The institutionalization of Restorative Justice in Schools: A Critical Sensemaking Account

By: Scott Hugh Russell

A thesis submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in Criminology

April, 2014, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Approved: Diane Crocker
Supervisor

Approved: Jean Helms Mills
Committee Member

Approved: Dorothy Vaandering
External Reviewer

Date: April 30th, 2014

Abstract

The Institutionalization of Restorative Justice in Schools: A Critical Sensemaking Account

By: Scott Hugh Russell

This thesis examines the implementation of restorative approaches at an Elementary school in Halifax, Nova Scotia. I conducted a case study involving several participants involved in the implementation process. My analysis is framed by a critical criminological approach, specifically informed by critical sensemaking theory. Using critical sensemaking theory I have analyzed how power can shape overall formative contexts and influence the individual sensemaking processes of those involved in a change process. This allowed me to identify key barriers and facilitating factors involved in the implementation of restorative approaches at this school. Factilitating factors included: strong leadership, strong grounding in restorative philosophy, surrendering control to teachers, and a commitment to ongoing sensemaking. Barriers included: strict regulation by the education system, the packaging of restorative approaches as a program, and closed-mindedness on the part of teachers.

April 2014

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude and thanks to my supervisor Dr. Diane Crocker and committee member Dr. Jean Helms Mills for their patience, guidance and support throughout this long and difficult process. It was a pleasure working with both of you.

I would also like to thank Saint Mary's University for the generous graduate funding awarded to me. I would also like to thank The Nova Scotia Restorative Justice – Community University Research Alliance for funding me through their graduate fellowship.

I would like to thank my parents, Don and Roxanne for all of their love and support throughout this long process. I would also like to thank my brother Adam for his ongoing support and encouragement.

This project is dedicated to my grandmother, Elsie Russell, a former elementary and high school teacher, who passed during the middle of this process on February 14th 2013. Your love, kindness, and support inspired this research.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Incidents that take place in children's lives, especially during their most formative years, can have a tremendous impact on the direction their life takes. This being the case, the adversarial punitive disciplinary system that characterizes most schools across the country has been doing an incredible disservice to setting the feet of today's youth in the direction of success. Instead of correcting misbehaviour, research is showing that the harsh punitive sanctions found in school boards across much of Canada, and the United States actually increases it. The current authoritarian system in place does not require teachers and administrators to look at the root causes behind student misconduct or take the time to adequately address incidents in the school. Instead they hand out quick and easy harsh sanctions that do not correct behaviour but help aid in the efficiency of day-to-day functions of the school itself. We have a system that places the well-being of the institution ahead of the well-being of the kids who comprise it. Failing to adequately address minor incidents, they build up over time and the system crashes.

While it may appear to be a new fad or trend, restorative justice has been used as a method of dispute resolution throughout the course of history (Strickland, 2004:2). Unfortunately, since the state became the governing body for all criminal acts, dispute resolution that involved restoration and healing for all parties has fallen by the wayside (Christie, 1977). However, since the 1990's restorative justice has once again begun to gain significant prominence in the criminal justice system. It has come to offer an alternative to the adversarial system. It also presents a remedy to the harsh and

punitive criminal justice sanctions that have failed to reduce recidivism. Restorative justice achieves justice by mending harms inflicted on society and victims by offenders (Strickland, 2004:3), something our adversarial system ignores.

At the same time as we are questioning retributive forms of criminal justice, educators are questioning zero tolerance disciplinary methods being used in education. The term zero tolerance was born out of US state and federal drug policies in the 1980's (Skiba and Peterson, 1999). Zero tolerance meant the strict enforcement of drug laws regardless of the severity or type of crime committed. The policy quickly broadened to include issues such as environmental pollution, trespassing, skateboarding, racial intolerance, homelessness, sexual harassment and boomboxes (Skiba and Peterson, 1999).

While the late 1990's saw zero tolerance policies being phased out of the criminal justice system, they began to be transplanted into the school system. In the United States, school boards in California and Kentucky began using this approach and enforcing mandatory expulsion for drugs or gang related activity (Skiba and Peterson, 1999). In the early 1990s, school boards across the United States began to adopt this approach expanding the reach of the policy to include tobacco related offenses and school disruptions (Skiba and Peterson, 1999). The expansion of punishable infractions has only continued, and some schools now suspend students for infractions as small as sharing cough drops, or sharing an inhaler (Skiba and Peterson, 1999). Canadian schools have followed suit. In 2001, the Ontario government introduced the Safe Schools Act in 2001 (Daniel and Bondy, 2008). The Act mirrors the zero tolerance policies found in

schools across the United States. It calls for mandatory suspensions, expulsions, and police involvement for school infractions (Daniel and Bondy, 2008).

Research suggests that zero tolerance policies have had detrimental effects on young people. Detrimental behavior such as violence, alcohol and substance abuse are all being seen as by-products of this approach (Browne-Dianis, 2011). A report issued by the American Psychological Association (2006) suggested that disciplinary problems and dropout rates may have actually increased as a result of zero tolerance policies. Additionally, it was found problems such as over-representation of minority and emotionally disabled students in school discipline systems have increased.

Zero Tolerance policies have also been found to be ineffective at reducing school violence. The American Psychological Association (2006) suggests that zero tolerance policies being used in United States school districts were not effective in reducing violence or promoting a learning environment. Research has shown (Skiba, 2000; Mayer and Leone, 1999, Skiba and Peterson, 1999) that reliance on the types of physical security measures associated with zero tolerance actually increases the risk of school violence, and that reliance on rules is more effective than reliance on security measures in reducing school violence. Not only do physical security measures increase the risk of school violence, Mayer and Leone (1999) also found that they promote a greater student fear of violence which is detrimental to promoting a healthy learning environment.

This experience with zero tolerance shows that, although the approach establishes order, it ultimately generates resentment, resistance, and the formation of

negative or alternative subcultures (Braithwaite, 1989:8). The negative effects of these policies can be seen on news stations across the country. Stories involving bullying, cyber-bullying, and gang violence, may be a byproduct of the resentment, resistance, and negative subcultures referred to by Braithwaite (1989). Given this situation school boards should begin to develop new approaches to effectively deal with these types of transgressions.

Concerns about the effectiveness of criminal justice intervention have led to the development of many restorative justice programs across the country. The Nova Scotia Restorative Justice program (NSRJP) was a response to these concerns. It began in 1999 as a pilot program in four communities. Two years later the province extended the program across the whole province (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006:298). According to Archibald and Llewellyn, (2006:300) The program was born out of frustration among a cross section of key officials in the criminal justice system regarding the mainstream justice system's response to the crime problem in the province. Nova Scotia has since become a world leader in restorative justice and, as a result, we are seeing the expansion of restorative justice into other areas of society.

The success that the Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program has had thus far in the province of Nova Scotia has helped restorative practices[1] gain a foothold in other

[1] The term 'restorative practices' is used when describing restorative justice in an institutional setting outside the criminal justice system. Multiple wording can be used, throughout this paper, restorative justice, practices, and approaches will be used.

institutions in the province. Restorative justice practices are starting to find a home in schools, prisons, and residential care facilities[2].

In other jurisdictions, prisons, schools, and workplaces are all beginning to adopt restorative practices in some shape or form as a means to conflict resolution. Prisons are now beginning to adopt restorative justice principals to help work with inmates and help them develop awareness and empathy for victims (Van Ness, 2005). Good company Online, a website that promotes restorative practices in the workplace, discusses how companies have begun adopting restorative practices to deal with conflicts that take place within and between companies and is termed workplace conferencing (Goodcompany, 2013), and restorative practices are now starting to be used in schools to varying degrees throughout Canada and the United States (Morrison, 2005).

This thesis presents a case study of Ecole St. Catherine's School in Halifax. The school implemented restorative practices in 2009. I examine the process that took place in introducing restorative justice into that school. I aim to describe the implementation process and contribute to the literature on the institutionalization of restorative justice. The implementation of restorative justice in education presents a challenge to school administrators, teachers, and students. The use of restorative justice in an educational setting goes completely against the longstanding draconian disciplinary policies used by

[2] Currently there is the Tri-County restorative project underway in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, the website discusses their work on bringing restorative justice into the school system (http://tricountyrestorativejustice.com/rjschools.html). The Restorative Options for Youth in Care is a recent pilot project run by the Community Justice Society working collaboratively with the department of community services to use circles in group homes (Crocker, 2011). The program was developed to improve the delivery of restorative justice to residential care facilities. Youth in these facilities were already falling through the cracks and not receiving the full benefits of the Youth Criminal Justice Act. With this collaboration in place the hope is that these youth will receive the proper services they need, within a shorter timeframe (http://www.communityjusticesociety.org/community_programming.html).

the education system to deal with student misconduct. Therefore, the implementation of a restorative approach will require a significant shift in the sensemaking process of administrators and teachers. This thesis will explore how such a shift can take place. This case study aims to answer the following: How can the change process and the response to the change process by teachers and administration be understood at St.Catherine's Elementary School to help inform further attempts to institutionalize restorative justice in schools?

For the purposes of this research, I draw sensemaking (Weick, 1995) and critical sensemaking theory (Helms Mills, Thurlow & Mills, 2010). The former offers a lens through which one might understand organizational change. The latter takes into account issues of power, context and the existing organizational rules of the organization. Critical sensemaking provides a more analytical approach to answer my research questions and provides me with an objective construct to answer the following conceptual question: Is the implementation of restorative justice into schools characteristic of a top down bureaucratic governmental technique, or is it a bottom up process derived from a grassroots movement initiated by "champions" or "key figures" within the community?

Chapter Two: Background

Finding a singular definition for restorative justice can be difficult because of the variety of settings in which restorative justice can be deployed. Restorative Justice is also commonly misunderstood as any alternative to the traditional criminal justice system. Additionally, the word 'justice' has created further ambiguity in understanding the concept, making it apparently applicable only in a criminal justice context. The problem of definition reflects, in part, the diversity of restorative justice programs and the ongoing evolution of practices. Practitioners modify practices for the multiple settings in which they apply restorative justice (Zehr, 2002). Characterizing restorative justice as a singular method of addressing crime, or wrong doing limits its potential to be applied across various institutions in society.

To address the ambiguity, diversity, and misconceptions this section will provide an overview of restorative justice, including a summary of the origins of restorative justice; the development of restorative practices; and applications of restorative principles outside the justice system. This section ends with an overview of the Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program (NSRJP). Restorative justice principles are being used in varying degrees across a wide range of institutional settings. This chapter will help narrow the focus by examining the core principles of the restorative justice approach and the application of this approach in the province of Nova Scotia.

Restorative Justice

Origins of restorative justice

The roots of restorative justice lie in colonial African, ancient Hebrew, and Aboriginal societies. These cultures focused primarily on restoration and healing instead of punishment following an act of anti-social behaviour (Cameron, 2005). These approaches have also been used by the Canadian First Nations and other Aboriginal groups, including the Maori of New Zealand. Their traditions are regarded as having the most similarity to current restorative justice processes (Cameron, 2005). These various cultural approaches to restorative justice not only pre-date the current criminal justice system, but have actually been the primary method of delivery for justice throughout history.

In earlier societies, communities dealt with violations of law by focusing on the healing of social relationships (Llewellyn and House, 1998). The state played a role in the administration of justice only as a last resort when community justice failed to produce a satisfactory outcome (Llewellyn and House, 1998). The shift from community centered justice to state centered justice has been traced back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Llewellyn and House, 1998). Motivated by political power, the state and the courts adopted the role of defending the crown. Crime was no longer considered a violation against the individual, but instead a violation against the state. This resulted in victims no longer having a stake in their own disputes, and the State took up the cause of justice (Llewellyn and House, 1998). This shift formed the basis of our criminal justice

system today, we have a State centered, adversarial model that relies heavily on authoritarian style punishment.

The rebirth of more restorative approaches began in the mid-1970's. In Canada, a group of Mennonites suggested to a judge that the offenders in a series of vandalism cases be allowed to meet face-to-face with their victims to negotiate restitution (Cohen and Harley, 2003). These cases planted the seeds of a new restorative movement. In the beginning the Mennonite Church was heavily involved in this movement, with Christian principles strongly influencing the approach (legal-dictionary, 2013). The restorative movement became more secularized during the 1980s and 1990s, and gained more widespread appeal as the retribution model began to be viewed as increasingly expensive and ineffective (legal-dictionary, 2013). The restorative justice movement has since grown in size and application. Restorative approaches are not only being used by the criminal justice system. Schools, prisons, businesses, and other institutions have begun to adopt a restorative approach in their day-to-day activities.

Applying restorative justice in different settings has resulted in practitioners having to replace the word justice with something more suitable to the context (Vaandering, 2011). In an attempt to explain this ambiguity, Dave Gustafson of the Fraser Region Community Justice Initiatives in Langley, British Columbia has referred to restorative justice as a "healing river" with a number of different tributary streams that act as the various flows of discourse that make up restorative justice (quoted in Elliot,2011. Restorative justice should not be viewed as a set program or a blueprint. Instead, restorative justice contains a set of guiding principles that can be applied as

practitioners see fit. I concur with this definition of restorative justice. I believe that restorative justice offers a way of doing things. It emphasizes principles over personalities, and acts as a guiding philosophy to aid in harmonious interaction with oneself and other people.

Making Sense of Restorative Justice

While restorative justice is understood among various cultures in different ways, it commonly begins with three assumptions: Crime violates people, crime violate interpersonal relationships, and these violations create obligations to put right the wrongs (Thorsborne andVinegrad 2002 as cited in Vaandering 2011; Zehr 2002,). Zehr states that: "restorative justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense and to collectively identify and address harms, needs, and obligations, in order to heal and put things as right as possible"(Zehr, 2002:37). Essentially, this definition assumes that people are interconnected. Crime constitutes a wound to the community or a tear in the web of relationships. Succinctly put crime damages relationships (Zehr, 2002:19).

This damage creates a "disequilibrium of relationship in society" (Llewellyn and House, 1998:3) and restorative justice aims to restore the balance. Restorative justice does not, however, try to bring the relationship back to its former context. Instead it seeks an ideal relationship of equality in society (Lllewellyn and House, 1998). It does this by addressing the needs of the victims, offenders, and community involved in a situation that caused harm.

The needs of victims and community in the wake of a crime or wrongdoing are central to restorative justice. As mentioned earlier, the state has replaced the role of the victim in crimes, leaving the voice of the victim and community out of the criminal justice process. Third parties make decisions on behalf of victims and communities (Morrison and Vaandering, 2011). In contrast, restorative Justice expands the number of stakeholders involved in responding to a crime to include both the victims and the community. Restorative justice pays attention to the roles and needs of the victims and community under what Zehr (2002) has called the needs/role framework. Where current institutional frameworks that address crime and wrongdoing focus solely on the facts, restorative justice incorporates "the social, emotional, and spiritual dimensions" (Morrison and Vaandering, 2011) disrupted following a crime or wrongdoing. This framework applies across a broad range of institutions.

To address and repair harms, restorative justice addresses four specific needs: information, truth-telling, empowerment, and vindication. Howard Zehr (2002) outlines each in detail.

Zehr (2002) discusses how the victims of crime and wrongdoing need information about the offense against them. He argues that the current criminal justice system fails to meet this need. In the mainstream justice system the information provided to victims relates to the court proceedings and not the crime itself. According to Zehr (2002) victims need more first-hand information of the event, which can usually be satisfied only through direct contact with the offender. Restorative justice can facilitate this contact. In a school setting for example, a person harmed may not be

satisfied knowing that the person who harmed them has been suspended from school. The person harmed may want to have first hand information from the wrongdoer as to why they committed the act, what they were thinking about, among other things.

Truth telling constitutes a second need. Howard Zehr states that "a important element in healing or transcending the experience of crime is an opportunity to tell the story of what happened." (2002:14). Crime creates a wound, not only to society but also to the victim of a crime. The person harmed needs to be able to tell their story to help repair the wound and contribute to the healing process. Victims like to tell their story in a meaningful setting to people who will understand. Hearing stories helps offenders realize the direct impact the event has had on the victim. This allows for transcendence of the event and the resulting circumstances (Zehr, 2002). In schools, truth telling has a particular relevance. Children, early in their developmental years, already have less control and power over their lives. Offering them a chance to express their experience of what happened may be a powerful lesson. The current school system fails to address this need and instead "the problem, and the person, is sent down the hall, away from the relational dynamics in which the problem arose" (Morrison and Vaandering, 2011:140).

Empowerment is the third need addressed by restorative justice. When a person has been victimized they can feel as though they have lost control over their property, bodies, emotions, and dreams (Zehr, 2002). Involving the victims of crime in their own case offers a simple but effective way for them to regain agency, and feel empowered. A restorative response creates a space where empathy, interest, and excitement can

flourish, and anger, humiliation, fear, and disgust can be expelled (Morrison and Vaandering, 2011). This places victims and wrongdoers in a place that allows both to move forward in a healthy and positive direction.

The last need addressed by restorative justice is vindication. This can be achieved through material payment or some other form. Even symbolic acts of restitution show that a wrongdoer has taken responsibility for his crime (Zehr, 2002). Restitution helps victims feel vindicated. As Zehr states, "I am convinced that it is a basic need that we all have when we are treated unjustly." (2002:15). The restorative process allows for multiple ways to have this need fulfilled through various forms of agreements or contracts agreed to by participants in the process. Similar processes can be applied in a school setting allowing for the healing of both parties involved in a conflict situation and producing a healthier school environment.

Restorative approaches do not focus solely on the needs of the victim. The needs/roles framework also accounts for the needs of offenders and the communities harmed by an offence. Restorative justice focuses on addressing the needs of offenders primarily by focusing on offender accountability, encouraging personal transformation, and re-integrating them back into the community. Restorative approaches may also support temporary restraint (Zehr, 2002). Offender accountability begins when offenders agree to face the harm they have caused by engaging in a restorative process. Offenders may be required to provide restitution to their victims or complete various types of work and/or tasks that require active and productive involvement in the community (Bazemore, 1998). Personal transformation is encouraged by teaching

improved decision making skills as well as providing the opportunity to help others. Reintegration is achieved through adult members of the community and justice professionals monitoring and supporting offenders to the greatest extent possible (Bazemore, 1998).

Community members also have needs that arise from the event of a crime (Zehr, 2002). The specific needs that must be met for communities in the restorative justice process include attention to the concerns of community members along with the opportunity to build community and a sense of mutual accountability. Restorative justice meets the needs of community members by encouraging them to take on their obligations in the community for the betterment of all those involved in an offense. Attention to the concerns of community members is achieved through involving them in the restorative justice process. Community members have their voices heard and hold offenders accountable (Zehr, 2002). Working with offenders on local community projects, supporting offenders as mentors or advocates, as well as providing work for offenders to earn money to pay restitution are all means by which community is built and mutual accountability is achieved (Bazemore, 1998). Members of the community are also encouraged to take on obligations in the community for the betterment of everyone involved in an offense. Community members may assist families to support an offender in his/her obligations to repair harm, acting in an advisory role to courts or corrections, or take an active role in various neighborhood sanctioning processes (Bazemore, 1998).

The intense focus on the needs of those affected by wrong-doing is a result of restorative justice being grounded in a relational theory of the self (Downie and Llewellyn, 2011). Therefore, when an offence is committed, the wrongdoing disrupts relationships. The goal of restorative justice is to repair this damage and heal the relationships that have been disrupted so all parties are able to move forward in a constructive and healthy manner. It works, according to relational theorists, because we are, at our core, relational beings (Downie and Llewellyn, 2011).

RestorativeJustice vs. Criminal Justice

Restorative justice differs fundamentally from the criminal justice system in three ways. First, the criminal justice system defines crime as a violation of the law and the state. Second, the criminal justice approach emphasizes that violations of the law should evoke guilt, rather than obligations among offenders, Third, the criminal justice system requires the state to determine blame and impose pain in the form of punishment. The system proceeds without the full involvement of victims, offenders, or community members (Zehr, 2002). The criminal justice system, therefore, focuses on "just desserts" for offenders. In contrast to this approach, restorative justice focuses on the needs of victims, offender and community. It encourages offender responsibility for repairing harm in the wake of a crime.

The following table, adapted from Woolford (2009) contrasts the two paradigms.

Criminal Justice System	**Restorative Justice System**
Dependence upon proxy professionals	Direct involvement by participants

Community on sideline, represented abstractly by the state	Community as facilitator in restorative process
Offence defined in purely legal terms, devoid of moral, social, economic, or political dimensions	Offence understood in whole context – moral, economic, and political
Stigma of crime unremoveable	Stigma of crime removable through restorative action
No encouragement for repentance and forgiveness	Possibilities for repentance and forgiveness

Viewed from a restorative lens accountability and responsibility should lead offenders to understand the harm they caused and the consequences of their behaviour on the people involved (Zehr, 2002). To attain this type of accountability and responsibility Zehr (2002) argues that restorative justice process should:

1. Focus on the harms and consequent needs of the victims, as well as the communities and the offenders;
2. Address the obligations that result from those harms (the obligations of the offenders, as well as the communities and society);
3. Use inclusive and collaborative processes;
4. Involve those with a legitimate stake in the situation, including victims, offenders, community members, and society; and,
5. Seek to put right the wrongs.

