauma-informed, gender-specific and culturally-specific approach needs to be taken to ensure all experiences are being validated and heard.

The next chapter will the process and outcome evaluation of *Restorative Reasoning* in line with the overall research aim of 'evaluating the effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire's post-sentencing work in prisons' with reference to the research objectives, reflections and further research recommendations.

# Chapter Seven: Conclusion

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to conclude the process and outcome evaluation of the impact of Restorative Gloucestershire's work within Prison X. This paper has outlined the strengths and challenges faced for the *Restorative Reasoning* pilot, which are reflective of commonalities within restorative approaches and the setbacks faced for such programmes.

## 7.2 Objectives and Aim

The overall aim of this research is to 'Evaluate the effectiveness of Restorative Gloucestershire's post-sentencing work in prisons'. There are two main objectives deployed within this research to meet the aim, which overall has been met. The research was able to establish a process and outcome evaluation of a restorative practice pilot programme, within a prison, designed and delivered by Restorative Gloucestershire, and established both strengths and challenges faced in delivering such work effectively. Overall, Restorative Gloucestershire were able to successfully implement the pilot, to a higher degree compared to its community first run which is encouraging considering the challenging environment of prisons.

The first objective was to 'To evaluate and select an appropriate and recognised method of analysis for a case study of restorative practice intervention in a prison', Prison X. QUALIPREV allowed for specific points or indicators to be analysed, as first designed by Rummens et al (2016) as a crime prevention tool. The QUALIPREV approach ordinarily identifies a series of key indicators for evaluating the 'implementation, efficiency and effectiveness of a crime prevention programme' (Rummens et al, 2016, p5), scoring an initiative against each to provide an overall assessment of its impact. The data required for this was focused and required in-depth, qualitative interviews where possible, with Restorative Gloucestershire, staff from Prison X, and participant feedback. This work does not adopt the full QUALIPREV approach that assigns a score to the different indicators; it uses thematic discussion of the process and outcomes of Restorative Reasoning, with the research outlined strengths and weaknesses of these indicators. This objective was met, with QUALIPREV having provided a framework to break down and specify the aspects that did and did not work within this pilot run. The research focused on the indicators of: participation and retention; implementation and fidelity; accessibility and feasibility; external confounding factors; (re)offending rates; changes in attitude, development of social skills

and cost effectiveness. Though the full scoring method of Rummens et al (2016) was not used within this research, conclusive qualitative data was obtained for each of these indicators and provided insight into the value of each of those indicators as factors in Restorative Reasoning. This data consisted of a mix of face-to-face and online interviews, data from Restorative Gloucestershire such as participant records and letters, and participant feedback and evaluations. Access to this data has allowed valuable insight into the workings of a restorative programme in its delivery, with feedback from both practitioners and participants within the prison, and further feedback members of staff within the prison. Creswell et al (2007) noted that interviewing is the most widely used form of data collection in qualitative research, but Braun and Clarke (2019) further state that online forms may be more empowering for participants as they have more control. The researcher feels where face-to-face interviews had to be adapted, sufficient and rich data was still developed, and the first objective of the research was met successfully.

The second objective of the research was to use the data collected through the QUALIPREV process and outcome tool: 'To implement an evaluation of the impact of Restorative Gloucestershire's work within the chosen prison'. This consisted of an in-depth write up of the process and outcomes of the restorative work within the chosen prison and how they work with Restorative Gloucestershire to assess its effectiveness and the wider impact of the work using a thematic approach based on the categories of QUALIPREV. This thematic approach assessed the indicators strengths and challenges, and developed further thematic narratives of the delivery, approaches, empowerment and beyond the pilot of Restorative Reasoning. The notable changes in attitude for participants of Restorative Reasoning was evident, alongside a reflection of motivation through the participation, engagement and retention across the six-week sessions. Though this research was based on a limited sample, the outcomes known are positive, with participants expressed their attitude changes and how they have been open to discourse and discussion around the harm they may have caused, which has led to referrals for further restorative work such as circle mediation McCloud and Watchel (2003). With this participant sample being those in prison, it is positive to see these building blocks of restorative approaches being delivered to those developing their rehabilitation upon release into the community again. Participants reported positive feedback as a whole about the course content, delivery and facilitation, and engaged well with developing positive attitudinal changes and increased victim empathy. Practitioners too reported a positive experience overall delivering the programme, and though notes it was a time-consuming and tiring process, Restorative Reasoning is in line with both Restorative Gloucestershire's aim, and also allowed for this research to meet objective two of outlining a process and outcome evaluation of this particular scheme established in Prison X.

