

Life Pathways and Narratives of Young Women who have Offended and Participated in Restorative Justice

Birgit Larsson
School of Social Work

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
September 2014

©This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with the author and that use of any information derived there from must be in accordance with current UK Copyright Law. In addition, any quotation or extract must include full attribution.

Abstract

This research is a mixed-methods study of young women who offended and were referred to police-facilitated restorative justice in the UK. Through analysis of twelve life history interviews with young women and secondary analysis of administrative police data (N=17,486; 51% male, 46.3% female) from one police force, it captures how women become involved in restorative justice (as victims, offenders, support people) and examines young women's pathways to offending as well as to desistance.

Although restorative justice research has traditionally been quantitative in nature, restorative justice itself works through storytelling, and for that reason, a narrative approach was used for the qualitative study. There were three sets of qualitative findings. First, the young women presented identities that can be characterized in three ways, as "fighters," "survivors," or "good girls." Second, the young women described their own offending to the interviewer through "morality tales," in which they neutralized offending, for example, as a form of play or a way to be a good mother. Finally, young women's narratives of restorative justice and the police drew connections between identities, "morality tales," and experiences in restorative justice highlighting that previous negative experiences with police; poor facilitation by the police during restorative justice; previous histories of victimization; and complex relationships with the young women's victims all impacted on young women's experiences in restorative justice.

In the quantitative study, secondary analysis was conducted on five years of administrative police data. The analysis focused on general participation in restorative justice by men and women and examined the effect of variables including age, gender, offence type, restorative justice type, group versus alone offending, and relationship between the victim and the offender. Findings revealed that restorative justice in this county was primarily used for very minor offending (possibly indicating net-widening); for offences involving corporate rather than personal victims; and that less time-intensive forms of restorative justice (street restorative justice) were predominantly chosen regardless of offence type.

The study concludes that police-facilitated restorative justice, especially in relation to

vulnerable young women, could be improved by ensuring diversity (race, ethnicity, gender) amongst police facilitators; increasing facilitators' awareness of young female offenders' frequent experiences of victimization prior to offending; preparing both offenders and victims before restorative justice; ensuring young offenders have support in restorative justice, especially if they cannot rely on their families; and never forcing apologies if participants do not want to give them.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to my supervisory team—Professor Gillian Schofield, Dr. Laura Biggart, and Professor Jonathan Dickens—for their generous feedback and support during my studies.

I am also grateful to the constabulary that participated in this research for granting me access to their data and providing assistance with recruitment, and I am especially grateful to the young women who were willing to share their life stories and thoughts on restorative justice with me.

Table of Contents

Introduction	6
Literature review	
Chapter 1: Young women's pathways to offending	15
Chapter 2: History, theory, and practice of Restorative Justice	46
Chapter 3: Restorative Justice Research outcomes	70
Methodology	
Chapter 4: Methodology	95
Findings	
Chapter 5: Quantitative study findings	140
Chapter 6: Pathways and Identities	165
Chapter 7: Morality Tales	194
Chapter 8: Police and Restorative Justice	228
Conclusion	265
Appendices	
Appendix 1: Quantitative Methodology	298
Appendix 2: Information leaflet to the police	327
Appendix 3: Letter to participants	328
Appendix 4: Interview Schedule	329
Appendix 5: Consent form for participants	330
Bibliography	331

Introduction

This thesis reports a mixed-methods study of young female offenders' experiences in a police-facilitated restorative justice (RJ) scheme in a county in the UK. Although restorative justice has been practiced around the world for more than forty years, and in the UK for the last thirty (Marshall, 1999; Marshall, 1996), there has recently been an upsurge of interest in the UK, both from a political and policy standpoint (Salz, 2010; Ministry of Justice, December 2010). While those in favour of RJ seem to be, theoretically, open for the practices to be used for both adult and young offenders (see Sherman and Strang, 2007: 52), in practice, restorative justice seems to be flourishing more easily for young offenders. This is evidenced by the emergence of police-facilitated restorative justice schemes, which although technically available for all offenders are skewed toward use for young offenders (see Hoyle et al, 2002: 77, for example). Restorative practices are now found in schools (McCluskey et al., 2008) as well as in residential homes (Littlechild and Sender, 2010). When young people commit crimes they might meet with community members who provide them with a more personal reaction to their offending (Crawford and Newburn, 2002). Whole cities (Mirksy, 2009) and even counties (Norfolk County Council, 2012) now also advertise that they are changing the way they think about offending, especially in regards to youth crime, and want to be identified as places of restorative justice practice. Thus what restorative justice *is* has changed from early ideas that individuals who have been involved in a crime should meet through the help of community members (Christie, 1977) to a process mediated by trained practitioners who follow evidence-based practice (Umbreit, 1998b) to ways of communicating with and treating other people (Marshall, 1999, Wachtel and McCold, 2004).