Susan Sharpe, a former member of the Edmonton Victim Offender Mediation Society notes that restorative justice should strive toward:

1. Inviting full participation and consensus;
2. Healing what has been broken;

3. Seeking full and direct accountability;
4. Reuniting what has been divided; and,
5. Strengthening the community, to prevent further harms (as cite in Elliot, 2011:67).

Three specific questions central to restorative justice lie at the base of these principles: Who has been hurt? What are their needs? Whose obligations are these? (Zehr, 2002). These questions make up what Zehr describes as the "three pillars of restorative justice: Harms and needs; obligations; and, engagement" (Zehr,2002:23). These questions asked by Zehr relate to Bazemore's summary of the three big ideas involved in restorative justice theory. These core principles relate to, "repair, stakeholder involvement, and the transformation of community and government roles in the response to crime" (Bazemore as cited in Elliot, 2011:69).

Because restorative justice understands crime as harm done to people and communities, it begins with a concern for victims and their needs, it seeks to repair the harm, as much as possible, both concretely and symbolically. Restorative justice processes aid in addressing the root causes of the crime providing an opportunity for healing to occur (Zehr, 2002). Restorative justice forces us to look at the nature of justice, not the nature of the crime. It causes us to look at what we think should be done, in a particular instance, rather than simply applying punishment based on predetermined laws.

Restorative justice achieves this through a variety of approaches, including sentencing circles, family group conferences and victim-offender mediation. In what follows, I describe several practices commonly used in restorative justice programs.

Sentencing circles originated in northern Canada among provincial and territorial court judges who felt frustrated with the over-incarceration of Aboriginal offenders. Sentencing circles can be employed several ways. They can occur as part of a sentence handed down by a provincial or territorial court judge. They may also arise out of an alternative measures program mandated under the Criminal Code or Youth Criminal Justice Act. Judge Barry Stuart, the judge who recognized the need for sentencing circles early on has described a typical sentencing circle:

> Rearranging the court in a circle without desks or tables, with all participants facing each other with equal access and equal exposure to each other dramatically changes the dynamics of the decision making process. . .the circle encourages participation by the lay members of the community and also encourages the participation of the accused himse. . .Community involvement through the circle generates new information about the accused and the community (Stuart cited in Cameron, 2005:14)

The use of sentencing circles in criminal courts speaks to the power that a restorative approach can have on a judicial process. It's applicability shows great promise for the future use of restorative practices within our justice system.

Family group conferences offer a formal way of engaging in a restorative process. This method of delivery originated in New Zealand and gained prominence in 1989 as part of the *Young Persons and Their Families Act.* The act mandated the use of family group conferences to deal extensively with juvenile crime in New Zealand. Like sentencing circles, the family group conference has its roots in Aboriginal culture. It

adopts approaches used by the maori, an indigenous group in New Zealand. A family group conference primarily involves a meeting of the victim, the offender, and their immediate families or guardians and a coordinator or facilitator. Coordinators identify people who might participate, invite them to the conference and prepare them beforehand for their roles and for the process (Cameron, 2005:15). In contrast to sentencing circles, participants tend to be limited to immediate family members and not include the larger community. These meetings follow a set process that allows for each participant to speak in turn about the crime, its impacts, and possible restitutions or reparations (Cameron, 2005:15).

Victim-offender mediations rely on a similar grouping of participants but place a higher degree of emphasis on reparation and restitution to the victim than on reconciliation of all parties (Cameron, 2005:16). Victim-offender mediations may not involve face-to-face meetings, but they often require more preparation and counseling work for both victims and offenders, and are more geared towards healing rather than reconciliation (Cameron, 2005:16). Victim-offender reconciliation programs: These programs are distinguished from other processes because they exclude the wider community from the discussion of the offence and the resulting consequences (Cameron, 2005:16). Victim-offender reconciliation programs tend to have the following four objectives: hold the offender accountable for the harms that have been done to the victim, gather information about the crime and its context in order to answer questions that the victim may have, attempt to place the offence in context, and allow both the victim and the offender to begin to heal from the offence (Cameron, 2005:16).

Misconceptions of Restorative Justice

To better understand restorative justice, it may be useful to discuss what restorative justice does not represent. For example, while restorative justice provides a setting for reconciliation and forgiveness neither are required. While either may occur, they are not the primary goals. Victims need not forgive the wrongdoer. Reconciliation does not have to be a part of a restorative process for a just outcome to be reached (Zehr, 2002).

Many people also equate restorative justice with mediation whereby parties meet and agree to a solution to a problem with the help of a mediator. While many restorative justice programs bring two parties together, a physical meeting need not, or in some cases, should not occur. Some people involved may not be willing or able to meet. Mediation also assumes that the parties share an equal stake in the event. This may not be the case, particularly with serious crimes (Zehr, 2002). The restorative process requires the wrongdoer to take responsibility for the harm they have caused. This admission of responsibility contradicts the level moral playing field that mediation depends upon and may therefore run contradictory to a mediation process. The language being used in restorative justice is now being modified to use words such as "conferencing" and "dialogue" to navigate this misconception (Zehr, 2002).

Restorative justice is sometimes viewed as appropriate only for minor offences or first-time offenders. While the public is more likely to support the restorative approach for minor offences (Zehr, 2002), research has shown that restorative justice successfully addresses more severe crimes. The principles that underlie the restorative

approach may actually be quite helpful in dealing with severe offences, if they are applied correctly (Zehr, 2002).

The Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program (NSRJP)

The Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program is one of the oldest and most comprehensive restorative justice programs in Canada (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006). In 1999 it began as a pilot program in four Nova Scotia communities. Two years later, in November 2001, the program extended province wide and it now receives 1.5 million in funding from the Department of Justice (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2005). The program currently centres around offences committed by youth aged 12 – 17. A pilot program for adults has also recently been implemented in two regions and is being evaluated.

Restorative justice in Nova Scotia was not developed by traditional community based initiative or "grassroots" movement rather, the motivation arose "from a frustration among a key cross-section of criminal justice stakeholders concerning the inadequacy of the mainstream system's response to the phenomenon of crime" (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006:300). The traditional methods employed by the criminal justice system in Nova Scotia regarding youth crime were proving ineffective. A study of accountability sessions, conducted by the Nova Scotia Department of Justice, concluded that they were ineffective. The study recommended that the model be replaced by a more restorative approach including community/victim-offender reconciliation (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006).

The community became involved in a formal way through the formation of a contractual agreement between community agencies and the state. These community agencies included alternative measure societies along with representatives from Aboriginal communities (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006). This helped fulfill the requirement of having community involved in the restorative justice process, and speaks to the inclusiveness found in the Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program. Through contracting community agencies within Nova Scotia to act as points of deployment, the government created a program that could be delivered at the grassroots level while remaining consistent with restorative values.

The Nova Scotia program centres around four main goals: 1) to reduce recidivism, 2) increase victim satisfaction, 3) to strengthen communities, and 4) to increase public confidence in the justice system. Four specific objectives guide the program: provide a voice and an opportunity for victims and community to participate, 2) repair harms caused by offences, 3) reintegrate offenders, and 4) hold offenders accountable in meaningful ways. (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006).

Current evaluations of the Nova Scotia program by academics and researcher have found positive results. Victims express high levels of satisfaction. Almost 95 percent of participants surveyed agreed that people present during the restorative process supported them, and 99 percent agreed that they had been treated fairly during the process (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006). With strong numbers such as those above, the Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program is on solid ground and continuing to expand and grow in a positive direction.

These positive results have helped expand the reach of restorative justice in Nova Scotia. The Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program is now overseen by the Crime Prevention Unit within Nova Scotia's Department of Justice. A crime prevention advisory circle is working to identify how the government can combine its resources to better deliver crime prevention efforts, aid in identifying actions that help make positive impacts in communities, and highlight best practices being used across the country and worldwide to develop ways to support and build community (Nova Scotia Crime Prevention, 2013).

The province's approach to crime prevention also includes the use of restorative approaches with adult offenders. A pilot program includes restorative justice agencies and correctional services officers working together to deliver restorative justice to adults. The pilot is currently underway in Colchester/East Hants and Cape Breton Regional Municipality and will be evaluated at the end of 2014 (Nova Scotia Crime Prevention, 2013). Additionally, the province of Nova Scotia has implemented some restorative practices in the youth corrections centre. The end goal involves promoting accountability and interpersonal skills. (Nova Scotia Crime Prevention, 2013).

The education system in Nova Scotia has also begun to adopt restorative approaches. Dalhousie University recently adopted a pilot program called "Dalhousie Restorative Responses Project: An alternative for student conduct issues." The project addresses issues such as noise complaints, property damage, and underage drinking. Restorative justice processes are also available to Residence Advisors to deploy as they see fit regarding infractions within university dormitories. The university has partnered

with the Halifax Regional Police and provides students the opportunity to accept responsibility for their actions and gain an understanding of the effects their actions have had on others. Referrals to the program can be made by the police under the Adult Restorative Justice Pilot guidelines as well as by residence life staff (Nova Scotia Crime Prevention, 2013).

An initiative for the use of restorative practices in schools is also being developed. The plan is to begin by "developing the tools and resources that Nova Scotia's school administrators need to implement a restorative approach in schools." (Nova Scotia Crime Prevention, 2013). As the province of Nova Scotia begins to turn its attention towards restorative practices in schools, and more schools begin to adopt the approach, a model of success, such as St. Catherine's School could prove invaluable.

In fact, the push for restorative practices to be used in schools province wide can be attributed to the early success of the approach at St. Catherine's Elementary. With the province of Nova Scotia making such a strong push for the use of restorative practices, understanding best practices for the implementation of such an approach is crucial. My thesis will elaborate on how the restorative approach was implemented at St. Catherine's school, highlighting how it was understood by those involved, along with what acted as barriers and facilitating factors during the implementation. This case study offers lessons to those interested in promoting restorative justice in diverse institutions.

From Restorative Justice to Restorative Practices

The expansion of the restorative paradigm beyond the criminal justice system has resulted in the development of 'restorative practices' or 'restorative approaches'. At a fundamental level, both encompass the same core elements of restorative justice. However, the language and application has been modified for use in settings outside the criminal justice system.

The International Institute for Restorative Practices (IIRP), an international organization dedicated to educating professionals and conducting research on restorative justice, has played a large role in this paradigm shift. As Ted Wachtel, President of the IIRP states, "the emerging field of 'restorative practices' offers a common thread to tie together theory and research in seemingly disparate fields of study and practice."(Wachtel and McCold, 2004:1). The development of restorative practices has allowed various institutions and organizations to adopt restorative justice principles into their everyday operations helping to expand the reach of a restorative approach.

Elaborating on restorative practices and the benefits of their application within institutional settings, Wachtel and McCold argue that:

> the fundamental unifying hypothesis of restorative practices is disarmingly simple: that human beings are happier, more productive and more likely to make positive changes in their behavior when those in positions of authority do things *with* them, rather than *to* them or *for* them (2004:1).

This hypothesis asserts that the punitive and authoritarian TO mode and the permissive and paternalistic FOR mode of discipline are less effective than the restorative justice approach and its restorative, participatory WITH mode (Wachtel and McCold, 2004:2).

Assuming the validity of this hypothesis, restorative practices offer a significant opportunity for change across a broad range of institutions.

One of the challenges associated with the adaptation of restorative justice principles in diverse institutional contexts has been the language associated with restorative justice. The use of the word "justice" in other settings, particularly schools, sounds overly punitive in an environment that is meant to promote equality and fairness. Therefore the use of the word "restorative practices" or "restorative approaches" has been adopted (Vaandering, 2011). Furthermore, language such as "victim" and "offender" has been replaced with phrases such as "person harmed" and "person causing the harm" (Morrison 2007). This shift in language is integral for the effective application of restorative principles at the educational level and is also characteristic of the overarching inclusive nature restorative practices.

Restorative practices fall along a continuum ranging from informal to formal processes. Informal practices are characterized by affective statements and questions such as: "what happened?"; "What were you thinking at the time?" or "what do you think you need to do to make things right?" These types of questions allow individuals to reflect on their feelings and look at how their behaviour has affected others (Wachtel and McCold 2004:3). More formal practices, such as conferences, involve the person harmed, and the person who caused the harm coming together with support persons, a member (or members) of the community, and a trained facilitator to engage in dialogue surrounding the event. An agreement on reparations sometimes results from these processes and the group will work together to identify a mutually satisfactory

agreement. All these practices aim to build social capital and achieve social discipline through participation and learning (Wacthel and McCold, 2004:3).

Restorative Practices in Schools

Restorative justice in a school setting forces a shift in the way misbehaviour is viewed. Instead of viewing student misconduct as a challenge to school authority, it is viewed damaging relationships within the school (Varnham, 2011). The use of restorative practices in schools will radically change how students, teachers and administrators will relate to one another.

The first school-based restorative justice program was developed in Australia in 1994. Since that time, schools in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand have adopted restorative justice in some form (Morrison, Blood and Thorsborne, 2005). In 2000, the Ministry of Education in New Zealand in conjunction with the University of Waikato developed Restorative Conferences in Schools. A series of seminars were held at that time to inform schools of the new model (Varnham, 2005) and to develop a trial process for suspensions hearings using a restorative justice approach.

Two projects were undertaken at five different schools and the results were overwhelmingly positive. Researchers reported a high level of satisfaction (Varnham, 2005). Despite these positive results the possibility of wide-spread implementation was hindered by being too hard and consuming of both energy and resources of already over-stretched educators (Varnham, 2005). Varnham (2005) also identifies the

development of restorative procedures by school authorities that fall within the education act as a significant challenge to implementation.

Intervention with individual students is not enough to establish and maintain restorative approaches in a school. Recently, whole school models of restorative justice have begun to emerge. The use of a whole school approach, which adopts a restorative philosophy throughout the whole school culture, has been found to be more effective in long term sustainability (Morrison, Blood and Thorsborne, 2005). A whole school approach involves all aspects of the school, from informal practices such as restorative conversations in the hallway using affective statements to formal conferences to resolve incidents in the school. Creating a shift in the sensemaking process of teachers and administrators regarding discipline is a main challenge in implementing a restorative approach, and critical to achieving culture change (Morrison et al, 2005). Various methods have been applied to deal with this challenge. Morrison and Vaandering (2011) for example, suggest that a whole-school model that follows the framework of the public health triangle be used to create this type of culture shift. This triangle consists of primary (universal), secondary (targeted to individuals and groups), and tertiary (intensive) practices.

Primary restorative practices should include the entire school community and seek to establish a values ethic and skill base to promote a relational environment and the respectful resolution of disputes. Secondary restorative practices are characterized by tools such as problem solving circles, corridor conferences (informal conferences in the hallway) and peer mediations in the school or on the playground. These practices

address individual behavioural issues that disrupt everyday school routines and harmony. Tertiary practices are considered the most intensive requiring full formal conferencing with all parties involved in an incident. These practices are deployed only for serious incidents of harm (Morrison and Vaandering, 2011).

This whole school approach has been developed and delivered in other formats. The Alameda County School Health Services Coalition has developed a guide to using restorative justice in schools (Kidde and Alfred, 2011). This guide offers a detailed look at the philosophy of restorative approaches, the various practices involved, as well as a six step implementation model that can be used to implement restorative approaches. This guide borrows from Morrison and Vaandering (2011) providing an example of the pyramid approach that they advocate. Using this model, the SHS Coalition suggest that "One of the goals of implementing restorative practices school-wide is to build a cohesive, caring school community that allows for increased communication" (p.11).

The IIRP offers a whole school change program that attempts to accomplish this goal. The program is delivered over a two year time period. IIRP train staff in restorative practices. They provide follow up training and sustainability efforts are made (International Institute for Restorative Practices, 2013). While this approach effectively trains teachers, the emphasis on training and individual practices fails to address the relational component and philosophy that makes up a truly restorative approach. The result is a disconnect between theory and practice which may hinder the chance for long term sustainability.

Other factors that can aid in the implementation of restorative approaches have also been studied. Effective leadership is identified as a key component in the successful implementation of restorative approaches (Morrison, Blood, Thorsborne, 2005). According to Morrison et al. 2005) a reciprocal relationship between leadership and empowerment must be developed throughout all levels of the school to be truly effective. In order for this to be accomplished, leaders at a restorative school must go beyond traditional procedural style of engagement and engage in the more emotional aspect of engagement (Morrison et. al 2005). This authoritative style of leadership is characterized by doing things 'with' others instead of 'to' others it exemplifies of what a restorative approach looks like.

Other factors that influence the implementation of restorative justice in schools have been identified by Reimer (2011) as contextual factors including structure and inconsistent support from gatekeepers of change. The difficult situation of attempting to adopt restorative approaches while still adhering to the traditional structure of school curriculum and policies has been shown to complicate efforts to adopt restorative approaches (Reimer, 2011). Furthermore, inconsistent support from school and board administrators has been shown to negatively impact restorative approaches in school. While the goals of restorative approaches are viewed in a positive manner by those in a position of authority, the change lacks funding and public encouragement (Reimer, 2011). Without consistent support from all parties involved, restorative justice seems to struggle in finding wholesale implementation.

As previously mentioned, the first documented case of restorative justice in schools occurred in Queensland, Australia where a restorative conference was used for a serious assault at a high school. The school continued to use the conference model to deal with disciplinary violations which included assaults and serious victimization (Suvall, 2009). While the Queensland school found success using restorative conferences, punitive methods were still being used to deal with a large number of incidents were still dealt with using the schools traditional punitive methods (Suvall, 2009). Herein lies the continual challenge to adopting restorative approaches in schools. The constant tension between the use of restorative approaches, and the desire to adhere to traditional disciplinary responses pose a dilemma for those working to make changes in schools.

Further studies of this high school in Queensland by Cameron and Thorsborne (1999) revealed several factors that need to be considered when implementing restorative justice in schools. The first three are representative of what can be done at a grassroots level by leaders, principals, or any other key figure (Cameron and Thorsborne, 1999). Professional development in restorative justice philosophy for all staff including those who are in non-teaching roles was identified as the first guideline to implementation. This should be followed by the development and maintenance of a group of highly skilled facilitators, and using the restorative process for staff conflict (Cameron and Thorsborne, 1999). Pre-service teacher education, state policy development, and school policy development were identified as challenges at the state

level to the successful implementation of restorative justice in schools (Cameron and Thorsborne, 2005).

Schools in Minnesota also struggled with this same pattern. Restorative approaches were viewed as one possible approach among a variety of approaches to deal with disciplinaryissues (Suval, 2009; Karp and Breslin, 2001). Schools in Denver have implemented restorative approaches on a larger scale to include a variety of practices. These practices range from informal meetings to formal group conferences (Suval, 2009; Karp and Breslin, 2001). The implementation of this wide range of practices also proved to be successful, however the same tension between restorative approaches and traditional disciplinary policies was still present (Sucal, 2009).

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework: Sensemaking and Critical Sensemaking

Sensemaking offers a social psychological means of "understanding the process by which different meanings are attributed to the same situation" (Helms Mills, Thurlow ,Mills 2010:852). Individuals engage in sensemaking to make sense of situations that disrupt normal routines. Such situations force people to deal with or make sense of them (Helms Mills, Thurlow, Mills 2010:852).

Weick describes seven interrelated properties that an individual may draw on to make sense of a situation. These properties include: identity construction, retrospection, extracted cues, plausibility, enaction, social, and ongoing (Helms Mills, Thurlow, Mills, 2010:852). Weick considered these seven properties a recipe for sensemaking and used them as a "coherent framework for viewing organizations as sensemaking systems" (Helms Mills, 2003:39).

Weick uses generative theory (Gergen, 1992) and social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) to help explain why people question basic assumptions. Interpretive interactionalism (Mead, 1962) is drawn on to help explain social sensemaking and identity construction. Retrospection is derived from Garfinkel's (1967) attribution theory which discusses how various meanings are applied to actions (Helms, Mills, 2003). Weick also uses what Festinger (1957) termed cognitive dissonance as part of the property of retrospection to help explain how outcomes precede definitions. Informing the property of Plausibility is Garfinkel's (1967) work on juries, while Goffman's (1974) frame analysis influences the property of extracted cues. The property of ongoing sensemaking is derived from Katz and Kahn's (1966) open systems view of

organizations, and lastly, the property of enactment is informed by Pfeffer and Salanik's (1978) work on the management of environmental influences. While useful as a starting point to examine organizational change, these properties fail to adequately address issues of structure and power. To address this gap I have also turned to critical sensemaking developed by Helms Mills (2009).

Critical sensemaking uses sensemaking as a heuristic that accounts for formative contexts, language and organizational rules. It helps explain the process of organizational change without imposing a framework (Thurlow and Helms Mills, 2009). In trying to better understand the context in which sensemaking occurs and the institutionalization of sensemaking decisions, critical sensemaking incorporates ideas about organizaitonal rules, and the notion of formative contexts (Mills and Murgatroyd 1991; Unger 1987). These concepts help critical sensemaking to account for the contextual factors of structure and power in which individual sensemaking occurs (Thurlow and Helms Mills 2009:464).