#### 7.3 Reflections

The aim of *Restorative Reasoning* for Restorative Gloucestershire was to increase the working relationship between organisation and the prison, alongside increasing their referrals. This programme's aims and content (Appendix 1, 2) explored through circles, role play, short films and activities, engaged female participants in exploring restorative approaches through differing mediums to address different learning styles. The issues to reflect upon within this research are the sample and its limitations (one prison, comparable results, no outcomes or follow ups), the purpose of the programme (did it do what it was meant to do) as well as othering and inclusivity (cultural / gender specific). The aim of this research were to evaluate the impact of this work by Restorative Gloucestershire, in establishing its scope and effectiveness against Rummens et al (2016) process and outcome key indicators, such as participation and retention or development in social skills. The researcher has reflected upon the research throughout its course via a reflective diary (Appendix 4), and though this research has met its objectives and obtained rich individual data, it is limited in its own methodological stance.

Qualitative research has been conducted, to both formally and informally gather insightful data from participants through semi-structured interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2013) and participant feedback. With this said, the research would benefit from more establish and extensive data, primarily to focus on the outcomes of Restorative Reasoning, to establish how long lasting the any effects may be. A study by May, Sharma and Stewart (2008) assessed factors which can affect reoffending rates within the first year of release, and found those who engaged with positive interventions such as victim awareness courses; those who were visited by family in prison; and those who could be released into stability in terms of accommodation and employment had lower chances of reoffending. When looking at such literature, inferences can be made to the applications of Restorative Reasoning. This programme displays outcomes of positive attitudinal changes for participants, increased confidence and social skills, higher victim awareness and a need for family reparation, so it is positive for participations to have this framework in place to continue through their sentence or for their release into the community to apply practically, to reduce harm. Morgan (2014, 179-194) outlines how survey data can serve a purpose of gathering sufficient followup data for qualitative research after interviews, and the researcher feels that if participants of Restorative Reasoning were able to complete a further evaluation at a later date, further insight could be had. Where the population within this research may be limited in terms of programme participants within one wing of Prison X, this research has used a sufficient population for data source, with access to all participants of Restorative Reasoning data.

The remits of this research were limited, which makes claims for reduced reoffending rates, or substantial attitudinal change and restored relationships hard, as this research has the aim of evaluating the scheme and its workings as a whole, as opposed to assessing participant development. Further studies and applications of *Restorative Reasoning* elsewhere may allow for the programme to be assessed in a different contexts which can give way to establishing if the programme has an impact on reoffending rates, raising victim awareness and restoration of relationships at a more individual level. This said, this research obtained valuable insight from participants in Prison X on what worked and why for the programme.

#### 7.4 Further Study

The research needs to be adapted and used within more varied populations to be able to establish its effectiveness and meeting its aim and objectives more widely. *Restorative Reasoning* within a women's prison, without a limited population would provide further comprehension of women's needs within a prison based programme. Further implementation of *Restorative Reasoning* within male prisons in England and Wales would be insightful, and would provide a wider population in which to change attitudes and behaviours to more positive ones. This will also increase Restorative Reasoning's comparison to other existing prison based programmes, and a cross-comparison evaluation of their outcomes would be shrewd. A longitudinal study would also benefit to establish more in-depth data around participants and any substantial changes in behaviour or emotional development that may occur throughout the course of such a programme like Restorative Reasoning.