The practices of restorative justice, and the interest in them, have been developing alongside concerns about young women's offending and their reception at the hands of the criminal justice system (see Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988; Chesney-Lind, 1989). According to some scholars, the two have been related since the beginning (Daly and Immarigeon, 1998; Daly and Stubbs, 2006). A great deal of feminist literature has presented young women's offending as being due to their victimisation (Chesney-Lind, 1989, Gilfus, 1992, Javdani et al., 2011) and suggestions that criminal justice interventions need to be specifically tailored to fit women have grown popular (Bloom

and Covington, November 11-14, 1998, Bloom and Covington, 2002). It is, therefore, not especially surprising that the two have been juxtaposed (van Wormer, 2009; Elis, 2005; Daly and Immarigeon, 1998) and that the result of such comparisons has been to identify RJ as perfect for women victims and women offenders since it gives them opportunities for ‘storytelling’ (Gaarder and Presser, 2006, Verrecchia, 2009, Pepi, 1998, Failinger, 2006), which women are supposed to care about and be better at (see review by Elis, 2005). Ironically, however, these suggestions continue to be voiced even though, as illustrated above, what exactly RJ is depends on the context (see also Ashworth, 2002), the quality of RJ varies considerably (Braithwaite, 2002), there have not been enough in-depth studies on female offenders’ experiences in RJ (Sherman et al., 2008; Daly and Stubbs, 2006; Elis, 2005), and those that have explored young female offenders’ views have yielded mixed, even negative results (i.e. Daly, 2008 and Maxwell et al 2004).

The interest in female offenders’ experiences in RJ originally emerged from my work as a mediator and facilitator in New York because the charity I worked for received a tremendous number of referrals involving young women from the police, probation, and family court who did not seem to know what to do with young women. As part of our work in the community, we also mediated on site in several schools, and there, too, administrators expressed concern that they did not have time to deal with reoccurring conflicts between girls when they were struggling with a high student to staff ratio, low test scores, and other academic difficulties. As a result, much of my time during my years in conflict resolution was spent mediating between girls, and although I did not think of it that way at the time, I was receiving my first training in criminology and psychology.

Especially in the schools I visited, I saw the same girls, or girls belonging to overlapping social groups, on a regular basis, and I know now that they followed rather classic patterns as described in aggression literature. Girls’ fights took place in groups and began with rumours or through gossip. Often girls who had been friends suddenly weren’t friends, or one girl found herself increasingly frozen out sometimes for a reason she could identify—a boy perhaps, or a verbal fight with one of the girls in the group—all versions of ‘social’/‘indirect’ aggression (Björkqvist et al., 1992, Björkqvist, 1994, Crick and Grotpeter, 1995, Xie et al., 2002a, Xie et al., 2002b). Of course such fights

are not often captured by criminal justice data, although they are increasingly gaining the interest of criminologists (Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2008; Daly, 2008; Batchelor et al., 2001). However, these conflicts often did not end there. The fights which began in social ways escalated to violence between individual girls, between groups of girls, and between mixed-gender groups, sometimes through ‘jumpings’ after school, which is what the young people called a planned attack on someone. These attacks always resulted in humiliation and often in physical injury, producing more bad feelings, which, in turn, brewed until there was more violence down the road. I had the unfortunate experience of observing one such jumping between young people I knew in a subway tunnel when I was on my way home from the school and therefore saw first-hand how quickly things could progress to physical violence and what the consequences could be.