Critical sensemaking provides concepts related to organizational change that has helped me identify the individual responses to the change process that took place at St. Catherine's school. Situating individuals' responses within the broader context of organizational structure and power has helped me better understand how the change process was understood, why it was chosen, whose voices were heard, and how the different divisions (administrators and teachers) understood the change.

In this chapter I will first describe sensemaking as developed by Weick (1995) and demonstrate its relevance to my research. I will also point out the limitations of

traditional sensemaking and end with a discussion of critical sensemaking (Thurlow and Helms Mills, 2009) and how it adds to and expands the possibilites of an analysis using sensemaking.

The Development of Sensemaking

Karl Weick's initial criticisms of traditional approaches to organizational analysis form the origins of sensemaking theory (Helms Mills, 2003:38). At the time, the dominant organizational paradigm used for studying organizations viewed them as hierarchical, rational, and goal-driven structures (Helms Mills, 2003:38). This rigid approach, coupled with an emphasis on organizational outcomes rather than processes, led many theorists to search for new paradigms that would help better explain organizational change. Weick pursued this search for a new paradigm, and through his earlier work was able to develop the sensemaking model (Helms Mills, 2003).

Weick began his critique of hierarchical notions of organization by exploring the social-psychological linkages of organizations (the mental and behavioural processes of organizational members), rather than the coping and reproduction of hierarchical behavior (Helms Mills, 2003). As Helms Mills states: "Weick proposed a way of learning, looking and thinking about organizations that focused on the process of organizing" (2003:39). He understood organizations as loosely coupled systems rather than fixed hierarchal structures.

The traditional understanding of organizations assumed that organizational elements, such as staff, and departments, were tied together through dense, tight

linkages (Weick,1976). As a result, organizational behaviors were understood as linked through consciously arranged tasks, descriptions, or structures of co-ordination and control (Helms Mills, 2003). Weick proposed that this preoccupation with organizations as rational entities blinded researchers to the less tightly coupled events that affect organizational outcomes (Helms Mills,2003). Weick argued that organizations are much more fluid, and that the elements of an organization, such as the daily interactions of staff, tend to be joined together more frequently and in a less tightly bounded fashion. By thinking about organizations in this way, Weick developed a new approach to understanding organizational change. He suggested that not all elements of an organizing process are closely linked, and that some elements may be better able than others to develop novel solutions to problems" (Helms Mills, 2003:42). Through a focus on individual sensemaking properties, Weick's approach identifies individual sensemaking factors that play a role in how people understand change situations.

Research using sensemaking includes studies of the Mann Gulch fire disaster in 1949 (Weick, 1993), the Walkerton water contamination crisis (Mullen,Vladi, andMills 2006), and hurricane Juan in Halifax (Helms Mills and Weatherbee, 2006). Critical sensemaking theory has been used to study workplace spirituality (Long and Helms Mills, 2010), the Westray Mine explosion (O'Connell and Mills, 2003), and change programs introduced at Nova Scotia Power (Helms Mills, 2005). The following section will describe the individual properties of Weick's sensemaking model, drawing on examples from the above studies. I will propose ways that these properties will help me understand the change process at St. Catherine's.

Sensemaking Properties

Identity Construction

According to Weick, sensemaking begins with a sensemaker-an individual experiencing change within an organization (1995:18). The identity of the individual experiencing change influences how they make sense of events and meanings and facilitates a process of identity construction. As Helms Mills states, "who we are and what factors have shaped our lives influence how we see the world" (2010:853). Not only does Weick argue that our identity shapes the way we view and experience events, he also states that "people simultaneously try to shape and react to the environments they face. They take the cue for their identity from the conduct of others, but they make an active effort to influence this conduct to begin with" (Weick, 1995:23). In other words, people are always trying to display a sense of their individual identity to others, but that identity is also shaped by the reactions and responses a person receives from others.

Identity construction has been used as part of Weick's sensemaking framework to study a wide variety of disasters and change processes. Weick (1993) analyzed the Mann Gulch fire disaster of 1949 to show how identity construction affected firefighters' response to the crisis. This propery was also used by Mullen, Vladi, and Mills (2006) to analyze the actions of Stan Koebel during the Walkerton water crisis. For this study the idea of identity construction contributes to the analysis of the sensemaking process of teachers and administrators at St.Catheine's school. The teacher and administrators at St.Catherine's School may have a set identity of themselves as educators. The introduction of restorative practices at the school may challenge this original identity

and they may feel pressure to adopt the restorative style of teaching. To make sense of this new information and aid in the implementation process the teachers may begin to adopt the restorative style into their daily teaching and interactions with other staff and teachers. In doing so they may be trying to integrate their identity with the other teachers, and help solidify their new identity as a restorative style teacher. Failure by a teacher to respond with a restorative approach to a conflict situation or behavioural incident could be viewed as a failure in the identity construction of that individuals sensemaking process. This type of conflict within a teachers sensemaking process could be a barrier to fully integrating a restorative approach as part of their new teaching identity. My research explores how identity construction played a role during the change process at St.Catherine's School.

Retrospection

According to Weick (1995) sensemaking is retrospective. Individuals in a sensemaking process attach meaning to events by drawing on past experiences and understandings to help make sense of the future (Thurlow and Helms Mills 2009:462). Identities that were once meaningful prior to a change event will either aid or restrict adherence to future identities (Thurlow and Helms Mills, 2009). Weick (1995) and Helms Mills (2003) discusses how retrospective sensemaking involves more than simply looking at the past. The present moment provides material for sensemaking when sensemakers look retrospectively at their actions.

An experience I had at a conference on restorative justice relates to this point. One of the common complaints I heard from teachers was about the constant push to implement flawed new 'programs' into the curriculum. When teachers heard about a new program to be implemented they would draw on their past experience by looking back retrospectively at previous attempts to implement new programs. The ensuing retrospective sensemaking process typically leads teachers to conclude that the new programs would not work. This reaction would create a barrier to accepting any new program. Certainly, this process of retrospection could negatively affect teachers' willingness to implement restorative practices into their classrooms.

This type of retrospective sensemaking can be seen in the development and strengthening of zero-tolerance disciplinary policies in school. In the wake of increasing violence in schools across Canada and the United States studies have shown (Skiba and Peterson, 1999; Browne-Dianis, 2011) how school boards seek to bolster their stance on student misconduct. Looking back on violent incidents in schools through a process of retrospective sensemaking, educators find evidence to bolster their zero-tolerance stance on student conduct.

Helms Mills (2003) identifies retrospection as one of the most controversial sensemaking properties (Helms Mills, 2003). While Weick (1995) claimed that sense can only be made of an event after action has been taken, he could not explain why individuals rely on set scripts in order to take action in the first place. It would seem that the sensemaker can make sense of a situation prior to taking action. This fact contradicts Weick's claim that action must be taken in order to make sense.

Extracted Cues

What Weick (1995) calls extracted cues constitute the elements that help determine a sensemaker's sense of a situation. To find plausible meaning individuals must rely on these extracted cues that are linked to a series of ideas and actions. Extracted cues help to tie together elements cognitively (Thurlow and Helms Mills 2009:463) This means an individual focuses on certain elements while completely ignoring others to support their interpretation of an event (Helms Mills, Thurlow, Mills, 2010:185) depending on what cues are extracted and whether they are consistent with the change process. An individual comes to support or resist a change process. Because sensemaking is retrospective, past experience dictates the cues we extract.

While understanding what cues are extracted in order for individuals to make sense of their environment, Weick fails to address the issue of power and context. The omission of these two key factors raises questions surrounding what cues are promoted over others;, and who influences this process (Helms Mills, 2003). Sensemaking therefore fails to adequately address how certain cues are entered into a change process, as well as how these cues are imposed on members of an organization with less power (Helms Mills, 2003). Weick further asserts that once the sensemaker acts, any confusion regarding the selection of cues will be solved. This ambiguous process seems to assume that the sensemaker holds all of the power in the senesemaking process, and fails to properly address the "the reality of conflictual sensemaking" (Helms Mills, 2003:137) and what steps need to be taken in order to deal with it. Critical sensemaking, described in a later section of this chapter, addresses these limitations.

Plausibility

Plausibility refers to the fact that we rely more on the cues that make our sensemaking seem plausible than our actual perceptions. As Thurlow and Helms Mills state:

> there is no specific definition of what makes a particular explanation plausible, however, Weick suggests that options make most sense when there are no better alternatives, other individuals seem enthusiastic about this alternative, other individuals or organizations have taken this same perspective, and/or this explanation resonates most closely with existing identities and perceptions (2009:462).

Plausibility arises out of the sense that a change feels right, seems sensible and fits with what a person already knows (Weick, 1995). What helps make something plausible, according to Helms Mills, "is the context in which a sensemaking story is being told." (2003:62). The story creates plausibility. It provides the sensemaker with the past experiences, expectations, and cues to make something plausible.

Six factors contribute to a sensemaking outcome feeling plausible: (1) pressures of time and the availability of different interpretations make it feel right, (2) lack of better solutions forthcoming, (3) concurrance with the feelings or perceptions of others, (4) it counteracts interruptions and facilitates ongoing projects, (5) it appears to encourage an energetic, confident, motivated response in others, and (6) there is an, as yet untestable belief in its accuracy (Helms Mills, 2003). These six factors will influence where the sensemaker chooses to focus when they enact their sensemaking of a situation. With all of these factors present, individuals can determine more easily what is plausible and structure their responses accordingly. This process helps people make sense of a situation.

The decision to implement restorative practices at St.Catherine's School provided new and innovative solutions to dealing with student behaviour. The approach matched administrators' views about how to deal with behaviour in the school and was selected without a testable belief in its accuracy. This new approach may have generated a more energetic and motivated response among the administration and staff. Meeting all of these criteria provided the elements to enact a restorative approach that made sense and that would be effective.

Foucault (1972) also addresses the notion of plausibility through his work on discourse and language. Specifically, he looks at how discourse is controlled, what can be said and what cannot. One mechanism of control is the opposition of reason and madness. By this Foucault claims,

> a man was mad if his speech could not be said to form part of the common discourse of men. His words were considered null and void, without truth or significance, worthless as evidence, inadmissible in the authentication of acts or contracts, incapable even of bringing about transubstantiation – the transformation of bread into flesh – at mass (1972:317).

The process of discounting the speech of others if their words do not correspond with the traditional discourse of the time, directly correlates to the third factor that creates plausibility and aids in the sensemaking process. An idea must concur with the feelings and perceptions of others in order to be plausible in the sensemaking process.

Weick claims that the sensemaker relies on plausibility rather than accuracy when engaged in a sensemaking process. Helms Mills (2003) argues that plausibility and accuracy are one and the same and that accuracy helps build plausibility. Therefore,

Helms Mills notes that “the issue of change management is not whether a company reverts to plausibility rather than accuracy, but whether they are able to develop a sufficiently convincing level of plausibility” (2003:147). In relation to my study, whether restorative approaches offer a proven way for schools to deal with behaviour problems may be irrelevant to whether a change process will be successful. Making restorative approaches appear as a plausible option may be a more important factor needed to satisfy plausible sensemaking. Therefore whether or not a change seems plausible will depend on the associated context. As an example, the restorative school model used at St. Catherines was adopted from the IIRP which has successfully implemented restorative practices into multiple schools. The success stories from these schools, along with the positive encouragement from a participant in the change process who had previous knowledge of the model, may have helped to make restorative practices and the IIRP model a plausible option.

Enactment

Enactment refers to how individuals bring a particular meaning into action (Thurlow and Helms Mills, 2009:462). It essentially refers to the social construction of reality (Weick, 1979, as cited in Helms Mills, 2003). As Helms Mills states: “sensemaking is literally about making sense of action” (2003:64). Enactment provides the vehicle that drives the sensemaking process. When a person acts they think about their action and try to make sense of it. During this process the individual will focus on elements of their actions.

They will block out certain elements and focus on others. This process helps individuals retain and make sense of the experience (Helms Mills, 2003).

Action and sensemaking are not, however, separate processes. People create their own environments and by doing so they constrain their own actions (Helms Mills, 2003). When individuals take action, they choose their course, their language, and their desired outcome. Action can be taken based on previous experiences, belief systems, goals, motivations, fears, and misinformation, among others. All of these factors play a role in what elements of the action the sensemaker chooses to focus on and what they choose to disregard. Therefore, individuals create their own environment along with the barriers and opportunities that go along with it (Weick,1995). Only through action are individuals able to cut through discursive thought and possible outcomes to create a situation that will make sense to them.

Helms Mills (2003) shows how enactment works in her research on how management at Nova Scotia Power chose a culture-change program and a re-engineering program. These programs contained the elements to enact an environment that both reflected their own interests, as well as setting the stage for how they expected employees to act. It could be argued that staff at St. Catherines School acted very much along the same lines by choosing the IIRP model for restorative practices in schools. In doing so they enacted an environment that both served their own interests. They also created an environment that would provide the cues necessary to constrain employee dialogue and sensemaking to support the change initiative.

The enactment of restorative approaches in schools can be seen throughout various school boards across Canada and the United States. Studies showing the adoption of restorative practices in schools (Mirsky, 2011; Porter, 2007; Welden, 2010) to highlight the various ways in which schools are enacting a restorative approach to school discipline.

One of the continual criticism that has been leveled at sensemaking is Weick's failure to account for the role power plays in the sensemaking process (Helms Mills, 2003). While Weick (1995) claims sensemaking enacts the environment, he fails to adequately identify whose environment is being enacted (Helms Mills, 2003). Failing to do so shows a lack of accountability for the role that power dynamics have on shaping a persons action within a given environment. In relation to my research question I might ask whether teachers are enacting an environment based on their own individual experience, or whether the environment influenced the administration.

Ongoing

Sensemaking is an ongoing process, and, according to Weick, "sensemaking never starts" (1995:43). We are always in the middle of day-to-day routines, interactions, and conversations at work. All of these activities form part of the ongoing nature of sensemaking. Shocks, ambiguity, and uncertainty cause disruptions in the ongoing sensemaking of individuals (Helms Mills, 2003). When a shock takes place, the individual must engage in sensemaking to readjust, reaffirm, and re-engage in the ongoing flow of sensemaking (Weick, 1995). This is of particular importance for organizations because

the more an individual engages in the daily ongoing flow of sensemaking at work the more efficient they become. Work procedures become more organized and more automatic (Helms Mills, 2003).

Understanding ongoing sensemaking enhances our understanding of organizational change because it allows for the identification of areas susceptible to shocks, ambiguity, and uncertainty (Weick, 1995). Organizations must be able to identify potential areas of organizational breakdown because these breakdowns will lead to negative emotions (Weick, 1995). If organizations fail to address these areas, employees can develop resentment. The current school system, exemplifies this problem in how it implements new programs. Teachers have little say. New programs disrupt their ongoing sensemaking of day-to-day activites, and teacher become resentful about the new programs. This situation presents a challenge for the implementation of restorative approaches in schools.

Social

The individual sensemaking process involved in identity construction would be pointless without the involvement of others. Sensemaking is, therefore, also social. Weick (1995) addresses the social aspect of sensemaking by focusing on three points. First, we make sense for ourselves. We do this by using common everyday language and everyday social interaction. Second, individual sensemaking relies on the conduct of others. A person will make sense of a situation based on how others react, or how a person perceives the reaction of others. Third, we make sense for others by sharing ideas with

other people. This sharing in turn influences how others make sense of events (Helms Mills, 2003). Weick revealed sensemaking as an individual activity that remains contingent on social relations. Social processes shape the way individuals experience their work environment. These experiences will, in turn, have a larger effect on the organization (Helms Mills, 2003). For example, employees carry negative daily interactions between staff in the workplace, such as disparaging comments about the work or management into all of their daily activities. As a result, staff be less motivated, or less productive. The resulting environment resists new ideas or new ways of doing things. This social sensemaking process is evident in studies that examine the use of restorative circles in schools and the positive effects they have had on social-emotional learning and the reduction of student altercations (Mirsky, 2008; Welden, 2010).

Helms Mills addresses the importance of the organizational setting and the influence of social processes on sensemaking: "The individual's attempt to make sense occurs in the context of organizational routines, symbols, language and scripts" (2003:54). The daily social process affect all aspects of individual sensemakers and their sensemaking process. It affects the way they carry out their work, their expectations of management, their interaction with other employees and the topics they discuss with others throughout the day. All of this provides information that sensemakers can use to make sense of what is going on, where they fit in the organization, what they should be doing, and what they should be thinking.

The social aspect of sensemaking reveals how individuals make sense of the language, scripts, and routines of an organization (Helms Mills, 2003). Weick's

conceptualization of this property captures the importance of the social but fails to pay adequate attention to the issues of power, social-pyschological dynamics of control, and the imiplications of shared meaning versus shared experiences (Helms Mills, 2003). Weick pays little attention to what influences the scripts, language, and social-psychological controls of the social sensemaking property. In doing so he fails to account for the context and power dynamics that play a vital role in influencing individual sensemaking processes.

In order for a restorative approach to be true to its principles, a top-down method of institutionalization must be avoided. Adopting a critical sensemaking approach that accounts for formative contexts (Unger, 1987) and organizational rules (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991) will allow for the issue of power and context to be accounted for when analyzing the change process at St.Catherine's School, allowing for a more critical criminological analysis.

Critical Sensemaking

The sensemaking model offers an approach to analyzing organizational change at a micro-level. It offers insights into how individuals interpret change through their own eyes. Weick offers a framework for explaining individual differences in the way events are understood, how and why those differences are translated into sensible interlocking behaviors, and the relationship between identity construction and organizational outcomes (Helms Mills 2003:36). Sensemaking allows for the exploration of factors and events that play a role in shaping who we are that in turn affects the cues we extract

and that makes those cues seem plausible (Thurlow and Mills 2009:463). The model contributes a way to understand how change programs may influence future change programs.

The seven social psychological properties of Weick's sensemaking theory help make sense of the change process. They provide an in-depth look at how individuals think and react during a period of upheaval or change. By applying these concepts to the individual experiences of administrators and teachers I have developed an understanding of how they were affected by the change process at St.Catherine's school while restorative practices were being implemented. These insights have allowed me to develop a deeper understanding of how the responses to the change process affected the implementation of restorative practices at St.Catherines.

Sensemaking theory provides insight into how individuals deal with change from the perspective of micro-level interaction (Thurlow and Helms Mills, 2009:463). Sensemaking can best be understood as a complex process that occurs within and is influenced by the broader social environment (Helms Mills, Thurlow and Mills, 2010:188).However, sensemaking overlooks power, knowledge, structure, and past relationships (Helms Mills, Thurlow and Mills, 2010:188) Critical sensemaking theory, which will be discussed below, provides the opportunity to incorporate these macro-level factors including context in which the change is situated and the organizational rules that govern the change.

Critical Sensemaking

Critical sensemaking combines Weick's properties with an acknowledgement of social power to provide a more sociological approach. Critical sensemaking incorporates the work of Unger's work on formative contexts (1987), Mills and Murgatroyd's work of organizational rules (1991), and Foucault's notions of power and discourse (1972). It therefore accounts for the context in which the changes taking place, the existing formal and informal organizational rules and the powerful discourses in which the sensemaking properties are embedded (Helms Mills, Thurlow and Mills, 2010).

Formative contexts provide "a link between dominant social values and individual action" (Helms Mills, Thurlow and Mills, 2010:189). Application of this concept bridges the gap between dominant macro-level social values and micro-level action and for a discussion of how the macro-level context affect individuals sensemaking processes at the organizational level. The concept opens up the analysis of sensemaking to include more than just the immediate environment of the organization or institution and helps situate organizational change in a broader context.

Foucault (1972) also offers tools to bridge the gap between macro-level social values and micro-level action in his analysis of the conditions under which discourse can be employed. Foucault views education as a condition that helps control the dissemination of discourse: "every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it" (1972:326). The education system bridges the gap between dominant social values and individual action. It controls what information is allowed to be released to staff and students. School Boards create a vision that ostensibly reflects

the values of the community, school board and staff of a school district. Understanding this vision and what factors help influence it can provide greater understanding of the formative context that influences individual behaviour at the school level during the change process.

Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) discuss organizational rules as a way of examining power relations between management and staff in organizations. They define rules as "a phenomena whose basic characteristics is that of generally controlling, constraining, guiding and defining social action" (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991:3). Rules focus on "activities of socialization" (Helms Mills, 2003:19) that provide a focal point for members of an organization to act them out and reinforce organizational culture. Rules can be formal, (i.e, policies) or informal (the way things get done) (Thurlow and Helms Mills, 2009:464). Organizational rules affect the sensemaking process by influencing the plausibility that a cue will be extracted as meaningful to the sensemaker.

Many factors play a role in shaping organizational rules. Organizational rules create space for what are known as meta-rules (Thurlow and Helms Mills, 2009:464). These meta-rules consist of factors such as privatization, competition, and modes of production. They represent "points of intersection between various formative contexts" (Helms Mills, Thurlow, Mills, 2010:190). At St. Catherine's School, this point of intersection opens up an area of discussion around the different models of restorative practices for schools and how this influenced the change process. Rules can also influence organizational change by privileging a dominant language of change within an organization. Thus, critical sensemaking accounts for how individuals use power to

enact rules, along with the limitations under which these rules are enacted. Although those in a position of power may enact rules to provide a sense of direction for the organization, they themselves are at the mercy of the various meta-rules and formative contexts in which they operate. These meta-rules and formative contexts are evident in how the school board controls the implementation of programs and what codes of conduct must be followed. I will offer a more detailed discussion of this point in a subsequent chapter.