It is also suggested that the pilot spans over a greater period of time, to allow for delays and set backs, and to ensure neither practitioners or participants feel rushed and can be central in the experience. If *Restorative Reasoning* was to run further pilot, the researcher suggests that follow-up data from participants may be vital to gaining further insight into the longevity of outcomes, and if these positive changes are applied proactively by participants and implemented into day to day life to reduce harm, benefit relationships and the self.

Adaptions to the research can also be made to establish what exactly the factors are that effect the predicted and strived for results, such as if different practitioners and ways of presenting result in the same outcomes, compared with data from similar restorative

programmes. This can allow for a wider framework to be developed and applied, to establish a what works approach to restorative programmes. This wider scope may also be applied to settings outside of the criminal justice system, such as using *Restorative Reasoning* in housing associations and with councils, to confront anti-social behaviour, as well as in schools, workplaces and communities.

The National Probation Service (NPS) will be responsible for managing all offenders on a community order or licence following their release from prison in England and Wales, as of June 2021 (UK Government, 2021), so it is proposed there may be scope for pilots of *Restorative Reasoning* to be implemented within probation service, especially for those on suspended sentences or community orders, where its positive outcomes may further be initiated.

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# **Appendices**

Restorative Reasoning Facilitator Handbook extract

Appendix 2

Restorative Reasoning Participant Handbook extract

Appendix 3

Restorative Reasoning Recruitment Poster

Appendix 4

Reflective Diary extracts

Appendix 5

Interview Schedule extract

Appendix 6

Appendix 7 QUALIPREV Table with Data extract

Appendix 8 Participant Progress Record extract

Appendix 9 Information and Consent Form extract

Appendix 10 Debrief Form extract

Appendix 1

#### Appendix 1 - Restorative Reasoning Facilitator Handbook extract

#### (PRE-COURSE READING PAGE 3)

The aim of this programme is:

#### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- · For you to understand your own needs
- · For you to understand Fair Process
- · For you to understand the process of Restorative Justice
- · For you to accept responsibility for your offending behaviour
- · For you to understand the reasons you offended
- · For you to understand your personal response to shame
- For you to understand the difference between guilt and shame
- To provide support for you to stop offending in the future
- · For you to decide if you would like to participate in a Restorative Justice conference

#### To do this, we will:

- Talk about the offence what has happened
- Identify who has been harmed or affected by the offence
- · Identify how they have been harmed
- Introduce you to some theories of "Affect Script Psychology"

We will help you learn the basic theories of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy to help you:

- · Understand what you were thinking
- · Understand what you were feeling
- · Understand your environment
- Understand your behaviour
- · Understand your physical reactions
- · Practice reflection on how you think and feel now

## Finally, we will work together to:

- · Find ways you could help to repair some of the harm your behaviour caused
- · Plan how you could do things differently in future
- Look at your goals and harness hope for the future
- Identify what steps will be needed to reach your goals
- Help you decide whether you would like to take part in a Restorative Justice conference and
- Support you in filling out your referral form for Restorative Justice

## Appendix 2 - Restorative Reasoning Participant Handbook extract

## **Restorative Reasoning**

A Restorative Justice programme

# Participant Handbook

- Understand what you were feeling
- Understand your environment
- Understand your behaviour
- Understand your physical reactions
- Practice reflection on how you think and feet now

#### Finally, we will work together to:

- Find ways you could help to repair some of the harm your behaviour caused.
- Plan how you could do things differently in future.
- Laok at your goals and harness hope for the future
- Identify what steps will be needed to reach your goals
- Help you decide whether you would like to take part in a Restorative Justice Intervention and it so,
- Support you in filing out your reterral form for Restorative Justice



# **Restorative Reasoning Course**

Signed up yet?

What will you be doing Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings, here at Eastwood Park?