Our practice in schools combined our knowledge from mediation with ideas and approaches learned from daylong seminars on restorative circles delivered by Dominic Barter and on restorative practices delivered by trainers working at the International Institute of Restorative Practices. As has been noted to occur, our practice often began through trial and error, achieving more and more sophistication as we shaped our practice to specific environments (Ashworth, 2002). Since this was a project that was part of a charity organization, no data were collected on our successes or failures other than the number of mediations we did, the number of people involved, and the type of conflict, which, in turn, made applying for funding difficult without proof of evidence-based practice. I suspect a number of hardworking charity organizations operate similarly, which was one of the catalysts that brought me from practice to scholarly work, with the intention of combining the two down the line.

From my practice days, I knew that there were dangers associated with viewing restorative justice, usually a one-time intervention, as a complete treatment/intervention in itself (Hoyle et al, 2002:56), particularly since there are active and on-going debates in restorative justice concerning who should facilitate conferences and what their expertise should be, ranging from “lay-persons” (Christie, 1977, Christie, 2013) to trained individuals from the community (Braithwaite, 2002) to professionals such as social workers (Bradt and Bouverne-De Bie, 2009) or the police (McCold, 2003). Most agree that there should be a set of clear restorative justice ideas (Dandurand and

Griffiths, 2006; Braithwaite, 2002, Ashworth, 2002) and that restorative justice should follow certain best practices, which are evidence-based (see Maxwell et al, 2004 and Training and Accreditation Group, 2004 for lists of such best practices); however, the reality is that this does not happen. Police-facilitated restorative justice has especially received recommendations for improvement, even by those who ultimately support police involvement in such processes (Hoyle et al., 2002, O'Mahony and Doak, 2004, McCold and Wachtel, 1998). Therefore, the problem of over estimating the effectiveness of RJ is not only related to it being a one-time process (Hoyle et al, 2002; Daly, 2002, etc), but also that some facilitators, such as the police, have not been adequately trained in RJ to be able to be encouraging and hold them accountable for their behaviours (Maxwell et al, 2004; Umbreit, 1998b, Marshall, 1999), *while fading into the background* (Ashworth, 2002).

The emerging research concerning RJ and offending women, in turn, is simultaneously perplexing, hopeful and disconcerting. It has been suggested that if a police officer is unable to turn a young person to prosocial behaviour through their facilitation skills, then it is the young offender's family—and especially their mothers—who are supposed to complete that work (Braithwaite, 1999 and Daly, 1996 in Braithwaite, 1999). Alder (2000) and Elis (2005), however, have pointed out that this is highly problematic since the literature on young women's offending often points to background factors of domestic violence and physical/sexual abuse in the home (Williams et al., March 2012, Hubbard and Pratt, 2002, Siegel and Williams, 2003) which, in turn, has profound implications on power in RJ (Daly and Nancarrow, 2008, Elis, 2005) and the suitability of family members to support young women during such a process (Alder, 2000). Research with young women who have offended and experienced police-facilitated RJ have shown that young women sometimes find these processes problematic if not outright abusive (Maxwell et al., 2004, Daly, 2008), but that despite these negative feelings, RJ seems to 'work' by promoting their desistance (Sherman and Strang, 2007, Hayes, 2005, Hayes and Daly, 2004, Rodriguez, 2007, Maxwell et al., 2004). The problems young women have with the process seem to relate to two areas: young women's reluctance to identify with offender roles (see Daly, 2013; Daly, 2008), perhaps because of women's unique experience of perpetration and victimization when it comes to conflicts with other young women (see Daly, 2008;

Batchelor et al, 2001, Sondheimer, 2001; Alder, 2000) and to their relationship with the police (see Maxwell et al, 2004).

I, originally, hoped to contribute to the field through an in-depth qualitative study of young women's experiences in police facilitated restorative justice in an attempt to explore whether women's poor experiences in RJ, as found in New Zealand and Australia (Daly, 2008; Maxwell et al, 2004), would be found in police-facilitated restorative justice in the UK, and, if so, why young women did or did not feel this way. I also had an interest in how women experienced its professed benefits—"reintegration" in the community/family (Braithwaite, 1989), for example, as well as desistance (Sherman and Strang, 2007, Rodriguez, 2007, Hayes, 2005, Hayes and Daly, 2004, Maxwell et al, 2004). The research questions that addressed these interests included:

1. What do young women describe as major influences or turning points to offending?
2. How are offending identities described alongside other gendered identities?
3. What are young women's experiences of restorative justice conferences?
4. How do young women see themselves in relation to their communities subsequent to restorative justice, and to what community, if any, do they "belong"?