Critical sensemaking also incorporates Michel Foucault's (1972) work on power and knowledge. Foucault proposed that:

> in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and it dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade it ponderous, awesome materiality (1972:316).

Incoroporated into critical sensemaking Foucault's work on discourse helps contribute to an analysis of organizational rules, sensemaking properties, and how power and discourse can influence the sensemaking process.

Critical sensemaking also incorporates Unger's (1987) work on formative contexts. This concept guides me to explore the current context of the education system and its approach to discipline, allowing me to better understand what may have motivated the push to incorporate restorative practices at St. Catherines. Taking the individual experiences of the teachers and staff and analyzing them against the organizational hierarchy of the school using Mills and Murgatroyd's (1991) work on organizational rules as well as Foucault's (1972) work on discourse will help me better understand how the power dynamic between the administrators and the teachers

influenced the change process. The incorporation of these three theoretical frameworks allow for the perfect blend of micro and macro-level analysis, something that would not be possible only using Weick's (1995) work on individual sensemaking.

I contend that critical sensemaking offers insights for a better understanding of causes relevant to critical criminologists. It helps to focus on the nature of justice, within a structure of class and status inequalities. For example, I will be able to address class and structure through an analysis of the power dynamics between staff and teachers as well as the school board and teachers during the implementation process. The issue of power must also be addressed to ensure that the implementation process of restorative practices at St. Catherine's stayed true to the very principles that underlie restorative approaches. Because teachers resist new programs in the curriculum, I am interested to see whether the implementation of restorative practices adhered to its own principles of inclusion and allowed for the teachers' voices to be heard or if it went against these principles. A critical sensemaking framework allows for this type of analysis by situating the sensemaking processes of administrators and teachers against the education systems policy, procedures, and day-to-day formal and informal rules.

Chapter Four: Methodology

I have conducted a case study of St. Catherine's Elementary school, a fully restorative school in Halifax, Nova Scotia. I have examined the following question: "How can the change process be understood at St. Catherine's Elementary School to help further support the institutionalization of restorative justice in schools?" This question focuses on the change process that takes place when an institution implements restorative practices.

Using Creswell's model of central questions and topical sub-questions (Creswell,1998:99-101), I have developed a series of topical sub questions to help guide my research. According to Creswell, the central question should be as broad as possible. It should capture the overarching topic the researcher wishes to study (Creswell, 1998). The topical sub questions should be more specific and illicit as much information as possible from the interview subject (Creswell, 1998). Based on this advice my topical sub questions include:

- What happened?
- Why were restorative practices chosen?
- How was it selected?
- Whose voices were heard in the change process?
- How did the different divisions (i.e., staff and teachers) understand the change?

Working to answer these questions, sensemaking and critical sensemaking has provided a lens to help me understand how restorative justice was understood, how different meanings were ascribed to the same events, where and why differences may have occurred in the process and, finally, and what can be done in future restorative justice programmes. At the outset of this study I could only speculate on the answers to these

questions. My initial response was to assume that staff and faculty responded to the change process with uncertainty and mixed feelings. I also believed that concerted action by a few key figures acted as the catalyst for the change process to take place in the first place. Answering the topical sub-questions has led me to uncover new and more nuanced characteristics of the change process that took place. These findings will be elaborated on in the chapters to come.

Research Design

I have conducted qualitative research to answer my research question. Qualitative research concerns itself with how individuals interpret, understand, experience, produce, and constitute the social world. It uses flexible and sensitive methods of data generation that emphasizes a more holistic analysis than possible in quantitative studies (Mason, 2002:3).

I have used a case study strategy to analyze the organizational change process that took place at St. Catherine's Elementary school in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The case study method has been defined and understood in various ways. I understand it to be:

> an approach capable of examining simple or complex phenomenon, with units of analysis varying from single individuals to large corporations and businesses; it entails using a variety of lines of action in its data gathering segments, and can meaningfully make use of and contribute to the application theory (Berg 2007:283).

Conducting a case study in an organizational setting helps place "particular emphasis on a specific area or situation occurring in the organization" (Berg, 2007:296). Helms Mills, for example (2003) used the case study method to analyze the change process that took

place at Nova Scotia Power by collecting corporate documents, observing meetings and planning in action. She also conducted numerous interviews with managers and employees. The result was an in-depth analysis of the change process and its results.

The case study method has also allowed me to gain a wealth of detailed and in depth information (Berg 2007). By concentrating solely on St.Catherine's school I have been able to identify the significant factors and characteristics that played a role in the implementation of restorative practices. This case study allowed me to focus on how the change process was understood by people at the school.

Berg (2007) discusses two types of case studies: intrinsic and instrumental. Intrinsic case studies allow a researcher to better understand a particular case. Intrinsic case studies allow a researcher to better understand the central aspects of the particular case, whether it be a child, a group, or, in this case, an organization (Berg, 2007:291). Instrumental case studies offer insight into an issue or help refine a theoretical explanation. In this instance the case becomes secondary. It acts in a supporting role, providing a backdrop for exploration of the research interests. The research interests of an instrumental case study are geared towards helping the researcher better understand a larger theoretical question, issue or problem (Berg, 2007:291).

My research began with an interest in restorative justice and the school system and my research question was formulated from this initial interest. Because my choice of St.Catherine's school came later, I have conducted an instrumental case study. I was interested in providing a more thorough understanding of the institutionalization

process of restorative justice into schools, and my research addresses this larger issue. Using St. Catherine's as the site of my case study was a natural fit as the school had already successfully undergone the change process required to implement restorative justice into a school. Therefore, the school provided the necessary backdrop to help me understand the change process that is required for the institutionalization of restorative justice into schools.

One of the most common critiques of case studies are they provide little in the way of scientific generalizability (Yin, 2009). Case studies are, however, generalizable to theoretical propositions (Yin, 2009:15). Case studies allow for deep understanding of phenomenon, events, people and organizations (Berg, 2007:285) that allows for a large amount of information to be generated and applied to theory. Because I have conducted a case study of an organization, and completed in-depth interviews with people involved in the process I have been able to generate a large amount of data, which I have been able to analyze and relate to my research question.

Data collection and Data Sources

I have conducted semi-standardized interviews. These interviews are less formally structured than standard interviews. As Stake states, "getting the exact words of the respondent is usually not very important, it is what they mean that is important" (1995:66). Semi-standardized interviews allowed for my questions to be reordered during the interview, the wording of my questions to be more flexible, the level of language to be adjusted during the interview. The approach also gave me ability to

answer questions, provide clarity, and probe subjects for responses (Berg, 2007:93). Semi-standardized interviews were beneficial in conducting this case because I was trying to understand how the participants understood and processed the change. A rigid interview structure would have handicapped my ability to let participants fully express their experience thus limiting my data collection.

Additionally, qualitative interviews generate information that has depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness (Mason, 2002:65). Because I was looking into a complex process of social change, I needed data that provided a window into this complexity. I aimed to gain a deep understanding of the sensemaking process rather than simply identify broad surface patterns of change (Mason, 2002:65).

To gain a complete understanding of my case, I interviewed both current and past staff at St. Catherine's Elementary school, along with other relevant individuals who were involved with the change process. I completed a total of seven interviews[3]. These people all had firsthand knowledge of what took place during the change process.

Ethical Considerations

Informed consent should be based on honest and complete information regarding the research at hand (Palys,2003:8). The process of gaining informed consent involves an oral, or in some cases, a written agreement with participants that lets them know from the beginning what participation involves, what the costs will be to them, and what risks

[3] I have left their identities and roles deliberately obscure to protect their identities.

or any other factors might be involved before they decide to participate (Palys and Atchison, 2008).

I engaged all of the proper steps to ensure the confidentiality of the individuals involved in this case. I understand the most common threat to confidentiality to come from the very group of individuals being researched (Palys 2003:91). These threats are considered low grade threats and occur frequently (Palys, 2003), mainly when multiple people are being interviewed in a common location. Participants are often curious to know what others said during interviews and I was careful not to divulge information to any one participant that I learned from another participant. To combat this problem Palys suggests:

> the best way to inspire confidence in research participants is to show them how vigilant you are in safeguarding the information that others give you; it tells them that you will show the same vigilance with their information and that they really can trust you (2003:91).

I informed all participants know that everything would be kept confidential and I included the details of the confidentiality of the interview process in a written letter for each participant.

To further ensure confidentiality, I anonymized my records at the first opportunity. Because my interview subjects came from a cross section of administrators and teachers from the same institution and are known to each other, I have kept track of them by using pseudonyms. This will prevent those involved in the study or other teachers and administrators in the school from identifying participants through the answers provided. I have also provided any quotes used to the participants being

quoted. I have followed the guidelines of the Research Ethics Board to ensure their confidentiality and anonymity.

Limitations

There is reason to believe that telling participants about the objectives of a study may influence the very phenomenon trying to be studied (Palys, 2003). I had to be aware of whether telling the participants about the research in detail would cause expectations in them that might invalidate the research. One concern I had was that participants would feel obligated to only provide positive answers about the change process out of fear of reprisal for speaking truthfully. I cannot say for certain whether or not this was the case. I did find that some participants were comfortable to criticize certain aspects of the experience. I was also unable to contact and interview all the key players. This may have resulted in gaps in the stories told. One last limitation that should be noted is the potential for a bias sample of participants. I interviewed people from a list provided by the principal of the school. The views and opinions of these teachers may have been more positive and in favour of restorative justice. It would be unlikely the principal would have selected individuals with a negative view of restorative justice.

Chapter Five: Results

In 2008 a conversation between the principal of St.Catherine's School and a local expert on restorative justice set in motion the implementation of restorative practices at the school. From that point, administrators and teachers of St. Catherine's School were exposed to restorative practices through a series of instructional sessions delivered by the International Institute for Restorative Practices. The local expert also provided guidance and support. They were exposed to the concepts, ideas, and tools that make up a restorative approach. Armed with this new knowledge, the administrators and teachers engaged in a new way of thinking about their students' behaviour and about their relationships with each other. While the restorative justice program in Nova Scotia has been well documented (Archibald and Llewellyn, 2006), less attention has been paid to how restorative practices are being adopted in schools throughout the province.

The following chapter presents data from my interviews. I will present what happened, why restorative practices were chosen, how they were selected, and whose voices were heard during the change process. I will also discuss the major properties of critical sensemaking and how they relate to staff at St.Catherine's understanding of the change process.

What Happened?

The case of St. Catherine's Elementary School offers a unique opportunity to understand the change process because it was among one of the first schools in Nova Scotia to become fully restorative. Administrators, teachers, students, and parents have been

trained in and exposed to a wide range of informal and formal restorative practices. These included everything from affective statements to full formal group conferences.

This training alone would not have been enough to transform St. Catherine's into a fully restorative school. While the IIRP provided the tools, the ongoing, concerted effort of administrators and staff put the tools to work. Much of this work focused on the importance of relationships, and how cultivating positive relationships, through the application of restorative practices, allowed for a restorative way of life to take root at the school. Teachers at St. Catherine's were encouraged to apply what they had learned in training to situations that cropped up in their classrooms and in the schoolyard. This meant letting go of an individualistic authoritarian model for discipline and punishment and replacing it with a relational model that takes into account all parties involved in an incident. The teachers were required to shift their focus away from punishing students for misconduct and instead work to repair the harm that was caused by the misconduct while holding the wrongdoer accountable for his/her actions.

My conversations with people involved in the change process revealed a strong sense of community, pride, ownership, and social responsibility. Members of St. Catherine's school did not simply learn about circles and claim to be restorative, only to have the approach fade away six months later. Staff at St. Catherine's School appear to have wholeheartedly engaged in the change process necessary to implement a restorative philosophy that would sustain an ongoing restorative approach to dealing with student conduct. The school is now characterized by a focus on the development of relationships while maintaining a firm but fair authoritative approach to discipline.

Why Were Restorative Practices Chosen and How Were They Selected?

Shock and Ambiguity

The initial shock that put the sensemaking process in motion at St.Catherine's School must first be situated within the greater formative context to provide a more in-depth understanding of what shaped the implementation process. Shocks can be understood as any event that disrupts regular organizational routines or sensemaking scripts (Helms Mills, 2003). St. Catherine's School, like all other schools in the province of Nova Scotia, had been using Positive Effective Behavioural Supports (P.E.B.S.) to address student behavioural problems. It consists of four different pillars: respect for yourself, others, environment, and learning. Teachers and administrators in each school develop reflective expectations around these four pillars for their school environment and share these expectations with the students (Halifax Regional School Board, 2013).

This authoritarian and individualized approach to dealing with behaviour created the occasion for sensemaking to occur. This individualized approach did not fit with how administrators wanted to deal with student behaviour, thus creating an ambiguous sensemaking occasion. Ambiguous sensemaking occasions occuring as a result of people becoming confused by too many interpretations (Weick, 1995). Different interpretations of how to deal with student misconduct from such a diverse student population ensued between the administrators at St.Catherine's School. These multiple interpretations provided the ambiguity responsible for the shock that began the sensemaking process.

This ambiguity around how to effectively deal with student conduct at St. Catherine's resulted from the administrators' and teachers' sensed that the P.E.B.S.

model was ineffective. One individual interviewed summarized the P.E.B.S. system quite nicely:

> The kids are supposed to follow these things and if they don't they have majors or minors, so a major may be you have cursed and punched someone, that would be a major, and there would be certain circumstances listed out for that behaviour, minors would be something else and there would be certain consequences for that, and it was a blanket, kind of this, this is what you did and this is what happens to you, so predetermined consequences.

P.E.B.S. operates on a reward system. Majors and minors categorize harmful incidents. Students receive rewards for positive actions. The same individual went on and further explained this component:

> But then on the flipside of that, when you saw students doing good things they got, 'got goods' or 'happening hearts' and they got put in a draw and they could win the draw and that kind of thing, but all of Halifax Regional School Board [HRSB] or all of Nova Scotia is on the P.E.B.S. system so that was a department of education HRSB set thing

When asked about their thoughts on the current state of disciplinary policies, reactions to the effectiveness of P.E.B.S. were predominantly negative among administrators and teachers. Reactions included:

> With P.E.B.S. it's a band-aid thing, you're not helping them fix anything so they're more likely to go and do it again and repeat.

> I think the whole system is out of wack, they have to get rid of P.E.B.S. it has done nothing but bribe kids

> Well my own experience was traditional responses to behaviour in terms of consequences or punitive consequences didn't seem to work, and early in my career I used suspensions regularly in the hope that it would change student behaviour and I had little or no success with that.

While most reactions to P.E.B.S. were negative, one person I interviewed defended the system:

> The provincial code of conduct and the regional codes of conduct that school boards develop are in fact in their language and in their spirit are incredibly restorative like the actual policies as they're written outline very nicely with the restorative approach. There is a range of consequences that principals can choose from including suspension but there are other things that they can choose from that include conferencing with the student and meeting with the parents, and all of these things get animated when you look at the code of conduct from a relational or restorative perspective so I think that our code of conduct is progressive in this province.

The problem with associating P.E.B.S. with restorative justice is that P.E.B.S. itself does not incorporate relationships. This particular individual has been educated and versed in relational theory and restorative approaches, and is therefore able to extract cues from the P.E.B.S. system that are relational in nature. The majority of administrators and teachers in the province have not been educated in restorative approaches or relational theory, therefore P.E.B.S. is not likely to be used in a truly restorative way.

While P.E.B.S. attempts to disguise itself as an inclusive and progressive approach to student conduct/behaviour, the basic premise of an individualized approach to dealing with behavioural issues and authoritarian punishment based delivery still remains. It appears to be the same discipline and punish model of older

harsher zero tolerance policies, but with a shiny veneer to seem less harsh and more inclusive.

As a result of P.E.B.S., suspensions become the most commonly used consequence. One person interviewed referred to his reliance on suspensions early on in his career. Without an awareness of relational theory or restorative approaches, P.E.B.S. continues to be applied in a punitive manner and runs contrary to the restorative approach.

With P.E.B.S. viewed as ineffective, the administrators at St.Catherine's school still faced a student population from multiple socio-economic backgrounds with various behavioural challenges. They wanted to deal with students in a healthy way to ensure each student had a positive experience. Administrators were aware that an approach to student conduct had to account for the relationships between their students would be affected by the strong socioeconomic class distinctions present in the school. As one research participant stated:

> St.Catherine's already had before it the opportunity to just see clearly that relationships were at stake for the well-being of their students because they drew from populations of students who had significant other issues and low socioeconomic status and, you know, other ways in which they were on the margins. But they also walked into that with a community that had some significant privilege too and thought about how do you allow these people to come and understand themselves and relationships with one another and to be able to um, address those differences, and make those differences matter. So they already had that kind of view from the margins, that they could see in more holistic ways in which relationships mattered to the wellbeing of their students and to the scholastic of their students. . .that their relationships were affecting how they walked into the door every morning, or how their parents had walked in or out of school a generation before.

With this myriad of social factors lying before them and brand new administration at the school, the challenge was how to bring together this student body so that they could leave St.Catherine's School feeling that they had a positive experience. Research participant spoke about this dilemma and the desire to find ways to deal with student behaviour in positive ways:

> We wanted the elementary experience for these students to look a particular way so that was literally our mission statement, we wanted every student in that building from P to six to leave St.Catherine's School only feeling like they had a positive experience despite their challenge. . .well then that means how we respond to behaviour has to be supportive.

Attempting to develop a way to accommodate the students various social and economic backgrounds provided the ambiguity that created a break in the traditional organizational routines in dealing with student conduct. As Helms Mills notes "ambiguity and uncertainty are 'shocks' in so far as they are breaks or gaps in organizational routines" (2003:52). This gap in the regular routine of dealing with student behaviour in a traditional authoritarian way created the space for restorative practices and a relational approach to emerge.

From this ambiguity a pseudo ideology was formulated that would serve as the foundation stone for the current restorative approach at St.Catherine's to be built. One research participant said the following about how staff approached this uncertain situation:

> So what we decided to do is just like it's very intuitive to support students who have literacy or numeracy problems by rushing to their aid giving them additional support developing special plans for them, so we said

what if we did exactly the same thing but with behaviour, so what if when we're observing behaviour we said well hey that student needs support, just like a student who can't read at an appropriate level in grade five say, they're not within the range that they should be, we're going to bring all of these supports to them, we did the same thing with behavior so we said lets create support plans for these students so that despite the fact that they're breaking rules or they're upsetting others, they're causing harm, our stance was always supportive.

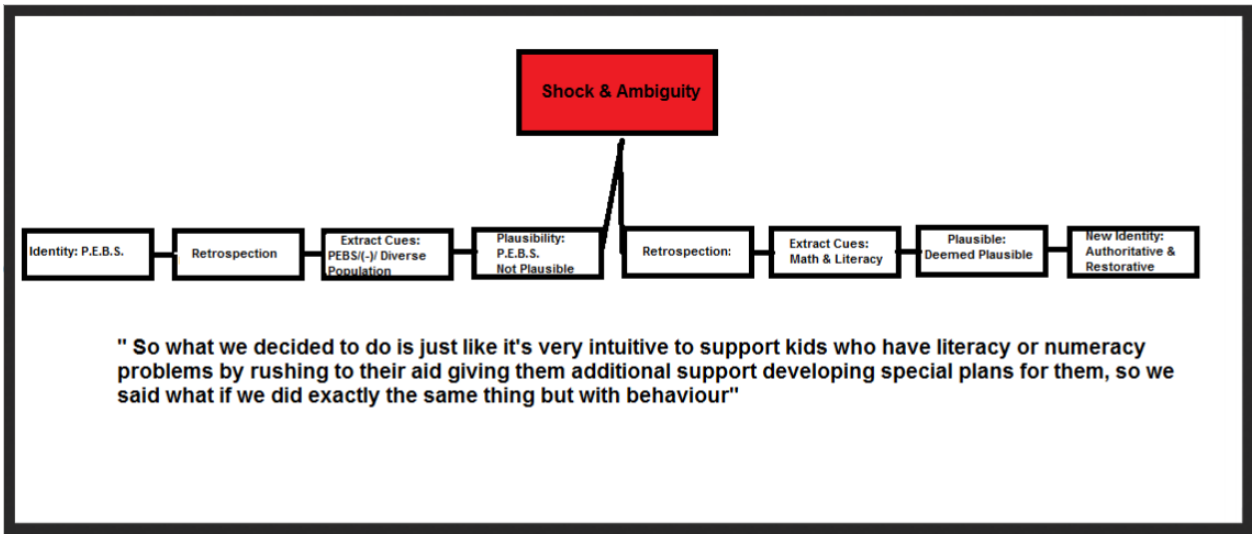

Figure #1: Sensemaking process of administration

Administration, through a process of retrospective sensemaking, were able to extract various cues from how they previously dealt with student math and literacy problems and develop a plausible account of how they could effectively address student behaviour problems.