How about investing 2 weeks in yourself?
Your chance to participate in something 'Life Changing'

# with the wind of t

## What to expect on this course:-

- The course delivered by qualified restorative practice facilitators.
- We will share this course restoratively WITH equality and WITHOUT judgement.
- We will use lots of creative and different methods, because we know you are an individual and may prefer to learn things in different ways.
- They'll be chances to try drama, creative writing and a project to design and decorate your own jewellery box/treasure chest to keep, or perhaps offer as a gift.
- You will be listened to and heard. We will support you, to support each other.
- You could learn to experience freedom from the decisions which led to your time at Eastwood Park – instead taking control of this life and fresh choices about how it could be better when you leave.
- This course helps you think about your feelings and other people's.
- This course suggests a route through difficult feelings and how to develop better ways to cope with the past.
- You could learn about Restorative Reasoning.

Maybe your last encounter with someone left you, or them, feeling hurt, afraid or angry. People forget words and actions – they remember feelings.

How could this be better?

27.01.2020 at 2.30pm

## \*COURSE STARTS

every Monday, Wednesday & Friday mornings 9.30am to 11.45am for 2 weeks from Want to find out more?
We'd love you to join us, at our Taster session on 27.01.20 at 2.30pm where we'll do our best to answer any questions

We look forward to welcoming you there! Paul/Jane, Restorative Gloucestershire

\*All those attending the full 6 sessions will receive a certificate of completion



## Appendix 4 – Reflective Diary extracts

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# Appendix 5 – Interview Schedule extract

		Pro	cess evaluation:		
		tors and Description mmens 2016: 21)	Identifying aspects	Types of evidence/tools	Interview Schedule
1.1	Costs associated with implementation of preventative measures	These are costs in 'a more absolute sense, i.e. whether the cost in money, resources or people is reasonable given the constraints or scope of the project' (Rummens et al 2016, p. 21).	Cost in terms of financial outlay, staff time,	Interviews	Who is funding the restorative reasoning course? What is the average cost of staff involved in restorative work within the prison? What is the average cost of a prisoner engaging with restorative reasoning course? What is the average daily cost of a prisoner? (to compare to cost of course)
1.2	Correct implementation of preventative measures (ie Fidelity)	A measure of 'whether or not the crime prevention intervention was implemented as it was originally designed' (Rummens et al, 2016, p. 21).	What have project staff or participants actually done versus what they should have done	Interviews     Survey results	How would you say that restorative work is implemented within the prison? Do you have staff members within the prison that were implementing restorative practices before the Restorative Reasoning course piloted? How are the facilities to support restorative work within this prison? How strong was your relationship with Restorative Gloucestershire before engaging with the Restorative Reasoning course?
1.3	Accessibility	'assessment of the project process' (Rummens et al, 201: 21)	Feedback on project for accessibility with general or specific groups.  Can include assessment	Interviews	What are the risk factors for prisoners engaging with restorative work? What are the risk factors for employees of the prison for engaging with restorative work? What is the accessibility of restorative work in the prison? Are there any restraints? Do you think the prison could improve the level of restorative work present?

#### Appendix 6 - Interview extract

lovely to hear back from you again stay safe and well out there keep up the fantastic work it really does make a difference all the best"

Interviewer: Aw

Interviewee: So that was smashing

Interviewer: Yeah

Interviewee: Uh we then wrote back and said yeah absolutely and we also asked for permission to share the contents of her letter with the inspirational speaker that we took, as you know she's a volunteer for us

Interviewer: Yeah

Interviewee: Having gone through that prison and that system itself, not having gone through our course, but having gone through restorative justice process