In the process of negotiating access to young women who had offended and experienced police-facilitated RJ, however, I was invited by my police contacts also to examine the administrative database where records were kept about the cases and the 17,000 individuals processed through restorative justice. Since this was too good an opportunity to turn down, I accepted and spent months cleaning administrative data and putting together a workable research database. I, in turn, developed research questions for the quantitative portion based on what was there. These questions probed gender differences between offenders as well as women's participation in RJ in general since not much is known about such issues (Daly and Stubbs, 2006; Elis, 2005):

1. What are women's roles in restorative justice? That is, what role do women play in restorative justice conferences, not only as offenders but also as victims, support persons, and professionals?
2. How do women's roles in restorative justice compare to men's participation?
3. What kinds of crimes committed by women are associated with referrals to RJ?
4. What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice?

5. Is there a gendered difference between female offenders' relationship to victims and male offender's relationships to victims?

While police-facilitated restorative justice and female offenders' experiences within these processes are the heart of this research, one of the goals was to let the young women interviewed make it more than that. Narrative interviews and narrative analysis were, therefore, chosen not only because of their close connection to the process of restorative justice itself, which involves "storytelling" (Umbreit, 1998b), but also because it would give the young women the opportunity to talk about themselves and their lives away from restorative justice and away from offending, which the majority of research into restorative justice does not allow for. Since RJ is also about "confront[ing]" offenders with what they have done (Bradshaw, 1998:19), narrative methods would also allow me to explore how young women talked about their offending after RJ. I was curious as to whether they would explain it away as offenders typically do (Presser, 2002, Presser, 2004, Maruna, 2001, Sykes and Matza, 1957) or whether they would continue to express remorse and regret. This thesis is, therefore, composed of secondary analysis of administrative police data from 2007 through 2012, involving 17,000 individuals who participated in restorative justice as victims, offenders, and support persons, and twelve life-history interviews with young women who experienced the process as offenders.

As the methodology allowed for, young women did not only speak about restorative justice. They also talked family relationships, experiences with peers and partners, motherhood, work, desistance from offending, and their interactions with the police and the criminal justice system. Analysing women's life stories rather than only their views on restorative justice provided an insight into the diversity and range of experiences the young women had had with the Criminal Justice System (CJS) prior to restorative justice, which, in part, might help explain their views. These included voices of experience, "*I've been in trouble all my life really*" as well as first time experiences, "*I'd never been in any trouble like that at all. In school I'd never been in trouble with teachers.*"

Perhaps most crucial of all, the women's narratives demonstrated what it was like to be a young woman growing up today and the choices they had to make in terms of being

‘soft’ or ‘strong’ in order to flourish in their communities. Not surprisingly given the literature on girls’ relationships with other girls’ (Björkqvist et al., 1992, Björkqvist, 1994, Crick and Grotpeter, 1995, Sondheimer, 2001, Batchelor et al., 2001), much of their life stories contained talk about other women—mothers, friends, and enemies—whom they compared themselves to and against. Whether they identified themselves as “*a very girly person*” or “*not very girly*”, women other than themselves and their immediate circle were usually described as “*really bitchy*” and “*worse these days than boys*.” Many of the women were especially critical of young women who were violent, associating it with masculine behaviour, “*you’d think it was a man thing fighting*.” Violence and offending by men was expected to some degree because “*men are men*.” On violent men, one participant said, “*you can just take them at face value*,” while violent women were not to be trusted, “*Oh god, I think physical fighting with girls—even with men it’s horrible—with girls it’s disgusting. We’re ladies. We should be like being lovely to each other. We should sit there being nice people. We should never be fighting*.” These views emerged even if the young women had been violent themselves, illustrating the power gender roles had on these young women and the implications such ideas had on ideas of themselves when they repeatedly failed to live up to them.