This stance taken by staff at St.Catherine's to deal with student behaviour consists of a high level of support and high level of control. This approach represents the relational, and authoritative characteristics of a restorative approach. Language in sensemaking is based off of cultural scripts (Helms Mills, 2003) and the statement in Figure 1 describes the cultural script that acted as the "ideology that serves as the cognitive framework in the form of institutional systems, routines, and scripts" (Helms Mills, 2003:52) that

would shape the ongoing sensemaking process throughout the institutionalization of restorative approaches at St.Catherine's School. Figure 1 illustrates the process described above.

How Was the Change Process Understood?

Making Sense of Leadership

To gain a clear picture of the leadership surrounding the change process at St.Catherines's, I asked research participants a series of questions related to their sensemaking of the leadership at St.Catherine's School. Questions focused on both individual identities, the identity of those in charge of the change initiative, and how restorative practices have challenged their perceptions of the roles of teachers and administrators. Specific questions included: How would you describe the leadership around the restorative practice initiative? How would you describe your role as a teacher/administrator? How has the restorative approach challenged your role as a teacher/administrator? Several people I interviewed made the following statements:

> Top notch leadership just 100% supportive
>
> Everybody on staff knew that administration was going to support them
>
> He had already proved himself as being very supportive of what we were doing in our classrooms, and so there was a lot of faith in him
>
> Administration were very supportive in making sure that any questions we had were answered, but also in supporting us within the classroom, so if we were implementing it, say we were doing a problem solving circle and we had to take kids out, well you don't want someone to stop

> teaching, so they would come in and teach our class so that teaching was still happening.
>
> So the leadership was very strong in that sense because they supported us in any way they needed to
>
> I knew whatever administration was doing in the office in speaking with that student, whoever it was, was supporting the student in dealing with whatever the issue was, and I knew that I was being supported as well, so when that student came back into the classroom I was more than comfortable that the problem had been handled to the best of their ability and that I could approach that student and move on with the learning.
>
> The leadership came all from him [principal] because it was all new to us…he was very, very connected to staff, and very well liked, and very well respected by the staff and the community and he arranged so we could have training so we had a lot of knowledge at the get go, it wasn't just sort of "we like this idea how could we go about it" it was fairly structured

These statements suggest the leadership surrounding the restorative approach initiative at St.Catherine's applied restorative principles in their leadership style. They also provide insight into how the leadership was understood by the teachers at St.Catherine's School.

According to my interviews the teaching staff at St.Catherine's already had a high level of respect for their principal and he was very well liked by staff and the community. The positive views of the lead administrator held by the teachers and community would have a positive influence on the retrospective sensemaking process of teachers when considering restorative approaches. Retrospective sensemaking involves reflecting on what has occurred previously (Helms Mills, 2003). Because the head

administrator was already well liked, very connected to staff and well respected, his plan to incorporate restorative approaches was met with an open-mind by the teachers' and contributed to an increased sense of plausibility. Figure 2 illustrates these aspects of the sensemaking process.

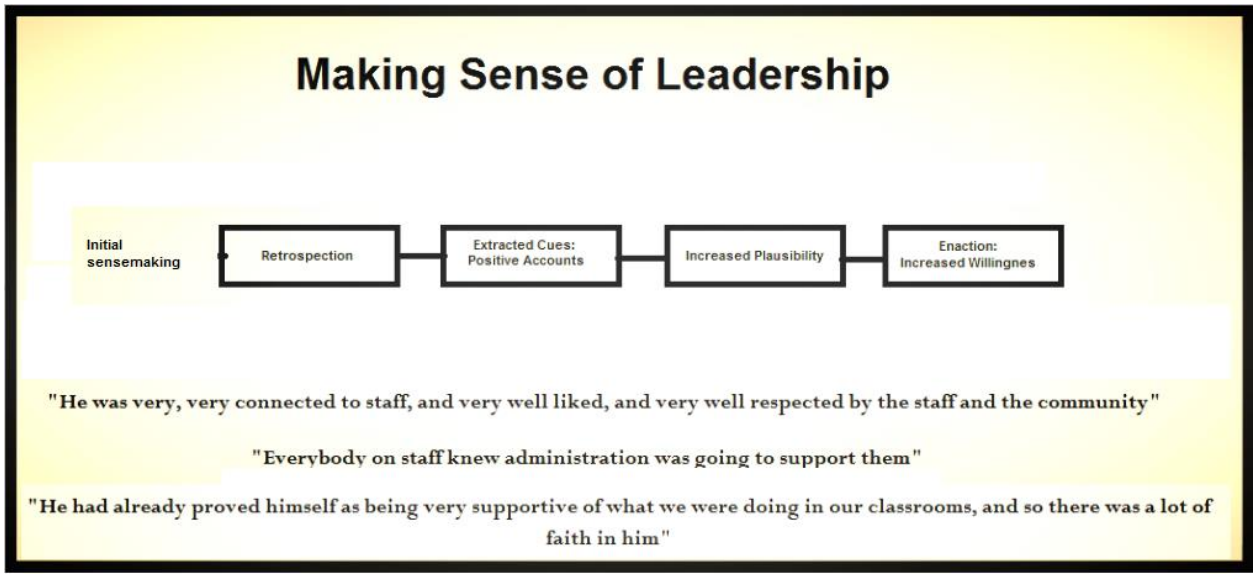

Figure 2: Initial Sensemaking of Leadership

Plausible sensemaking refers to "a feeling that something makes sense, feels right, is somehow sensible, and fits with what you know" (Helms Mills, 2003:62). The sense that "everybody on staff knew that administration was going to support them" coupled with the high esteem that the lead administrator was held, all contributed to the belief that restorative approaches made sense, felt right, and fit with what they knew about their principal. As a result, teachers were more willing to engage in the enactive sensemaking process required for the successful implementation of restorative approaches.

Implementation of the Change

Implementing a restorative approach requires a high degree of support along with a high amount of control. All of the teachers interviewed felt that they were always going to receive support regardless of what came up during the implementation. While the initiative came from the administration, administrators themselves found a way to involve themselves in the process imposing change from the top. Additionally, the willingness of administrators to intercede in the classroom and take over teaching duties so teachers could attend to discipline issues showed a high level of support and control. This action allowed teachers to engage in a restorative manner with their students and put into practice the restorative techniques they had learned. As one teacher described it:

> we were doing a problem solving circle and we had to take kids out, well you don't want someone to stop teaching, so they would come in and teach our class so that teaching was still happening.

This high level of support, control, and commitment by the administrators at St.Catherine's also served another important function in the change process. These actions provided ongoing sensemaking cues that teachers drew upon to "develop a larger sense of what may be occurring" (Weick, 1995:54). Extracted cues are also "linked to a broader context of ideas and actions" (Helms Mills, 2003:56). As teachers saw administrators taking actions that supported the restorative approaches initiative, they could retrospectively recall those actions and use them as signposts to direct their own action. For example, having administrators take over teaching duties while the teacher facilitated a restorative circle sent an important message. Teachers could retrospectively

look back at these experiences and see the willingness of administrators to support the restorative initiative. This would have a dual effect: first, it showed traits and actions characteristic of restorative approaches, namely support, humility, and unselfish constructive action; secondly, it showed a high level of commitment by staff which would have made the success of restorative approaches seem more plausible. Figure 3 illustrates this aspect of the sensemaking process.

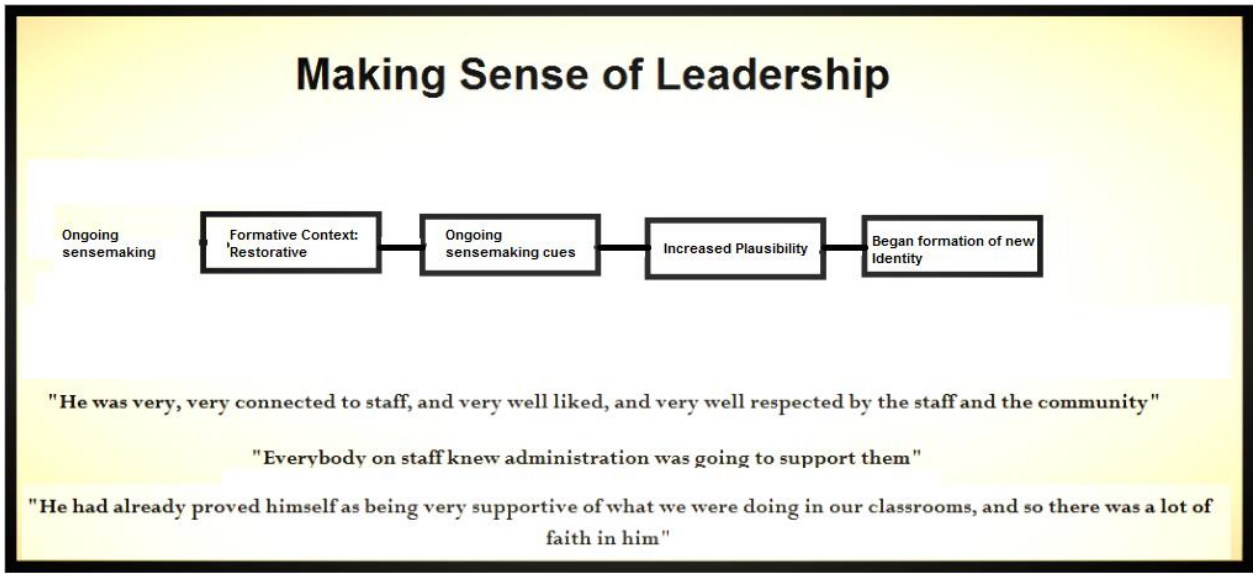

Figure 3: Ongoing sensemaking process around leadership

The actions taken by administrators show how enactment can influence individual sensemaking. The actions of administration at St.Catherine's School played a key role in allowing teachers to make sense of what restorative practices and a restorative approach in school looked like. The actions also provided teachers a feeling of security. Teachers knew they were going to be supported and that this was not just a program being thrown at them by administration. This created a higher level of confidence that the approach might work.

As more of these events occurred, individual sensemaking processes would have been further strengthened by the accumulation of extracted cues from administrators supporting, in a hands on way, the implementation of the new program. These experiences allowed the implementation of restorative approaches to gain momentum, and aided in the solidification of the teachers' identities, and of the school's identity as restorative.

Looking at leadership is essential to better understand how leadership acted as a facilitating factor and provided ongoing sensemaking cues for the implementation of restorative approaches. By letting go of the common top down approach to program implementation, and instead actively involving themselves in the change process, administrators empowered the teachers and students around them to take ownership of the approach. This empowerment helped create a sense of identity at both the individual and school level and allowed restorative approaches to take root from the ground level. This firmly embedded a restorative identity in the school and has allowed for the continual growth of the restorative approaches even though the original leadership has left the school. As one participant involved with the process suggested:

> I think it empowered a whole bunch of people to be part of that project that in a way that then the identity of the school was not only held by the administrators, or a particular teacher, or particular classroom, but they were able to be part of, kind of a common identity because they shared a way of understanding themselves as related to each other and part of this community and related to that identity.

The formative context at St. Catherine's school prior to restorative approaches was already relational in nature. Administrators and staff seemed to have an innate

relational quality to the way they approached education, each other, and students. With administrators involving themselves actively in the change process with the teachers, this pre-existing context became more solidified, tightening the ongoing flow of sensemaking. This seems to have helped promote the advancement of restorative approaches among administrators and teachers and bring them together in a way that was positive and helped promote further change.

Making Sense of Restorative Approaches

An understanding of the sensemaking of teachers upon learning that a change initiative was taking place can help shed light on how teachers will receive restorative approaches. Although teachers at St.Catherine's school had confidence, respect, and faith in their administration, it did not mean the implementation of restorative approaches was met with complete acceptance and certainty. Understanding teachers initial reaction can help shed light on their pre-conceived notions regarding restorative justice and how that shaped their sensemaking process. These reactions allow for the identification of potential barriers to change at St.Catherine's as well as to adopting a restorative approach in general.

When asked about their initial reactions about the decision to adopt restorative approaches at St.Catherine's, the individuals I interviewed described both positive and negative reactions:

> I think my initial reaction was it was the answer to where we were moving as a school. It gave us a framework, it gave us a way for everybody to be consistent with the questions and with the processes,

> and I think a lot of that was already happening but it gave us the perfect I know I've said framework a hundred times but I can't think of a better way to describe it, our school kind of molded right into that.
>
> I was all for it, it sounded like a positive idea, and just sort of a continuation of what we were already doing in terms of discipline and behavior.
>
> I'm not always interested in the next big roll out, like "this is the way we should teach children" and then three years later "no this is the way we're going to do it" and like constant rolling out of new programs, because I don't believe that that's really, I believe it's very helpful academically, but I'm more interested in how an entire school can help a child not just one little roll out…I never once for a moment felt like I was being sold anything.
>
> I think I was pretty open minded because it was so different than anything else and it wasn't curriculum based and I again believe that schools are more than just delivery of curriculum so it connected with me.
>
> I think the initial response, maybe within the first hour or two, it seemed it probably seemed a little, like touchy feely, which I know is in talking with other teachers, that is sort of the worry out there now, that it's going to be a softer gentler approach.
>
> When it first happened and it was first implemented or like when we were going through the training, there was a lot of us who had the like this is not going to work, and we weren't negative out loud but…so staff, some staff like myself were kind of cynical, or just wondering how it was going to fit into our daily routines and that type of thing.

As illustrated in these quotes restorative approaches were met with mixed reactions. Some individuals reacted with an open-mind, while others were less enthusiastic (see Figure 3). This created another ambiguous sensemaking situation where multiple interpretations occured. For some staff, restorative approaches did not

initially seem plausible: “there was a lot of us who had the like this is not going to work, and we weren’t negative out loud but…so staff, some staff like myself were kind of cynical, or just wondering how it was going to fit into our daily routines and that type of thing.” The use of restorative approaches conflicted with their retrospective account of a teaching day. Other teachers felt restorative approaches were too soft to adequately address complex student behaviour problems. For these teachers restorative approaches did not ‘feel right’, and therefore did not seem like a plausible option. Through a process of retrospective sensemaking, these teachers were comparing restorative approaches to the traditional authoritarian model common in the education system and were unable to make a connection. Any approach that runs contrary to the strict, clearly defined lines of right vs wrong seems to be viewed with skepticism and apprehension making restorative approaches a tough sell.

Other responses were more supportive and enthusiastic for restorative approaches. One person stated that: “I was all for it, it sounded like a positive idea, and sort of a continuation of what we were already doing in terms of discipline and behavior.” This individual looked past the disruption that would be caused in daily teaching routines, seeing instead how restorative approaches related to the school’s current approach to dealing with student conduct. This knowledge created a bridge between theory and practice and made restorative approaches seem more plausible (see figure 4).

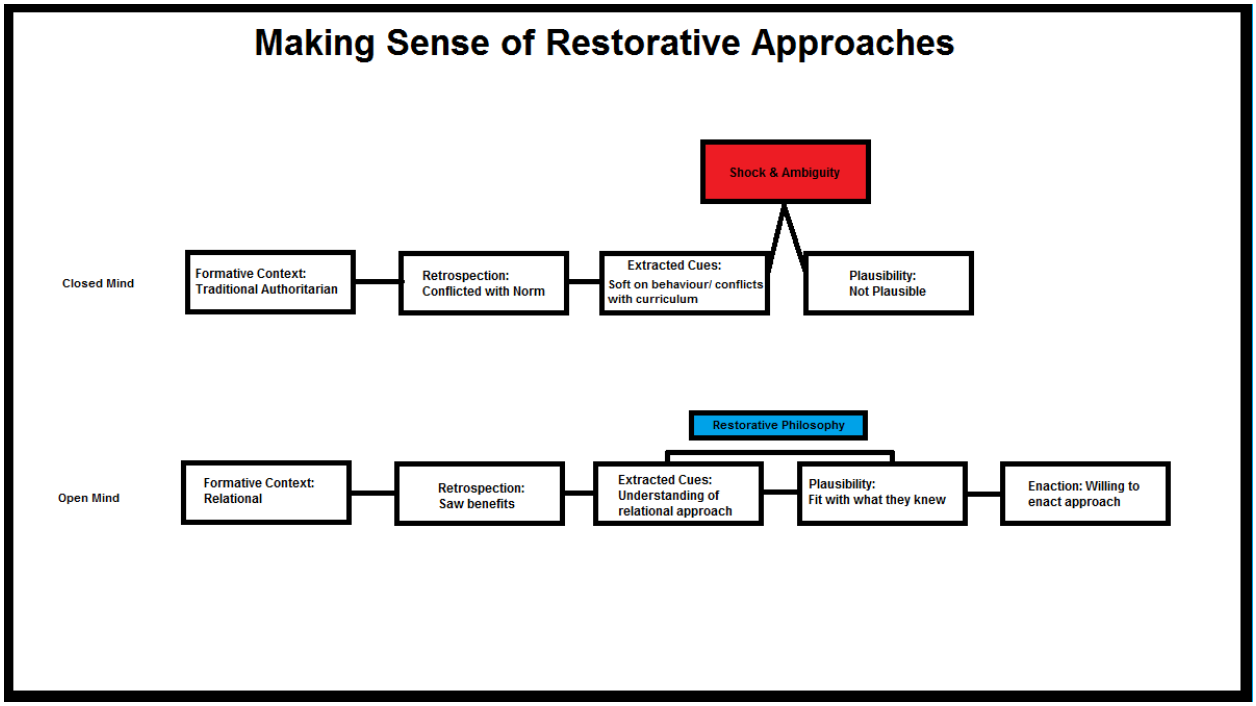

Figure 4: Initial sensemaking reactions to restorative approaches

The previous responses provide another example of how formative context can shape individual sensemaking. As noted by one research participant, administrator; St. Catherine's school was already operating in a fairly relational and restorative way prior to the implementation of restorative practices: "in hindsight we had recognized that we had been adopting this approach for about five years at the school prior" and this previous context influenced the retrospective sensemaking of teachers and administrators making restorative approaches seem more plausible. Teachers and administrators were already operating in a more relational way. This provided a dominant cue when retrospectively assessing whether or not a restorative approach seemed plausible at St.Catherine's.

The unique way that administrators delivered restorative approaches further contributed to the plausibile sensemaking of the teachers at St.Catherine's School (see

Figure 4). One person commented that teachers did not feel as though they were being sold on restorative practices. Instead it was something being shared with them. This person's retrospective sensemaking account of previous attempts at program implementation were negative and related to being forced and/or sold new ideas. The way in which restorative approaches were delivered ran contrary to previous experiences. This created a break in her sensemaking process and opened up space to entertain restorative approaches and view them as plausible.

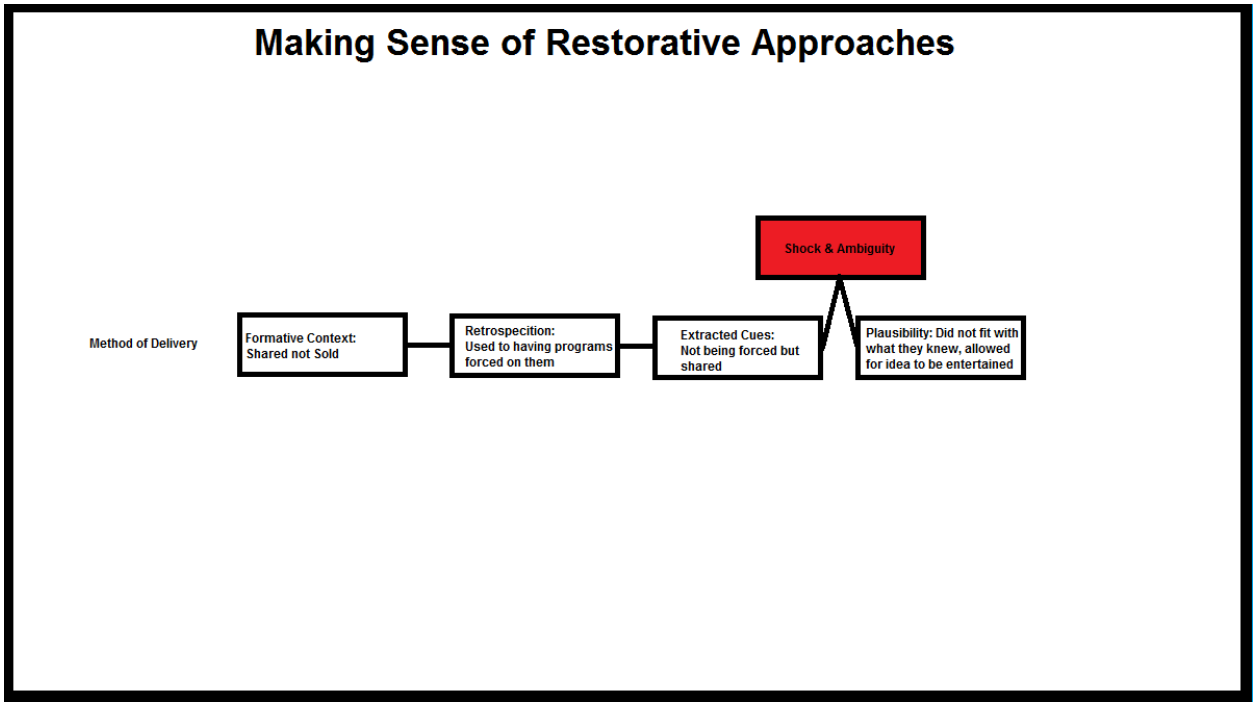

Figure 5: Sensemaking process surrounding delivery of restorative approaches

This situation I just described may be unique to St.Catherine's and not reflect the situation at all school boards and education systems. As I have mentioned previously, my conversations with teachers have revealed a predominantly negative attitude towards program implementation. Traditional sensemaking scripts pertaining to program implementation have been influenced by teachers feeling that the school

board tends to force new programs on them. As one participant noted about the education system:

> The Department of Education likes programs because they can control them, they can fund them or defund them. They can train people up, and then if they fail, it was because the people who were trained didn't do what they're supposed to.