Interviewer: Yeah

Interviewee: She then replied again "Hi [removed] and [removed], thank you so much for replying it's nice to hear from you and now you got my letter. I'd love you to share my letter with yeah the speaker, she did make huge impact on me and helped me see that my life can be so different when I leave here. I've been so positive and determined that my life is going to change when I go home since meeting her, I know I definitely won't be coming back here this is my first and last time. To be honest I didn't realise how bad my life had actually got until I actually came here so even though it's been one of the hardest times in my life, I see it as my second chance and opportunity to work on myself family relationships and get clean so it's definitely changed me in many good ways. I had the amazing news yesterday that my tags been approved so I will be home with my family for Christmas. It will fool good to know for sure and see the light at the end of the tunnel. I would love to stay in touch with you and continue working with you in anyway possible and I honestly can't thank you all enough for giving me the opportunity to be part of the first course. I've never really thought how my addiction and behaviour had affected my family and to be honest, I didn't think it had any effect at all as I thought they just didn't care, but understanding more about the ripple effect my actions had and realising the need to be honest and acknowledged their hurt pain and disappointment to be able to move forward. Restrictions here being lifted very slowly but social visits start again from the 20th of July and official visits on the 27th of July so it would be really good to see those and talk about how I can keep working with you once I get home. I look forward to hearing from you again take care stay safe and keep up the amazing work you all do, all the best". So we noticed a couple of times on this course quite how much this particular person has some skills that maybe she hadn't used recently and was very quite to take on some quite complex theoretical concepts not only about restorative justice but about cognitive behavioural therapy. There were one or two occasions where she was clearly shining out with leadership skills so we actually asked her twice she wanted to run a particular session

Interviewer: Oh okay

Interviewee: Yeah so shes feeling quite shy about that but she took it on but she try it and you could just see the confidence coming out today when she done it and she was very good at it so my my sincere hope is at some point it might be possible to train her to actually deliver the calls or come back and be you know one of those inspirational speakers such as those we took in

# Appendix 7 - QUALIPREV Table with Data extract

Key Indicator / Theme	Data Source	Data
Participation and Retention Rates	Appendix K (Interview 1)     Appendix L (Interview 2)     Appendix P (Self-completion questionnaire)     Appendix Q (Participant progress records)	"That is an important part of this. Doesn't matter so much this time, but after the last pilot, it was a good way of people winding down. They've been talking about things that quite emotional for them. I think we're women in prison are more guarded and protect themselves more than maybe people do when they're in the community. I think they have plenty of outlets for having those difficult conversations if they want them, but also identifying that they're very able to park them if they if they also need to. So those difficult conversations have happened, but not as a master designer. But that's one of the sort of reasons for having arts and crafts"  "And I was warned, you will have lots of people like dropping off, dropping out of people staying on it's usually down to half, if not a quarter"  "So in actual fact, two three of them I think have been released by the time the course finished A real shame that they missed out, but what we're doing is follow up with that, so I'm going get in touch with their probation officers because several wanted referrals"  "Retention rate was high — as with our other restorative programme"

	Table 6 – average participation, understanding and apply to self-scores

## Appendix 8- Participant Progress Record extract



#### Restorative Reasoning: Participant Progress Record

To be completed by the facilitator (one for each participant) at the end of each session

Separate form to be completed by each participant at the end of each session.

#### Participant Name:

#### **Programme Delivery Dates:**

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175





# **DEBREIF FORM**

Title of Project: Restorative Gloucestershire	e Service Evaluation
Name of Researchers: Ella Rees, - u	nder supervision of Dr Jon Hobson
Anonymous Participant Sig	nifier:
study aims to evaluate Res Gloucestershire, in three di Your semi-structured interv outcome analysis, aided wi guidelines outlined within the	in this research, your time is highly appreciated. This torative Gloucestershire's service within the county of ffering areas of work. iews will be analysed using QUALIPREV process and the thematic analysis (TA) for transcription using the ne literature. All data will be stored securely on password are University of Gloucestershire OneDrive system.
You have the right to withday to do so please contact	raw up to two weeks after your scheduled interview date,
Anonymous Participant Signifier	
Date of interview	
Date of withdrawal point	
Name of Interviewer(s)	Ella Rees
Signature of Interviewer(s)	
Participant has been debriefed Yes	