This thesis is divided into four main sections. The first section is composed of three literature review chapters which provide a context to the quantitative and qualitative research. The first of these chapters, Young Women’s Pathways to Offending, covers a range of literature belonging to criminology, sociology and psychology to describe social and individual risk factors for young women from childhood through adolescence. Chapter Two, History, Theory and Practice of Restorative Justice, discusses what restorative justice is and where it came from, paying particular attention to how women’s roles in RJ theory and practice have developed. Chapter Three, Research Outcomes of Restorative Justice, presents three ways of looking at how (and whether) police-facilitated restorative justice ‘works.’

The second part of this thesis consists of a methodology chapter, which gives a brief overview of how the administrative police data was accessed and directs the reader to Appendix 1 for a further in-depth discussion of secondary data analysis, including the ethical issues involved. The chapter then describes the methodological choices

involving narrative analysis and the fit between narrative analysis and restorative justice.

Next, the findings of the secondary data analysis are presented. The quantitative findings chapter first provides a contextual view of all participants in restorative justice from 2007 through 2012. Second, the findings focus on offenders and compares and contrasts male and female offenders on a number of variables, which came from the database itself and the qualitative interviews, as well as the criminological and RJ literatures.

Three qualitative findings chapters complete the findings. “Pathways and Identities” treats the women’s narratives as “literature” (Freeman, 2004) and describes women’s “presentation” of themselves (Goffman, 1978) as one of three “imagoes” (McAdams, 1993, McAdams, 1988): the ‘fighter,’ the ‘survivor,’ and the ‘good girl.’ “Morality Tales” takes a more discursive narrative approach through closely analysing women’s talk about one of their offences, as well as the interviewer’s contributions to these narratives. “Restorative Justice and the Police” looks at young women’s narratives about restorative justice thematically.

Finally, the conclusion pulls together the literature review and the qualitative and quantitative portions of the research in order to make recommendations for practice and to suggest next steps in research involving female offenders and RJ. The conclusion also contributes to the study of desistance through the creation of models illustrating the processes the young women in this research engaged in in order to stop offending.

As a final note, the persons who commit crimes have been called ‘offenders’ and the persons on the receiving end of these crimes have been called ‘victims’ throughout this introduction. This terminology will continue throughout the thesis even though what to call participants in restorative justice has, at times, become a passionate debate (see for example the first issue of *Restorative Justice: An International Journal, Volume 1, Issue 1, 2013* by Aertsen et al, 2013). In that first publication, Nils Christie (2013: 17), one of the earliest and most influential voices of restorative justice, takes a stance against the word “offender”: “to use this concept is to conclude and close the process where we ought to start.” Maruna (2013: 47) in the same issue, echoes this sentiment, “the

‘victim’/‘offender’ labels...fundamentally corrupt the dynamics of the restorative process,” (Maruna, 2013), while Shapland (2013: 66) disagrees, “the words ‘offender’ and ‘victim’ are indeed powerful, but they cannot, except in rare instances, be dispensed with in relation to restorative justice which has arisen as a result of a crime.”

To some degree, they are all right. What to call participants depends, of course, on the circumstances of the offence and the level of offending. The research on police-facilitated restorative justice, for example, has suggested that young people are referred to RJ occasionally for insignificant offences, suggesting “net-widening” (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004) and the criminological and RJ literature discussed in this thesis as well as the qualitative interviews will demonstrate that these labels are especially sensitive issues when it comes to young women’s conflicts who, for the most part, do not see themselves as offenders (Daly, 2008). While the administrative police database refers to the individuals who committed the crimes as ‘wrongdoers’ rather than ‘offenders,’ I have made the choice to refer to them as offenders—not because I disagree that this discussion is important—but for clarity. Since the vast majority of RJ research literature continues to refer to participants of RJ as ‘victims’ and ‘offenders’ as does the criminological literature reviewed here, using these same terms makes the thesis more readable. For the same reason I have chosen to use the term ‘restorative justice’ even though ‘new’ terms have been proposed such as “restorative mediation” (Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003: 349) or “innovative justice” (Daly, 2013: 23).