Delivering programs in this fashion helps satisfy the three major psychological needs (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991) of those in charge of an organization. These needs include: strivings for control, the reduction of uncertainty, and the reduction of autonomy. These three needs are being satisfied in the current education system and continuing to perpetuate an authoritarian, individualistic approach to discipline. As one person I interviewed:

> On a regular basis teachers are not really asked for a whole lot of input or been given the flexibility…I can't ever remember being asked, "so how might this look in your classroom?" no it's "this is how you're going to do it" and yeah you can complain and this is really tough and it's not going to work, but this is how its going to work and were going to test you in a year and if it doesn't work we're going to publish it in the newspaper "way to get people on board" [sarcastically]. Not that they tell you that but everyone knows.

Not asking teachers for input reduces their autonomy, gives them no choice in what programs are implemented, and increases the amount of control the school board has on the system. Threatening schools with publicizing the results of a new program furthers the possibility that teachers will adopt the new program. The education system, in an attempt to reduce uncertainty, autonomy, and maintain control of the system, manipulates the sensemaking process of teachers. The top down delivery of new

programs acts like a vacuum where only a limited number of sensemaking cues are available (see Figure 5). The threat of posting poor results restricts the plausible sensemaking around the efficacy of the program. This threat also undermines the identity construction of teachers and schools who want to be seen in a positive light by the community. As a result, teachers engage in the programs to conform to the system.

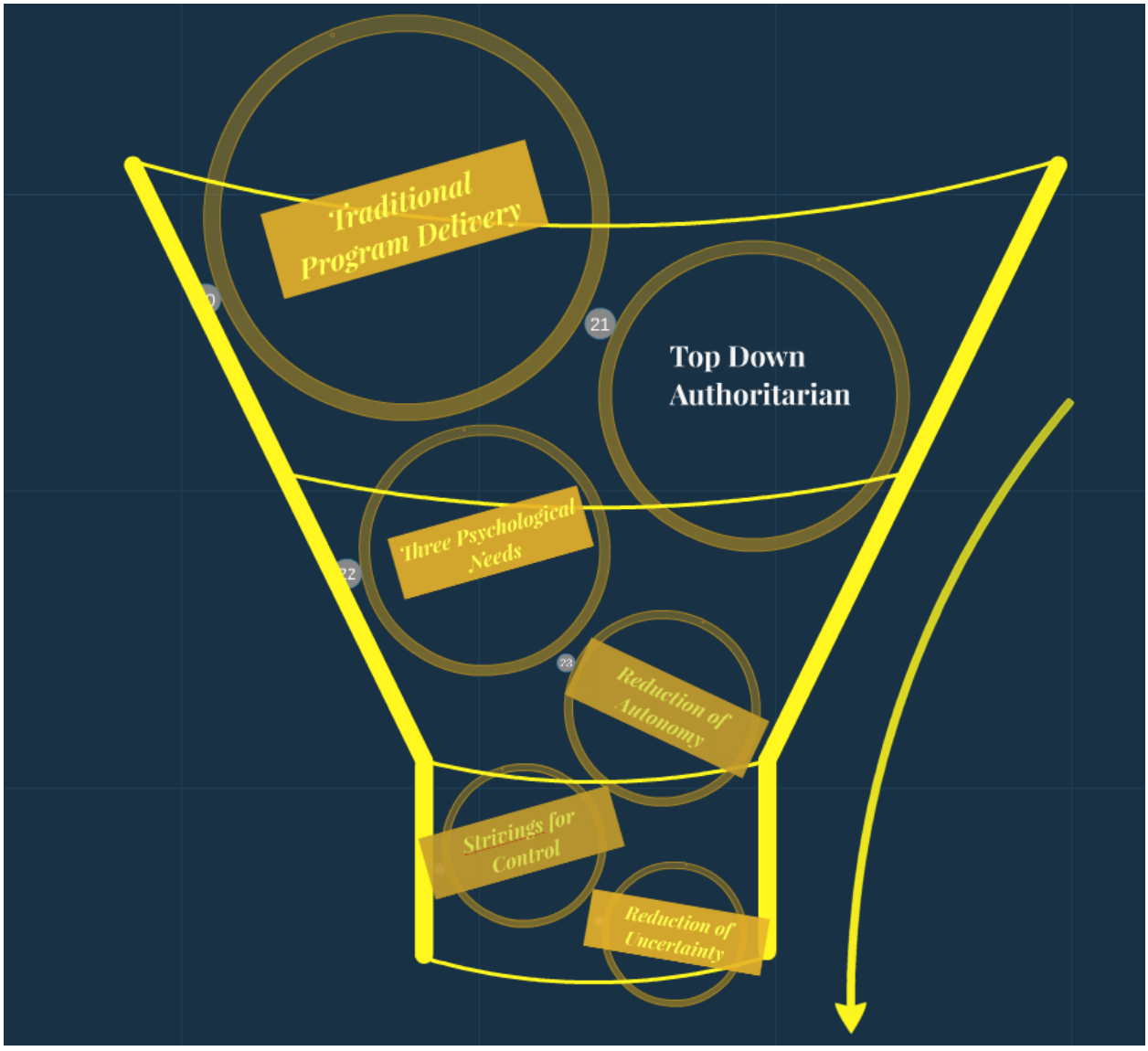

Figure 6: Top down control of program delivery

This formative context strictly controls the behaviour of its administrators and teachers. This authoritarian method of program implementation, in an effort to reduce

uncertainty and increase control, actually increases both. Pushing teachers to adopt programs they sense will fail increases the likelihood that they will become nonchalant about their day-to-day activities. Teachers are not going to care about new programs if the school board ignores their input.

The top down control and the education system's ability to exercise power and control is reminiscent of Foucault's (1972) reference to reason and folly. Reason and folly refer to how those in positions of power would discredit or prohibit the speech of those whose views failed to align with the common popular discourse. The system tends to ignore the views of teachers and administrators who know best what they need to improve their learning environment. Presumably the education system hires teachers for their education, experience, and credentials in teaching. But when it comes time to make changes, that education and experience gets swept aside. One look at the turnover rate of these programs ought to be enough to realize that this system is not working. As Helms Mills states:

> It can be argued that change has become a conventional management practice, developed and sustained (i.e.,cued) through a powerful management discourse, whose 'on-going' character influences the decision-making of large and small companies, profit and not-for-profit companies alike. Whether or not the adoption of a particular programme of change is the right course of action for some companies doesn't seem to matter. (2003:72)

It would appear that the education system has adopted this same conventional management practice, creating and delivering programs for the sake of delivering programs regardless of effectiveness. Delivering programs in this fashion is an example of Total Quality Management (TQM) programs. They are what Helms Mills (2003) refers

to as pre-packed programs. The popularity of pre-packed programs has risen over the last 30 years within both the private and public sector. Pre-packed change programs have grown so popular that close to 75% of all Canadian hospitals have implemented them. Not surprisingly, much like the school board, these pre packaged programs have been met with widespread critiques and poor results.

In Nova Scotia, P.E.B.S. could be considered a pre-packed program. As noted by one person I interviewed, P.E.B.S. is a cookie cutter program. It was rolled out to all schools, regardless of the fact that responses from teachers and administration believed that P.E.B.S. was flawed at best and ineffective at worst. There is a risk that the development of restorative practices could be moving in this direction. If this were to happen it would be a major barrier to the successful implementation of restorative approaches in schools. This situation is an example of the various meta-rules that teachers and administrators find themselves at the mercy of.

The International Institute for Restorative Practices (IIRP), for example, offers a "whole-school" change program that schools can purchase. Trainers come in and train staff, offer follow-up training and yearly check-ins. A participant also spoke to this by stating that:

> It's a big part of restorative practices, as marketed by the U.S. organization IIRP. And it is, and it's not an accident, they really see it and sell it as a tool to schools, about individual behaviour compliance. And schools buy that and they like that; the expert model, the program, the training, and the messaging of it, because it is a way to get to yes, it is a way to get to what the system already want which is individualistic behaviour modification.

The International Institute for Restorative Practices has a stranglehold on the "market" in terms of the delivery of restorative practices in North America and abroad, so it would make sense that they would adopt a method of delivery that would be convenient and profitable. However, this is where concerns can be raised on the validity of the approach, whether or not this delivery method holds true to a restorative approach. Whether or not this method of delivery is truly a grassroots bottom up approach or a more controlled top-down method of delivery with all of the power coming from the IIRP is debatable.

By delivering a pre-packed restorative justice program in schools, the sensemaking processes of teachers and administration are immediately being manipulated and constricted. Only having cues to draw on that relate to a specific restorative program, rather than a variety of principles, detracts from the true potential of restorative approaches. While the teachers at St.Catherine's School received training from the IIRP, decisions about how the principles of restorative justice would be p[ratice were made at the school level.

The formative context of the education system and the way programs are delivered directly influence the sensemaking process of what teachers will deem as plausible when being presented with a restorative approach. By presenting restorative justice as an approach, and not a program teachers' pre-existing sensemaking process may be broken down. This opens a space for restorative approaches to seem plausible.

Teaching at a Restorative School

The implementation of restorative practices at St.Catherine's challenged the traditional notions of what it meant to be a teacher and be an administrator. Teachers and administrators experienced this challenge to individual identity in a variety of ways. The following statements show how working in a school with a restorative culture challenges individual identity and traditional methods of teaching:

> It's a whole shift away from power, and that's what I think teachers had to get used to the most because your giving up some of your power, your no longer the person who is dictating this what's going to happen, that's what's going to happen, and also your sitting down and solving stuff with them, so it a lof of release of power, and it's a huge shift but it's so much better.

> It was difficult for me because I had been doing 29-30 years doing things the other way, so it's a change in the way that you approach kids, it's a change in the language you use…so I had to eliminate from my vocabulary, like "why" you never ask "well why did you do it?" because that automatically places guilt and assumes guilt. So it did take me a while to get to that point

> In terms of things that we do about running a school, I would simply in other places just make decisions, "okay tomorrow we're doing this" nobody would ever question it. In this school people will say, "you know maybe we should have a conversation it might make things a little easier" and if you like power and you're a guy who is a control freak that is hard to get around, it's like, "I'm the boss here and this the way we're doing it". . .so it was a change for me in terms of like, now when I send stuff, I sent something today, "maybe we could do the trip on the fourtheenth, what do you think about that?" years ago, three years ago, I would have said, "The grade six trip is on the 14th." And that would have been it, no conversation. So I did change the way, for sure, that I communicated with people.

> So I was kind of the "you're going to do what I'm asking, kids in the class will do what I want them to do because I'm the teacher and they will automatically respect me and if they don't then I'll do this". This, it's sort of a different mindset I don't think, it was a little bit challenging that way the mindset shift.

These statements speak to how power dynamics must shift when teaching at a restorative school. Power in a restorative organization is more evenly dispersed. This runs quite contrary to how the standard organization enacts rules for organizational control. Here we enter into the area of organizational rules and how they can influence organizational change.

Again, it is useful to look at the predominant formative context in which these individual sensemaking processes are taking place, and how this context influences organizational rules. Most organizations have clearly demarcated lines of class and social structure. Power tends to be distributed from the top, down to subordinates. Mills and Murgatroyd note that, "authority structures signal who is allowed to make decision and who is not, what type/level of decisions can be made and by whom, who can communicate with whom, and who has to take orders from whom" (1991:104).

The authoritative approach that characterizes restorative justice challenged the sensemaking process of some of the members at St.Catherine's. The education system has always applied an authoritarian punishment based model of discipline. Therefore, administration and staff would not have had any prior teaching experiences or training to help them understand a restorative way of doing things. Essentially, they had no cues to provide them with any type of sensemaking information that would have made an

authoritative approach plausible. This may explain why some teachers and administration struggled with enacting a restorative approach in the beginning. As mentioned previously, this is why the actions by the administrators early on in the change process was so integral. These actions provided cues that teachers could draw on to inform their sensemaking process.

Additionally, the act of surrendering control and letting the change process take place took a great deal of trust by teachers and administration. Surrendering of control acted as the catalyst for change. This speaks to the links between organizational control and organizational change. As Mills and Murgatroyd state, "organizational control and change are integrally related; change generates, and is generated by, issues of control" (1991:106). In order for a restorative approach to take root and change to occur administration and staff had to change how they "made sense" of power dynamics and control at the school. This act of surrendering some control created the space for change to occur, and provided the catalyst for the institutionalization process to begin.

Responses by teachers regarding sharing in the classroom, and adjusting the way they engaged in their curriculum illustrates this point:

> One of the things that was big for me at the start because I was a relatively new teacher was letting go of the curriculum time it was taking to do those circles.

> The only thing that was challenging was my personality type. I'm not a teacher that talk about feelings and hugs the kids and asks them all that stuff, I'm not that kind of teacher and this kind of gets you to be a little bit more like that.

The other thing that I struggled with as a teacher was sharing myself. I didn't share the first year, I did a circle and it just went right past me and I kept going, because I like my work-school divide and so, and they didn't notice I guess because it was new to them as well and they didn't know that that was something that was being done in other places, so I never shared, but I did find that it kind of separated me from them, it wasn't an activity that was building a whole class relationship, it was building relationships among their peers, so I was really removed from that.

The following year I did start sharing in circle and I really found, I have like a million little antidotes about how it made a difference with how the students communicated with me the year I came back I was coming back with you know a new baby in daycare, and so I was sleepless and grumpy sometimes, and so the ability to say that to them like "my daughter was up all night, I'm exhausted, I'm going to do my best but you gotta give me a break here today sort of thing" I found they really responded to that, and ever since I share every single morning

they allowed students to be part of what it meant to be leading and learning within that community. . .that you can actually only learn and generate knowledge if you share together, share power to do that

The only thing that was challenging was my personality type. I'm not a teacher that talk about feelings and hugs the kids and asks them all that stuff, I'm not that kind of teacher and this kind of gets you to be a little bit more like that. So I was kind of the "you're going to do what I'm asking, kids in the class will do what I want them to do because I'm the teacher and they will automatically respect me and if they don't then I'll do this". This, it's sort of a different mindset I don't think, it was a little bit challenging that way the mindset shift.

It's a whole shift away from power, and that's what I think teachers had to get used to the most because your giving up some of your power, your no longer the person who is dictating this what's going to happen, that's what's going to happen, and also your sitting down and solving stuff with them, so it a lof of release of power, and it's a huge shift but it's so much better.

> It was difficult for me because I had been doing 29-30 years doing things the other way, so it's a change in the way that you approach kids, it's a change in the language you use. . .so I had to eliminate from my vocabulary, like "why" you never ask "well why did you do it?" because that automatically places guilt and assumes guilt. So it did take me a while to get to that point
>
> In terms of things that we do about running a school, I would simply in other places just make decisions, "okay tomorrow we're doing this" nobody would ever question it. In this school people will say, "you know maybe we should have a conversation it might make things a little easier" and if you like power and you're a guy who is a control freak that is hard to get around, it's like, "I'm the boss here and this the way we're doing it". . .so it was a change for me in terms of like, now when I send stuff, I sent something today, "maybe we could do the trip on the fourtheenth, what do you think about that?" Years ago, three years ago, I would have said, "The grade six trip is on the 14th." And that would have been it, no conversation. So I did change the way, for sure, that I communicated with people.

As mentioned earlier, it required a great deal of trust on behalf of teachers at St.Catherine's school to engage in the use of restorative approaches. This approach, as evidenced by the above quotations runs counterintuitive to the traditional identities of teachers and administrators. As Weick states, "the establishment and maintenance of identity is a core preoccupation in sensemaking (1995:20). Enacting a restorative approach was a very uncomfortable and challenging task for some of these teachers and administrator because it required them to make themselves vulnerable and surrender some of their power as authoritarian figures. Teachers did not have retrospective accounts to help them make sense of how to engage with students in this manner. These teachers essentially lacked the necessary sensemaking cues from their previous

teaching experience to inform them how to engage with students in a restorative manner.

It was impossible for the teachers to be able to make sense of how engaging in a restorative approach would work prior to actually taking that action. Looking back retrospectively on their actions, the change process began to make more sense to them. They were able to see tangible results of the changes. Positive results provided sensemaking cues that aided in the solidification of restorative approaches at St.Catherine's and began contributing to the school's identity as restorative. As teachers and administrators began to employ the restorative practices they had been taught, they were able to see the results and tie them back into the broader context.

This transition from plausibility and retrospection to enacment was key for the success of restorative approaches at St.Catherine's School. Teachers and administrators already had a general understanding of the relational nature of restorative approaches:

> The thing about restorative approaches, is it's not a program, it's a philosophy, and it's the way that you deal with it, it can't be rolled out as P.E.B.S. was kind of as the term cookie cutter, where everybody is doing the same thing, it has to fit your school population, and it has to fit the teachers that you have, to really make it meaningful for everybody, and that's what we have here

> Like we don't say that it's a practice and this is what you need to do. It's an approach, and here is some of the things that work for us

> It's about education, it's about teaching, it's about learning, it's about organically sharing, and that's what's going to make an organizational change. You can't sell organizational change

It appears that one reason why schools may fail at implementing restorative justice lie in their lack of knowledge related to the broader context and ideas that surround a restorative approach. After engaging in restorative practices for a short period of time, the approach can fizzle out because teachers come to view it as a program or a practice, and not a set of principles about how we relate to one another. They have nothing to help them make sense of why restorative practices work. This results in a disconnect in the sensemaking process and creates a barrier and creates a barrier to successful implementation of a restorative approach. A strong grounding in the philosophy behind restorative approaches can help act as a bridge between theory and practice. When the two come together a school can gain more than a program. Instead, schools will have implemented a guiding philosophy that can be integrated into other areas of the school community.

Sensemaking and Staff Interaction

The individual sensemaking processes for administratiors and teachers at St.Catherine's would not have been enough to contribute to a fully actualized implementation process. While each administrator and teacher went through their own individual sensemaking process, it was the coming together and sharing of these experiences that helped further promote the organizational sensemaking process and implementation of a restorative approach. The property of social sensemaking can help account for how this took place. According to Helms Mills, "Social sensemaking means that to be part of an organization an individual makes sense within a given framework of ideas" (2003:129).

Accounts of the social component of the sensemaking process at St.Catherine's shows how individuals made sense of the change within a framework of ideas. This took place in various ways as evidenced by the following statements:

> I think it solidified us as a staff. . .that year especially as well at all our staff meeting we would meet in a circle and we would share at the beginning of the meeting and that evolved over the years so this year we have circles, we try to have circles once a week, a staff circle once a week
>
> Ya know staff that might work on a different floor that you wouldn't see very often if you can them once a week and in th sharing in the circle you learn more about them as a person so I think it brings the staff closer together
>
> What we've tried to do is actually bring the principles of a restorative approach, of thinking relationally about the catalyst for change. . .that it is about relationships that we cannot become or change or do thing differently, outside the context of equipping ourselves with the sorts of networks of relationships of interaction that could support change.
>
> I've learned things about people and have had to approach people about certain things, and I never would have if I didn't see from my own experience in my own classroom the value of actually telling someone how they are affecting you.
>
> They allowed students to be part of what it meant to be leading and learning within that community, and that is about how it is that you can actually only learn and generate knowledge if you share together, share power to do that.
>
> We also had conversations about why it is important to refresh and look for better methods, so our teachers were all over the map in terms of their understanding of a restorative approach but that was okay with us so we did lunch and learns and we brought in outside facilitators to talk to us about behaviour, to talk to us about precipitating factors and adhd, to better equip our teachers with more knowledge and more skills and after that then the piece around attitudes started to shift so teachers

> began to really own this and embrace this and get excited about it and the better outcomes they saw the more they wanted to make things better at the school, so it quite literally was a group effort
>
> I think that I approach problems a little bit differently, because we do staff circles now, and I've learned things about people and have had to approach people about certain things, and I never would have if I didn't see from my own experience in my own classroom the value telling someone how they are affecting you
>
> We have weekly staff circles so that we get to know our staff better so that teaches you to kind of interact with the staff on a different level to because you get to know things about them that you would not necessarily know

These social processes facilitated the change process at St.Catherine's School. Not only did staff circles provide staff the ability to refine their restorative practices, they also created a space for teachers to get to know one another. The communication that took place between teachers during these circle processes strengthened the social fabric of the teachers at St.Catherine's school. Sharing ideas with other staff members also helped increase the number of available sensemaking cues for each individuals' sensemaking process. By sharing their invidivual experiences they were able to increase their knowledge of restorative approaches, and increase the number of sensemaking cues available to them. They were also able to affirm their identity as restorative teachers. This affirmation helped facilitate the success of the implementation.