Chapter 1: Young Women's Pathways to Offending

Introduction

Cohen (2011: 1, first published 1972) writes that “societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, an episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interest [and] its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media.” Although Cohen’s text had little to say about girls or women, in recent years, the topic of female offenders has been described in this vein (Kruttschnitt and Gartner, 2008) especially when it comes to media descriptions of violent women (see Brennan and Vanderberg’s (2009) summary of the literature). Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988) and Batchelor and colleagues (2001: 2) have argued that there is such public interest in offences committed by girls because “it epitomises everything that challenges the way in which ‘nice girls’ behave [and]...is in stark contrast to the presumed naturalness of men’s aggression: nowhere is the violence of young men reported as ‘boy violence.’” Feminist scholars have generally quickly come to young women’s defences when such discussions arise (see, for example, Chesney-Lind and Irwin (2008) on “mean girls”) or have used such discussions to create new research niches (Jackson, 2006, Batchelor, 2001). Like Cohen (2011:viii), some of these scholars make the case that panic about young women is actually “*old* (camouflaged versions of traditional and well-known evils)” (Jackson and Tinkler, 2007, Kruttschnitt and Gartner, 2008).

The idea that men and women *are* different, is, however, frequently argued, although such scholarship has not always been intended to be applied to criminology. Gilligan (1982), for example, famously suggested that women and men approach difficult choices through a focus on “care” for others or through “justice.” While many differences between men and women are explained as being due to the way children are taught to think about themselves and their place in life (see Bussey and Bandura, 1999; Block, 1983), theories such as Gilligan’s still appear in delinquency literature to explain why offences between young men and women differ (see discussions by Daly, 2008; Elis, 2005; Daly, 2002, Gilfus, 1992 on Gilligan, 1982).

Perhaps related to this view of women as *most often* soft and kind, the media seems to alternate between the critical approaches just discussed and those which showcase women as not truly offenders. Recent UK headlines about young women's membership in gangs, for example, have presented gang involved young women as victims in need of help such as, "The Exploitation of Girls in UK Gangs" in the *Guardian* (Helm, 22 March 2014). Even the discussion of "women as victims," however, is "old" (Cohen, 2011: viii) and has been thought to have troubling consequences for young women—especially female offenders. According to Alder (2000: 144-115), for example, "we have tended to understand girlhood in terms of pathology and protection. Our responses to girls have been founded in understandings of girl-as-victim, girl-as-dependend/passive which have evoked coercive restrictive responses to signs of girls' wilfulness and passion."

This chapter will continue to visit these themes of both victimization and perpetration by women as it reviews literature on the background and experiences of young female offenders from childhood through early adulthood. In doing so, several different types of literature have been consulted from criminology, sociology, social work and psychology with studies based in the UK as well as the USA, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere. It is driven by an "ecological" approach with the aim of suggesting that an individual is affected by her social environments and vice versa (Bronfenbrenner, 1994: 38).

The chapter begins with a discussion of the types of offending young women most commonly engage in. Next, the chapter examines risk factors experienced during childhood which encourage young women's offending and how gender and race have further impacts. Once the context of young women's lives has been established, the chapter moves to individual traits that may be shaped by young women's social environments. These discussions, in turn, set the scene for later chapters on restorative justice, an intervention which makes use of some of these traits in meetings with victims (see Snow and Powell, 2011; Snow and Sanger, 2011; Rodogno, 2008, for example). An understanding of how these traits are experienced and expressed by young female offenders will help clarify how well such an intervention might work and where the problems might be. Following this, the chapter concludes with a discussion of turning

points away from offending, both from what is known about men's processes as well as what might be unique for women.

Female Offending

In the UK, frequently cited statistics about offending come from comparisons of police-recorded crime statistics with information from victims, obtained through the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) in the "Crime in England and Wales" publications (see Chaplin et al (eds), July 2011; Flatley et al (eds), July 2010, etc). The reason for this dual approach is because the Crime Survey describes offences the police are not aware of and, therefore, covers what is known as the "dark figure of crime" (Jansson, 2007:7). Alone, neither data sources is ideal—police-recorded crime may miss out on a number of incidents due to a lack of knowledge about them, and the Crime Victim Survey, since it only reaches out to households and deals with victims, in turn, misses out on crimes like homicide and shoplifting (Chaplin et al, eds, July 2011). Further, while police data includes information on all offenders over the age of criminal responsibility (10 and up), the Crime Survey of England and Wales has only collected information on younger crime victims since 2009 (Millard and Flatley, 17 June 2010). However, despite these gaps, it is clear that the figures the Crime Survey collects on victimization far exceeds police data (see figure 2, ONS, 07 February 2013: 8). It has also been suggested that the Crime Survey is a "better measure of long-term trends because it is unaffected by changes in levels of public reporting or in police practise in recording crime" (Chaplin et al (eds), July 2010: 1).

Based on police data, far more men are arrested for all offences in the UK than women are (Ministry of Justice, November 2012), as they are elsewhere (Puzzanchera, 2013; Statistics Canada, May 2013). When adult women (18 plus) are arrested, however, they are typically arrested for violence, followed by theft and handling, which fits in with adult and juvenile male patterns of arrests from the same years (Ministry of Justice, November 2012: S.3.01, 32). Young women (10-17), however, have slight differences in their arrest patterns; while they were more often, 2010-2011, arrested for violence than for any other offence, this changed from a stable pattern of acquisitive offences as the most typical arrest from 2000 through 2010 (Ministry of Justice, November 2012: S.3.01, 32, 33; Arnall and Eagle, 2009: 46). These UK patterns of higher arrest rates

for young women's violence than other offences appear to be unique. Arrests of young women from similar years in the US (2011), Canada (2009) and Australia (2012), for example, all demonstrate that acquisitive offences are more likely reasons for arrest than violence (Puzzanchera, 2013: 3; Statistics Canada, May 2013; Australian Institute of Criminology, 2013: 83). Interestingly, however, even though women, and young women, in the UK during recent years are brought into the CJS for violence, they are more likely to be found guilty of acquisitive offences (Ministry of Justice, November 2012: 45). For young women (10-17), this tends to be for shoplifting (Cooper and Roe, 2012:7). Rowe (2012: 121), in his analysis of arrest rates for ethnic minorities in the UK suggested that they might be ““over-charged”” which would then force “the courts [to] correct disparities.” Although race will be discussed in more detail later, it is possible that gender, similarly, causes police in the UK to overreact to young women's violent offences, which might not be serious enough to be pursued further, just as Chesney-Lind (1989) has suggested has occurred for “status-offences” in the US.

Should UK patterns of female violence be similar to those in the US, it is also likely that 'violence' by women mainly limits itself to common assaults (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999; Puzzanchera, 2013) and mostly involves other women (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). Although UK police data does not reveal relationship or gender patterns between victims and offenders, Arnall and Eagle (2009: 68) were able to use data from Youth Offending Teams to determine that young female offenders often have some type of relationship with their victims. The introduction of the new younger age group category in CSEW, however, has the possibility of further adding to our understanding of young women's violence in the UK (see Millard and Flatley, 17 June 2010). There is, for example, some evidence that suggests that male and female peaks differ slightly, with the female peak occurring at a younger age (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2013: 67; Ministry of Justice, October 2010: 36, 67). In the UK young women who offend have a mean age of 15 (Arnall and Eagle, 2009: 58, 59), and since victims have been found “to be generally of a similar age to the girls who committed the acts of violence” (Arnall and Eagle, 2009: 68), it is likely that perpetrators of female violence belong to the age group now being interviewed by the CSEW.

Thus far, Millard and Flatley (17 June 2010: 18-21) have found that girls were more likely to be victimized through violence (14.8%) than through any other type of offence

(personal crime (12.4%); other theft (4.4%)). The authors (2010: 7, 18-21) also demonstrated that there was a real difference between what would legally be considered a crime and what girls believed to be a crime. For example, even though 14.8% of the girls interviewed had had a violent incident perpetrated against them, only 2.1% of the girls believed these violent incidents to be a crime compared to 24.2% of boys who were victimized by a similar incident, of whom 4.7% believed it was a crime (Millard and Flatley, 17 June 2010: 20). It is possible that girls were less likely to take violence perpetrated against them seriously than boys were, which could be due to the violence aimed at girls being more minor—supporting US research and perhaps helping explain why some of the violent arrests in the UK are not pursued in court—or it could possibly hint at a troubling acceptability of violence against girls and women from a young age.