Solidification of staff as a group helped integrate and unify the sensemaking processes for teachers surrounding restorative practices and create less uncertainty around how to deploy restorative approaches over time. This simple process should not

be underestimated in its ability to promote change. The ability of staff to remedy conflicts with each other in a restorative manner can help form a more cohesive group, with stronger connections and deeper understandings of one another. As the collective ongoing sensemaking processes of the teachers at St. Catherine's solidified, the change process became more efficient. The more space administration created for dialogue and learning the more ideas could be shared. From that sharing a collective vision among the teachers began to form.

One interview illustrates this point well. In referencing the implementation process I asked the participant if the implementation process was similar to being given different tools to try out at their leisure. The person responded by saying "and we would be encouraged to use some and talk about how it went and help each other out." This person was referencing the different types of restorative practices and techniques they had been taught during training. By allowing the teachers to become actively involved in the change process, administrators empowered and promoted the development of individual sensemaking processes. This aided the change process because it allowed the teaching to embody the original vision they had set forth in the beginning. Administrators could step aside and allow the process to unfold on its own.

This aspect of the change process at St. Catherine's reveals the restorative nature of the change process itself. By placing the power in the hands of the teachers, and through creating spaces for teachers to come together in a social manner and share their experiences, teachers became equipped with the types of networks of relationships and interaction that could support change.

Essentially, the administrators at St.Catherine's took an approach reminiscient of what Weick (1995) termed "loosely coupled systems." Helms Mills, in her reference of Weick's notion of loosely coupled systems, states that, "not all elements of an organizing process are closely linked, and that some elements may be better able than others to develop novel solutions to problems, to adapt to local situations and to encourage member self-determination" (2003:42-43). The informal act of one teacher approaching another to resolve a dispute; the act of teachers sharing in conversation what approaches have been effective and which have not; the act of teachers engaging in informal dialogue, all of this facilitated opportunities for sensemaking to occur.

Developing Sustainable Change

These newly formed networks and strengthened relationships, backed by an empowered and excited teaching staff set the stage for what (Weick,1995) calls the ongoing nature of sensemaking. In reference to ongoing sensemaking Helms Mills suggests, "sense is made of a situation, which is then in a constant process of reaffirmation, maintenance, and modification" (2003:57). As noted, administrators encouraged teachers to talk about their experiences with restorative practices However, staff went one step further, and through a process of ongoing sensemaking, formalized this discussion process to ensure the longevity of the restorative approach at St.Catherine's School. Some people I interviewed referenced the challenges that will arise in maintaining a restorative approach over the long term:

> So the thing about St.Catherine's is that they'll tell you their story as this constant kind of iterative, or formative learning process that they learn and they do, and they learn more and they do and they go back
>
> I think that once it was rolled out it was staff that figured out how stuff would be best, like what works and what doesn't work
>
> We decided we don't want this to fade away so when we have new staff come in, we approached, we had a meeting at the end of the school year and asked the principal if he would be open to us as part of our teaching day at the beginning of the year setting up little workshops and the teachers themselves would conduct those themselves on the strategies we use.
>
> You absolutely need some inertia, a core group of folks that are going to continue to examine this, to refresh it, never say that we are restorative, that we're done now, always be willing to try and make it better.
>
> The first year we formed a committee and I don't think I joined until the next year or the end of the year, and we just look at making sure that new staff have an opportunity to find out what's going on…we look at the kind of training we need to provide for the next year coming up and kind of how we want to make it grow beyond having circles or problem solving circles
>
> A major part of our committee now is then figuring out, say this year if five of us left, how is new information going to be dispensed to new teachers? How are they going to pick it up? How do we inform new parents who come into primary here? New students? That type of thing so it continues to grow

These quotations show how administrators and teachers have taken steps to ensure the longevity and improvement of the restorative approach at St.Catherine's School. The formation of a restorative approaches committee has allowed the teachers of St.Catherine's to address these challenges in a proactive way which has been very

beneficial in keeping the restorative approach going at St.Catherine's. The committee has allowed for a constant process of reaffirmation, maintenance, and modification (Helms Mills, 2003) of restorative practices at St.Catherine's School.

The formation of a restorative approaches committee has acted as one of the most significant facilitating factors in the entire change process. This is because the property of ongoing sensemaking is concerned with identifying areas of disruption in the sensemaking process that could lead to negative emotions resulting in organizational breakdown (Helms Mills, 2003). Through a process of collective sensemaking, the restorative approaches committee can assess and identify any area within the overarching change process that may lead to organizational breakdown. They can then develop strategies to counteract any breakdowns from occurring. In doing so staff created a structure that allows for the continual growth and evolvement of a restorative approach. This structure aids in smoother transitions from year to year which will keep the restorative approach at St.Catherine's growing for years to come.

If social sensemaking suggests a loosely coupled system approach to organizational change, the ongoing component compliments it by being a more hierarchical, rational, and goal driven organizational model. The restorative approaches committee displays the responsiveness and adaptability (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991) of St.Catherine's as a school. Mills and Murgatroyd state that "within an organization, there is a dynamic tension between the pressure to change (genesis) and the pressure to remain the same (stasis)" (1991:41). The committee demonstrates the commitment and determination of staff at St.Catherine's to ensure the long term success of

restorative approaches. As noted by Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) many organizations will seek to preserve and retain successful operating methods in favour of making wholesale changes. St.Catherine's School has clearly found a successful way of engaging in a restorative approach, yet still continue to seek methods of improvement. In education no two years are the same, administration and teachers deal with new students and new sets of behaviours on an ongoing basis. Staff must therefore also change and evolve to meet these demands. The restorative committee at St.Catherine's allows for the continuing evolvement of best practices and fills this demand. In addition, the nature of restorative justice lends itself to this type of context.

Whose Voices Were Heard?

The Language of Change

Professional development days that took place at St.Catherine's, constituted another more subtle, but equally important social process. Staff engaged in conversations and restorative language and dialogue was taking place as a result. In passing, during a formal restorative practice training session, or a staff circle, the staff was engaging in discourse grounded in a restorative justice approach. From the interviews I heard several examples of how language played a role in the change process at St.Catherine's included:

> We were naturally before, a lot of ya know, eager and sort of fair teachers that had the same ideals which is just really lucky because there is no interview process for that. . .and when this started it just sort of guided what we were talking about, and it gave no matter who you were, it always gave a common ground of something to talk about, so even if

you know I was a grade six teacher having a chat with a primary teacher, previously I might not have had you know any real common ground between us, but this really did give us sort of a common conversation because it's a shared experience.

The biggest shift away is that you're not using the "why" language anymore, so "why did you do that" so you're getting rid of the blaming kind of language, and you're putting into place restorative language, so language that opens up communication and helps people solve and get back to their relationships

So you want to start using the restorative language like, what happened? What were you thinking? Who was affected by that?. . .and what are you going to do to make things right?

We treated our staff in a restorative way, so we were always future focused…the conversations we had though we were just asking them to imagine thinking about 'is our school a place that has created room for everyone, are we truly a school that when that student walks through the doors every morning, feels like this is his school or her school, do I fit in here? do I feel welcome here? do people care about me here? do my peers care about me?'. . .we chatted a lot about what it feels like, what it looks like to feel like you are on the outside despite your behaviour

I was honest with them about that too, I said you know you're the one in the classrooms, you're going to decide if you're going to do this or not, and so we're not going to tell you, you have to do this but we're going to tell you why we think this will make your job better for you and for your students

I do that with a lot of kids too, I don't just tell them to stop doing something. That's basically it, if I'm addressing a behaviour, I tell them what the behaviour is and tell them how it's affecting me and how it might be affecting the class and they are way more likely if I stick to that method to actually stop
Why I think language matters for me is because a restorative approach will have a lot of restorative practices and policies, but holds for us a

> space to say, this is about the way in which we actually think that what it is that is being done and not just how we do things
>
> With students in the on restorative school they're simply actions and reactions, there is consequences for everything that is done, there is very little conversation carried on, except to do investigating to find out who you are going to give more consequences to. There is no communication between the people who the harm was done to and the people who were the instigators.
>
> In a restorative school you spend a lot of time having conversations with people, whether in circles, which people think is restorative traditionally, or either one-on-one, but it's the language that you use, and the way that you approach students that is completely different. It does take up more time in terms of conversations but it pays more in dividens in the way that people communicate with each other, and it teaches students how to be empathetic, and how to respond to other peoples feelings, and that is really what you're hoping, so when they get out in society, they'll have a better understanding in how to deal with people when they get into situations that are confrontational.

The use of language as a tool for organizational change can be derived from looking at how discourse permeates all aspects of the change process and guides individual sensemaking processes towards a singular unified goal. This is evident when a teacher refers to how the adoption of restorative approaches was similar to what teachers and administration were already doing at St.Catherine's. Restorative approaches allowed teachers to put a name and face to the humanistic and relational way they were already engaging with students at the school. If the restorative language is not adopted the number of available cues for teachers to extract to help them make sense of restorative approaches would be restricted.

To discuss restorative approaches using traditional authoritarian language would create a disconnect in the sensemaking process and hinder the ability of staff to formulate a proper view of what restorative approaches should be used. This can act as a direct barrier to the successful implementation of restorative approaches in schools. Another person I interviewed commented on how the restorative approach provided a common ground on which teachers and administration could connect. This brought everyone closer together. As mentioned previously, this common ground helped solidify sensemaking processes because it allowed for a common language to form amongst teachers and administration. This language promoted restorative approaches and supported the implementation process. This common language exemplifies how language can promote extracted cues which staff can then retrospectively access to determine the plausibility of various restorative approaches in any given situation. This discourse around restorative approaches in the school created an ongoing commentary around restorative approaches. Michel Foucault refers to commentary as allowing us to:

> create new discourse ad infinitum: the top-heaviness of the original text, its permanence, its status as discourse ever capable of being brought up to date, the multiple or hidden meanings with which it is credited, the reticence and wealth it is believed to contain, all this creates an open possibility for discussion" (1972:221).

At St.Catherine's School, the original text can be viewed as the original goal of administrators who wanted to create a school that was grounded in restorative approaches to promote positive behavioural outcomes for children. Having restorative approaches become a common premise for discussion among teachers allowed for multiple interpretations (plausible sensemaking) by teachers and administration. Each

individual could share their experience with restorative approaches from their individual viewpoint, putting their own personal spin on how they made sense of restorative approaches was. This type of commentary, as Foucault notes, “averts the chance element of discourse by giving it its due; it gives us the opportunity to say something other than the text itself, but on condition that it is the text itself which is uttered and, in some ways, finalized” (1972:221). The unique aspect of a restorative approach lies in its ability to replicate this type of commentary. By allowing teachers to adopt a restorative approach in their own way, and implement the practices at their own discretion, administrators empowered the teachers to own the change process. This sense of personal ownership provides the opportunity for teachers ‘to say something other than the text itself’ but in essence, ‘it is the text itself which is uttered’. In doing so, teachers and administration constantly reaffirm restorative approaches and further solidify the change process to the point where it becomes inextricably woven into the fabric of the school community itself.

Up to this point I have solely argued how the implementation process fulfilled a true restorative grassroots movement by empowering teachers and involve them in the change process and take ownership of restorative approaches. In light of this discussion on commentary it also could be argued that perhaps the implementation process was not in fact a grassroots bottom up movement, but instead a top down delivery of a specific ideology, strategically deployed by admnistration to provide teachers with a false sense of empowerment and voice, trapping them in an ongoing discursive commentary surrounding restorative approaches. A case could be made for this

argument if administrators had not provided the teachers with the freedom to choose whether or not to engage in a restorative approach. Just like restorative approaches meet people where they are at, so too did this implementation process. Teachers who were not interested in engaging in restorative approaches were not forced to. By providing teachers with the freedom to choose whether or not they want to engage in restorative practices, administration also provided them with the freedom to engage in the various discursive practices that go along with the restorative approach.

Furthermore, the language associated with restorative approaches was associated heavily with a set of restorative questions that administration and teachers were introduced to in training. These questions are discussed in the above responses. These questions are commonly used for engaging in a restorative conversation, and provide a framework for teachers and staff to enter into such a conversation. These questions are used in an almost ritualistic fashion to guide restorative discourse among administration, teachers, and students. Foucault refers to this as ritual:

> ritual defines the qualifications required of the speaker (of who in dialogue, interrogation or recitation, should occupy which position and formulate which type of utterance); it lays down gestures to be made, behaviour, circumstances and the whole range of signs that must accompany discourse; finally it lays down the supposed, or imposed significance of the words used, their effect upon those to whom they are addressed, the limitations of their constraining validity (1972:225).

These questions help staff support the restorative discourse by laying down the questions to be asked, the order in which they need to be asked, and the wording of the questions. The wording of questions shifts the tone from one of blame to one of responsibility. This allows for relationships to be repaired and individuals to move

forward. These questions also act as sensemaking cues for individual sensemakers. They guide the sensemaking process and allow for an individual to retrospectively review their actions and understand why they acted (enacted) in a certain manner.

The disciplinary aspect of restorative approaches can also be seen here. The wording of these questions limits and constrains responses to the immediate impact of an individual's behaviour. This requires responses that deal with the individual looking at how they were thinking, how their actions affected someone, and how they are going to make things right. It forces indidviduals to engage in retrospective sensemaking and determine what cues caused them to enact a specific behaviour. Immediately, a person who has caused harm must both feel and deal with the immediate impact of their actions and correct the faulty sensemaking that led to the incident occuring. Far from being a softer approach to discipline, the restorative approach, which prompts self-examination, may be more difficult to face than a detention or suspension.

The restorative approach to discipline requires the individual to engage in discourse surrounding the event they were involved in and allows for the expression of the individuals sensemaking process. While the restorative language may be controlling and constricting in the way questions are worded and delivered, ultimately a space is created wherein the free flow of individual experience can be heard, validated, and accounted for. This creates new forms of control and regulation, but it is self-regulation within the individual rather than regulation imposed by people in positions of power. This restores agency to both the person who caused the harm and the person who was harmed and allows both to move forward in a positive direction. Therefore, the

discourse and language surrounding restorative approaches helps to strengthen, regulate and solidify the implementation process.

The discourse associated with restorative approaches at St.Catherine's School breaks down the restrictive barriers traditionally reinforced by adherence to a set model of authoritarian punishment. Restorative approaches help create space for the construction of new discourse following an incident through an analysis of the sensemaking that caused the incident to occur. In this case it revolves around student conduct and discipline. The education systems traditional methods of dealing with student misconduct whether it's the Safe Schools Act, Zero Tolerance Discipline, or P.E.B.S. and the surrounding discourse actually limits and constrains educators from effectively dealing with behavioural problems. Foucault's general hypothesis concerning discourse supports this by stating:

> That in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade it ponderous, awesome materiality (1972:216).

This is taking place in the education system with student misconduct. When an incident occurs, it is at once controlled and contained by sending the offending parties to the principal's office where they hear what happened. According to what they hear, the discourse of the event is matched up against the student code of conduct and a punishment is selected, the discourse is then organized in the students file according to the punishment, and then the language and discourse surrounding that student is redistributed to match their file. The principal or administrator never has to actually

listen to the student or what they have to say about what took place. This is evident in the response about a non-restorative school having very little communication between the person harmed and the person causing the harm.

This lack of communication is the disconnect in what Foucault refers to as reason and folly. Foucault states:

> A man was mad if his speech could not be said to form part of the common discourse of men. His words were considered nul and void, without truth or significance, worthless as evidence, inadmissible in the authentication of acts or contracts (1972:217).

This disconnect is evident in the traditional authoritarian approach to disciplinary policy and student conduct. The approach fails to create space for students who have been harmed to have their voices properly heard. Nor does it require students who have caused harm to explain their actions. I believe that, in many cases, the principals and school boards want to simply explain away bad behaviour and harmful incidents on a few select bad apples. This keeps the focus away from asking "why it is we do the things we do" and instead allows for an explanation of "that's just what we do".

Additionally, this disconnect allows principals, school boards, and the government to evade the "power" and "danger" (Foucault, 1972) of the systemic issues that have lead to behavioural problems in the first place. To address these issues would require an admission that the system is not working. This disconnect also allows the smooth and efficient operation of the day to day activities of the school. Because teachers are not trained to think in a relational/restorative way, teachers and administration are prevented from really stepping in and intervening with children on a level that will actually make a difference. Like politics and sexuality (Foucault,1972)

there seems to be an equal prohibition around individual expression of thought and emotion anywhere outside the psychologist's office. Emotions seem to carry much more power and danger because children and even adults are not trained or intelligent enough to be able to recognize them. This lack of awareness prevents the formation of an accurate account of what took place and hinders the development of discourse that can heal rather than punish.

On the contrary, the use of a relational based restorative approach in schools will allow for young children to become more socially and emotionally intelligent at a young age which result in more socially responsible young adults. A restorative school does not have that disconnect between reason and folly. Every person at a restorative school should have a chance to have their voice heard. By allowing individual voices to be heard and engaging in restorative approaches, schools can increase social and emotional intelligence and equip young children with greater self-knowledge and self-awareness. This in turn, as supported by one administrator's comments, will allow them to better navigate the social and systemic pressures during their teenage years and be better able to handle conflict situations when they arise.

Foucault has stated, "Education may well be, as of right, the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own, can gain access to any kind of discourse" (1972:227). I would argue, based on the evidence from my interviews, that the discourse that is made available is one that is grounded in a restorative approach.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The implementation of restorative approaches at St. Catherine's Elementary School has provided valuable insight into how the nuances of a change process can further contribute to the institutionalization of restorative justice in schools. Sitting down with participants in the change process from St. Catherine's Elementary School, and hearing their stories and experience helped me to explore whether the change process at St. Catherine's exemplified a grass roots community initiative or a top down bureaucratic implementation process. Analyzing these individual accounts using critical sensemaking theory (Helms Mills, 2010) has allowed for the identification of several barriers and facilitating factors. It has also provided insight into the nature of how the change process was delivered. While a great deal of research has documented the negative affects of zero-tolerance discipline, alternative approaches to student conduct, and the use of restorative approaches in schools, few researchers have explored the best way to implement restorative approaches. The analysis of the implementation of restorative approaches at St. Catherine's School has helped fill this gap as well as shed light on some key factors that can help further the institutionalization of restorative justice in schools.

Using the properties of both Karl Weick's (1995) Sensemaking theory and Jean Helms Mills Criticial Sensemaking (2010) I have been able to uncover, based on the accounts of participants, both the individual sensemaking processes as well as the organizational sensemaking process which took place at St. Catherine's. In addition, I have identified several factors within the organizational sensemaking process that may

act as facilitating factors and barriers to the implementation of restorative approaches in other schools.

I found that the process that took place at St. Catherine's encapsulated the entire organizational sensemaking process. By applying the properties of both sensemaking and critical sensemaking I have been able to consolidate this process into a concise framework that allows for a clear explanation of the sensemaking events that took place. As I have stated before, the change process that took place at St. Catherine's cannot be understood without first understanding the formative context in which it was situated.

The formative context at St. Catherine's School was characterized by new administration taking over a school with a student population that came from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. This situation created an ambiguity that acted as the initial shock and set the change process in motion. Administrators wanted to develop an approach to dealing with student behaviour that supported the children and took into account their various socioeconomic backgrounds. This administration had begun to re-assess their current approach to student behavioural problems and develop a new way of responding to student conflict. Positive Effective Behavioural Supports (P.E.B.S.) was the existing code of conduct in place. Administrators and teachers found this model ineffective and unrepresentative of the supportive approach they wanted to take to deal with student behaviour. Fortunately, the teachers and administrators had already been taking a very relational and restorative natured approach to discipline. Thus, St. Catherine's seemed to be in a perfect place to adopt restorative approaches. With this

context in place a meeting between an administrator and a restorative justice expert started the conversation about introducing restorative approaches at the school.

To further understand the implementation process at St. Catherine's School, I analyzed the identity of the leadership involved in charge and how it was viewed by participnats in the change process. Leadership has been identified in the literature by Morrison, Blood, and Thorsborne (2005) as being a key component to the successful implementation of restorative approaches. This proved to be true in the case of St. Catherine's School and my research reveals the specific ways in which leadership mattered. Teachers, administrators, and the community all viewed the lead administrator in a very positive light. The head principal was well versed in relational theory and restorative approaches and had previously proven to staff that he was dedicated to the success and growth of St. Catherine's as a school. Their perception provided sensemaking cues for staff to retrospectively draw on when assessing the plausibility of whether a restorative approach was a good idea. The identity of the principal at St. Catherine's acted as a major facilitating factor in the successful implementation of restorative approaches.

The initial response of teachers when they learned the school was going to be adopting a restorative was another major sensemaking event that took place during the implementation process. The teachers at St. Catherine's School responded with mixed reactions when presented with restorative approaches. Various senesmaking processes occurred during this stage of the implementation. Some teachers initially reacted negatively and viewed the approach as implausible. These teachers felt that the

approach would be ineffective in dealing with student behaviour. They also thought it would not fit into a daily classroom schedule. Finding a way to incorporate restorative approaches into school curriculum has also been established in the literature (Reimer, 2010) as being a roadblock to successful implementation. Various formative contexts influenced these different sensemaking responses. On one hand, some teachers viewed the restorative approach as plausible because, retrospectively, it resembled how teachers engaged with students in the school. On the other hand, the sensemaking process of teachers was being influenced by their previous experience with the school boards' attempts at implementing programs, as well as the dominant authoritarian approach to discipline present in the education system.

Uncovering these different sensemaking processes has shown how the school board's method of delivering new programs to teachers has influenced the sensemaking processes of teachers in a negative way. Teachers feel that they have been forced to implement ineffective programs. This approach characterized by a top down, authoritarian, high control, and low support delivery of programs to teachers presents a major barrier to the successful implementation of restorative approaches. Fortunately, in the case of St. Catherine's School, restorative approaches were not forced on the teachers, nor was it delivered as simply another program. This created a break in the routine sensemaking scripts teachers had regarding new programs and created a space for restorative approaches to be entertained as plausible.

Restorative approaches at St. Catherine's School succeeded because it was not curriculum based. Varnham (2005) identifies the incompatibility of restorative

approaches with school curriculums as a barrier to successful implementation. Not only were restorative approaches at St. Catherine's outside the curriculum, they were not viewed as program or an individualist approach to discipline. Restorative approaches were delivered in a way that was outside the common method of delivery teachers were accustomed to. In doing so, the dominant paradigm mentioned above that usually influences the sensemaking process of teachers was taken out of play from the beginning. This created a break in the retrospective sensemaking of the teachers and created a space for new ideas surrounding school discipline to seem plausible. In turn teachers could make sense of what was being presented to them without the archaic individualistic based punishment model or previous model of program delivery to influence their sensemaking process.

The enactment of restorative approaches at St.Catherine's school was also a key sensemaking event for teachers individual sensemaking processes. Carrying out the various restorative practices, teachers and administration began to engage in the property of enactment and put the change process in motion. This formed the beginning of the schools transformation, from a regular elementary school to a restorative school. The enactment of restorative approaches in the classroom required teachers to engage with their students in an authoritative manner. This required teachers to surrender power and be willing to enter into conversations with students from an entirely different viewpoint. This created change. As Karl Weick has stated: "How do we know what we think, until we see what we said." This holds true for this stage of the organizational change process. The initial enactments of restorative approaches

required teachers and administration to suspend their disbelief and preconceived notions and engage in restorative approaches first before they could know if it was going to work. The resulting experience began to shape the identity of both staff and the school and contributed to the successful implementation of restorative approaches.

Through a process of retrospective sensemaking, administrators and teachers looked back on the actions they had taken to assess what worked and failed (extract cues). In doing so, they defined and refined their own individual restorative identity, and begin to solidify themselves within the larger restorative organization. This individual development of a restorative identity creates a critical point in the implementation process. The development of a restorative identity among staff helped further facilitate the development of restorative approaches.

Administrators encouraged teachers to engage in conversation surrounding restorative approaches. The use of restorative approaches at St. Catherine's School became a unifying topic (extracted cue) for discussion that brought together teachers, who in any other situation had little in common. These conversations aided in the development of a restorative identity and community within the school and promoted a restorative discourse that permeated all aspects of the school. Teachers and administrators were subsequently able to form common language around restorative approaches allowing the further solidification of restorative approaches at St. Catherine's School.

As noted previously, administration and teachers at St. Catherine's had a strong grounding in and the relational underpinnings of restorative approaches. This

knowledge aided the sensemaking process of teachers and administrators at St. Catherine's following their initial experiences with enacting restorative approaches. Knowledge of the relational nature of restorative justice was a critical component in the successful implementation of restorative approaches at St.Catherine's. This is critical because a restorative approach to dealing with disciplinary problems and behavioural issues runs completely counterintuitive and literally "makes no sense" in the context of the current education system. This knowledge of the relational nature of restorative approaches contributed to a deeper understanding for each individuals' retrospective account of the approaches they enacted. It also allowed teachers and administrators to connect their actions back to the overarching goals of the school to provide behavioral support for students. They saw how the two things related on a deeper level. This may not have been possible if teachers had received training and then were told to start doing circles.

I hypothesize that if teachers lack knowledge in the relational component of restorative approaches. Schools that are trained in the various restorative practices but lack a base knowledge in the relational nature of the approach will find after the initial use of restorative practices in the implementation process, the approach beginning to fade out. Teachers will lack cues for the individual sensemaking process to help them make sense, in a meaningful way, of what they had just engaged in. The retrospective account goes only as deep as the individual level that it was enacted on. Instead of understanding that the practice that was engaged in connected to a greater whole, teachers or administrators who lack the fundamental knowledge of a restorative

approach only see the individual action of engaging in behaviour modification. While this may still be successful in its individual application, it lacks the ability to gain the necessary momentum to push the restorative approach past the threshold of program towards becoming solidified as an approach and way of doing things within the school. What results is schools adopt restorative practices only to see the approach fade out after a few months because there is nothing that ties the practices to the organization as a whole. This exemplifies the tension between the use of restorative approaches and the desire to adhere to traditional disciplinary policy found by Suvall (2009) in her case study of a high school in the United States.

The final component of the change process at St. Catherine's School, and the last major sensemaking event, involved the development of the restorative approaches committee. The teachers and administrators at St. Catherine's School formed a committee that acted as a point of intersection between individual sensemaking processes and the larger overarching organizational sensemaking process. Cameron and Thorsborne (1999) have identified the "development and maintenance of a cohort of highly skilled conference facilitators" (p.8) as a key component to implementing restorative approaches in schools. The restorative approaches committee exemplifies their advice. The committee includes highly dedicated teachers who retrospectively assess the school's delivery of restorative approaches, extract sensemaking cues that indicate what works and what does not, and formulate new plausible strategies to enact at the school. This committee may work to reshape the formative context of the school on a regular basis and enact new organizational rules that will help further promote the

social and ongoing sensemaking of teachers and administrators. This ensures the long term sustainability of restorative approaches at St. Catherine's school through a self-sustaining sensemaking process.

The restorative process at St. Catherine's School has been set up in a self sustaining fashion. The restorative approaches committee circumvents the barrier of insufficient support from the school board (Reimer, 2010) and empowers the teachers of St.Catherine's school at a grass roots level to take responsibility for their own school environment. Administrators and teachers simply need to engage in the process and the details take care of themselves because of the ongoing organizational sensemaking process in place. Each time through this process the connections between the sensemaking properties becomes strengthened, and the individual and organizational sensemaking process becomes more firmly entrenched in the school. The more teachers engage with ongoing sensemaking, the stronger the connections between the sensemaking processes become and the restorative approaches become more entrenched at the school.

As these connections between the individual sensemaking processes and organizational sensemaking process become stronger, an increased sense of community develops along with a decrease in behavioral problems within the school. A safer, more socially and emotionally aware administration, teaching staff, and student population results. The restorative approaches committee backed by the strong sense of community support within the school, and outside of it, will be there to deal with any

interruptions in the organizational sensemaking process and help will help put the institutionalization process back on course.

The role that language and the social and communal nature of the implementation of restorative approaches at St. Catherine's School has complimented this whole process. The way the administrators encouraged everyone to openly discuss their experiences with one another allowed the deployment of a discourse that produced the glue that bound the steps in the change process together. I believe that the formation of a restorative discourse acted as a major facilitating factor in the successful implementation of restorative approaches at St.Catherine's School.

Not only was the deployment of discourse integral to the success of the change process, but also the active participation by those in charge at St.Catherine's within this discourse. Early on in the implementation process administrators devoted all of their time to support and help teachers in the school as they became proficient in engaging in a restorative approach. This unwavering and ongoing support was integral to the success of restorative approaches at St. Catherine's School. Also, this type of support was characteristic of the bottom up, grass roots delivery, which falls in line with a true restorative justice movement. The humble service of the leaders at St. Catherine's School in the infant stages of the change process facilitated the ongoing success that St. Catherine's School has had with restorative approaches. Administrators provided a living example of what engaging in a restorative approach looked like, and this had lasting impressions on the people involved which have allowed restorative approaches to flourish at the school.

Regarding barriers to implementation, as alluded to earlier in this conclusion, the delivery of restorative approaches to schools through a conventional management style of implementation for the sake of implementation creates barriers to implementing restorative approaches in schools. The deployment of restorative practices as a set program fails to capture the relational nature of a truly restorative approach. The education system will need to loosen its grip on the control and management of restorative practices as a program in order for it to flourish as an approach. Less worry about expert analysis and more education for teachers on the underlying relational nature of the approach is necessary as well as the education system surrendering some of that power and control to the teachers and individual schools. Restorative approaches will look different at different schools, but just as the teachers at St. Catherine's school surrendered some of their control and power and trust the change process, the education system must also do the same in order to have restorative practices successfully implemented across the board.

In this thesis my aim was to develop an understanding of how the change process at St. Catherine's School could be understood to further promote the institutionalization of restorative justice in schools. I also set out to determine whether the implementation process at St. Catherine's School held true to a restorative, grassroots, bottom up, method of delivery. What I discovered was that the delivery of restorative justice in schools is possible and can be done in a restorative fashion. I also found that not only is it possible to deliver restorative approaches in a restorative

fashion, the success of implementation and long term sustainability actually depends on a restorative bottom up delivery.

Too often the education system insists on controlling and regulating the delivery of programs to teachers. This strict form of control and top down method of delivery does not seem to work. Teachers often reject these programs as they do not account for what is actually taking place in their classrooms. While the intentions are good, and the research behind the programs may be excellent, there is a disconnect between theory and practice because the experts are not in the classroom everyday dealing with students.

Through a decentralization of the power structure inherent in the education system, successful implementation of restorative approaches places power in the hands of the teachers themselves and allows them to see for themselves what works. This helps empower teachers and provide them with a sense of ownership for their individual teaching practice. Administrators, should participate alongside and support the growth and development of their teachers, and their individual teaching practices. This promotes empowered, attentive and engaged teachers and strong classroom leaders for the children they are teaching.

A restorative approach truly promotes the development of social and emotional intelligence for all those engaged in the process. A restorative approach to education can help begin to build the foundation for healthier and positive futures for both children and communities. If society wants to see a reduction in crime and criminal acts

in school, the institutionalization of restorative approaches in the education system can be the foundation for this shift to occur.

Works Cited

Adams, C, Scholastic Administrator magazine, Novermber/December 2008;International Institute for Restorative Practices, "Safer Saner Urban Schools: The Story of West Philadelphia High,"

American Psychological Association. (2006). Are Zero Tolearnce Policies Effective in the Schools? An Evidentiary Review and Recommendations. Washington, DC.

Anderson, C. (2004). Double jeopardy: the modern dilemma for juvenile justice. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 152(3), 1181-1219.

Archibald, B, and Llewellyn, J. (2006). The challenges of institutionalizing comprehensive restorative justice: theory and practice in nova scotia. *Dalhousie Law Journal*, 29, 297-343.

Bailie, J. (2009). Power, authority and restorative practices. *Restorative Practices Eforum*, 1-2.

Bazemore, G. (1998). Restorative justice and earned redemption: communities, victims, and offender reintegration. *American Behavioural Scientist*, *41*(6), 768-813.

Berg, B. (2007). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. New York, NY: Pearson Education Inc.

Berger, P., and Luckman, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: A treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

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

Browne-Dianis, J. (2011). Stepping back from zero tolerance: How can schools create a positive culture when they treat students like criminals. *Educational Leadership Online*, Retrieved from http://www.ascd.org

Cameron, L. and Thorsborne, M. (1999,February). Restorative Justice and School Discipline: Mutually Exclusive? A practitioner's view of the impact of Community Conferencing in Queensland Schools. Paper presented at the Reshaping Australian Institutions Conference " Restorative Justice and Civil Society", Australian National University

Cameron, A. (2005). Restorative Justice: A Literature Review. (2005). *The British Columbia Institute Against Family Violence*. Vancouver, BC.

Christie , N. (1977). Conflicts as property. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *17*(1), 1-15.

Cohen, J., and Harley, P. (2003). Intentional conversationg about restorative justice, mediation and the practice of law. *Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy*, *25*(2), 235- 332.

Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Daniel, Y., and Bondy, K. (2008). Safe schools and zero tolerance: Policy, program and practice in ontario. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, *70*, 1-20.

Department of Justice Nova Scotia. (2010) Programs and Services: Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program [Fact sheet]. Retrieved from

http://www.gov.ns.ca/just/rj/program.asp

Downie, J., and Llewellyn, J. (2011). *Being Relational Reflections on Relational Theory and Health Law and Policy* . Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Elliot, E. (2011). *Security with Care: Restorative Justice and Healthy Societies*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Fayol, H. (1949). *General and Industrial Management*. London, UK: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd.

Festinger, L. (1957) *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Gergen, K.J. (1992). Toward a postmodern psychology. In S. Kvale (Ed.), *Psychology and postmodernism* (pp. 17-30). London: Sage

Goffman, E. (1967). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Holliston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Goodcompany (2013). Leadership and Organizational Change Through Restorative Practices. Retrieved from http://www.goodcompanyonline.org/

Graves, D, and Mirsky, L. (2007). American psychological association report challenges school zero tolerance policies and recommends restorative justice. Restorative Practices Eforum, 1-2.

Helms Mills, J. (2003). *Making Sense of Organizational Change*. London, UK: Routledge Publishing.

Helms Mills, J. (2005). Organizational change and representations of women in a north american utility company. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *12*(3), 242-269.

Helms Mills, J., and Weatherbee, T. (2006). Hurricanes hardly happen: Sensemaking as a framework for understanding organizational disasters. *Culture and Organization*, *12*(3), 265-279.

Helms Mills, Jean, Thurlow, Amy, and Mills, Albert J. (2010) Making Sense of Sense Making: The Critical Sensemaking Approach, *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management*, 5(2): 182-195

Hopkins, B. (2004) *Just Schools: A Whole School Approach to Restorative Justice*. London and New York, NY: Jessica Kingsley

International Institute for Restorative Practices. (2013) Safer Saner Schools, Whole School Change Through Restorative Practices. Retrieved from http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/WSC-Overview.pdf

Karp, D., and Breslin, B. (2001). Restorative justice in school communities. *Youth and Society*, *3*(33), 2.

Katz, D., and Kahn, R. (1966). *The Social Psychology of Organizations*. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.

Kidde, J. and Alfred, R. (2011). Restorative Justice: A Working Guide for our Schools. San Leandro, CA. School Health Services Coalition

Llewellyn, J., and Howse, R. (1998). *Restorative Justice: A Conceptual Framework: Prepared for the Law Commission of Canada*. 1-110.

Llewellyn, J. (October, 21, 2010). *Restorative Collaboration: The Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program*. Paper presented at International Institute for Restorative Practices 12th World Conference 137-143.

Long, B., and Helms Mills, J. (2010). Workplace spirituality, contested meaning, and the culture of organization: A critical sensemaking account. *Journal of Organizational Change*, *23*(3), 2010.

Mason, J. (2002). Qualitative Researching. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Mayer, M., and Leone, P. (1999). A structural analysis of school violence and disruption: Implication for creating safer schools. *Education of Treatment of Children*, *22*(3), 333-356. Retrieved from http://www.popcenter.org/problems/bomb_threats/pdfs/mayerandleone_1999.pdf

Mead, G. (1962). *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*. Chicago, IL: The Chicago University Press.

Mills, A., and Murgatroyd, S. (1991). *Organizational Rules: A Framework for Understanding Organizational Action*. London, UK: Open University Press.

Mirsky, L. (2011). Restorative practices: Whole-school change to build safer, saner school communities. *International Institute for Restorative Practices: Restorative Practices Eforum*. 1-3.

Morrison, B. (2005). ‘‘Building Safe and Healthy School Communities: Restorative Justice and Responsive Regulation.’’ Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and Other Restorative Practices: ‘‘Building a Global Alliance for Restorative Practices and Family Empowerment.’’ Sydney, Australia, March, 2005.

Morrison, B., Thorsborne, M., and Blood, P. (2005). Practicing restorative justice in school communities: The challenge of culture change. *Public Organization Review: A Global Journal*, *5*, 335-357.

Morrison , B. (2007). Schools and restorative justice. In G. Johnstone (Ed.), Handbook of Restorative Justice (pp. 325-350). Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.

Morrison, B. and Vaandering, D. (2011) "Restorative Justice and School Safety: Pedagogy, Praxis and Discipline." *American Educators Research Association*. Vancouver, British Columbia,

Mullen, J., Vladi, N., and Mills, A. (2006). Making sense of the walkerton crisis. *Culture and Organization*, *12*(3), 207-220.

Nova Scotia Crime Prevention. (2013). novascotia.ca Retrieved August 1, 2012 from http://novascotia.ca/just/prevention/

O'Connell, C., and Mills, A. (2003). Making sense of bad news: The media, sensemaking, and organizational crisis. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, *28*(3), 1-17.

Palys, T. (2003). *Research Decisions: Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives*. Scarborough, ONT: Thomson Nelson.

Palys, T., and Atchison, C. (2008). *Research Decisions: Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives*. Scarborough, ONT: Nelson Education Ltd.

Pfeffer, J., and Salanik, (1978). *The External Control of Organizations*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Porter, A. (2007). Restorative practices in schools: Research reveals power of restorative approach. *International Institue for Restorative Pracitces: Restorative Practices Eforum*, 1-3.

Reimer, K. (2011). An Exploration of the Implementation of Restorative Justice in an Ontario Public School. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 1-23.

Schenk, B, Fox, H, Hick, R, and Zammit, L. (2010). Restorative practices in Canadian schools: an evolving journey. 145-152.

Skiba, R., Peterson, R, (1999). The dark side of zero tolerance: Can punishment lead to safe schools. Retrieved June 2013, from http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kski9909.htm

Skiba, R. (2000). Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice. *Indiana Education Policy Center: Policy Research Report*. Retrieved June 2013, from http://www.indiana.edu/~safeschl/ztze.pdf

Skiba, R.,Ryenolds C., Graham S.,Sheras P.Conoley J., and Garcia Vasquez E. (2006). Are Zero Tolerance Policies Effective in the Schools? An Evidentiary Review and Recommendations. The American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force.

Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Strickland, Ruth Ann (2004). Restorative Justice Studies in Crime and Punishment, v. 5. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Suvall, C. (2009). Restorative Justice in Schools: Learning from Jena High School. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, *44*, 547 - 563.

Thorsborne, M., and Vinegrad, D. (2002). *Restorative practices in schools: Rethinking behaviour management*. Queenscliffe, AU: Inyahead Press.

Thurlow, A., and Helms Mills, J. (2009). Change, talk and sensemaking. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *22*(5), 459-479.

Tri-County Restorative Justice. (2011) Bringing Restorative Justice into Schools [Brochure]. Retrieved August 2012, from http://www.tricountyrestorativejustice.com/rjschools.html

Unger, Roberto (1987). *Social Theory, Its Situation and Its Task*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vaandering, D. (2011). A faithful compass: Rethinking the term restorative justice to find clarity. Contemporary Justice Review, 14(3).

Van Ness, Daniel W (2005). *Restorative Justice in Prisons.* Restorative Justice Online. July 2005 Edition.

Varnham, S. (2011). Seeing things differently: restorative justice and school discipline. *Education and the Law*, *17*, 87-104.

Wachtel, Ted and McCold, Paul (2004). *From Restorative Justice to Restorative Practices: Expanding the Paradigm* Paper presented at the "5th International Conference on Conferencing & Circles", organized by the International Institute for Restorative Practices, August 5, Vancouver, Canada.

Wald J., and Losen D (2003). *Defining and Redirecting a School-to-prison Pipeline*. Paper presented at the "School-to-Prison Pipeline Research Conference" organized by The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, Northeastern University's Institute on Race and Injustice.

Weick, K. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *20*. 1 – 19.

Weick, K. (1979). *The social psychology of organizing*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Weick, K. (1993). The collapse of sensemaking in organizations: The mann gulch disaster. *Administrative Science Quarterly* , *38*, 628-652.

Weick, K. (1995). *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Welden, L. (2010). Restorative services: bringing a framework for improved school culture to public schools. Restorative Practices Eforum, 1-2.

Woolford, A. (2009). *The Politics of Restorative Justice: A Critical Introduction*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Yin, R. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Zehr, H. (2002). The Little Book of Restorative Justice. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY SINCE 1802
One University. One World. Yours.
PATRICK POWER LIBRARY

Department Office
T 902.420.5534
F 902.420.5561

Research Ethics Board Certificate Notice

The Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board has issued an REB certificate related to this thesis. The certificate number is: 12-322 .

A copy of the certificate is on file at:

Saint Mary's University, Archives
Patrick Power Library
Halifax, NS
B3H 3C3

Email: archives@smu.ca
Phone: 902-420-5508
Fax: 902-420-5561

For more information on the issuing of REB certificates, you can contact the Research Ethics Board at 902-420-5728/ ethics@smu.ca .