Childhood and adolescent risk factors—social contexts

We continue with a discussion of the social contexts of young women's offending rather than delving into a discussion of individual traits because the narratives of young women's lives, as told in the criminological literature and by the young women themselves in the findings of this thesis, begin with who they are in relation to others—their families and their friends—rather than with their genetic risks.

Families

Many of the contextual findings about young offenders' families discovered through large-scale research studies such as the Newcastle Longitudinal Study (Kolvin et al., 1988), the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development in the UK (Farrington, 1995, Farrington et al., 2009), the Christchurch Health and Development Study (Fergusson and Horwood, 2001, Fergusson et al., 1996a, Fergusson and Woodward, 2000) or the Dunedin Longitudinal Study in New Zealand (Moffitt, 1993) can be applied to young women, and have been so, although with "gendered" caveats (see discussion of Steffensmeir and Allan, 1996). This collection of research, along with other studies, for example, have suggested that parents of young offenders, fathers as well as mothers, have often offended themselves and have criminal records (Farrington, 1995, Farrington et al., 2009, Fergusson and Woodward, 2000, Kruttschnitt and Gartner, 2008). They have also shown that offenders' parents, instead of providing care and nurture alongside "authoritative" discipline where rules are clearly and fairly laid out

(Baumrind, 1966), show little affection or use “authoritarian” discipline (Farrington, 1995, Miller et al., 2008, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986, Baumrind, 1966). Research also points to physical and/or sexual abuse of the children in these homes (Lansford et al., 2007, Williams et al., March 2012, Berman and Dar, 2013).

As further evidence of the abusive backgrounds of offenders are the statistics that show that many incarcerated offenders have been looked after: 24% according to Berman and Dar in the UK (2013: 18). This figure becomes even more startling when considering gender: 24% of men and 31% of women who have been incarcerated in the UK have been removed from their homes by social services at some point during their childhoods (Williams et al, March 2012: 8). The link between offending and care histories, however, can be established even earlier. In 2014, the Department of Education estimated that children in care in the UK are four times as likely to become involved in the criminal justice system than their contemporaries not in care (DFE, 2014: 4). While some of this offending has been argued to be due to criminalisation of low-level offending that the same young people would not have been arrested for had they been living in their birth homes (Taylor, 2003, Schofield et al., 2014), Schofield et al (2014: 209-2010) have emphasised that “a correlation between care and offending is to a large extent a result of shared risk factors” of the neglect and abuse described above (Schofield et al., 2014).

The juvenile offender population, like the adults, have significant gender differences. In studies by the Youth Justice Board and studies on Youth Offending Team data, for example, 44%-52% of young women have had intervention by social services in their childhoods compared to 24%- 30% of boys (Murray, 2012: 27, 29; Tye, 2009: 20, 55; Arnall and Eagle, 2009: 61). Researchers in the 1980s reacted to early versions of such statistics by arguing that offending for women was so unusual that it might require a great deal more than only risk factors to ‘tip’ a young women over from prosocial to antisocial behaviour (Widom et al., 1983, Mednick et al., 1984). Although suggestions such as “perhaps women whose criminal behaviour prompts a court conviction have a predisposition for such behaviour [while]...criminal involvement in many men...may be more social or environmentally induced” by Mednick and colleagues (1984: 893) feel outdated given the plethora of research into specific female risk factors (see, for example, discussions of Javdani et al, 2011; Hubbard and Pratt, 2002; Chesney-Lind,

1989), more recent studies have pointed to individuals having “differential susceptibility” to abuse and neglect (Woolgar, 2013: 240). Along this line, it has been argued that young women are affected by family contexts and dynamics in completely different ways than young men are, and that, therefore, “susceptibility” towards offending might be “gendered” (De Heimer and Coster, 1999).

It does appear that women’s reaction towards a negative upbringing takes routes that are different from men’s—not only in offending but also through entrapment in abusive relationships (ONS, 07 February 2013; Corston, 2007), and in higher levels of self-harm and mental health issues (Light et al, 2013; Timmons-Mitchell et al, 1997), which will be discussed in the peers and partners and individual traits sections, respectively. When it comes to offending, the Newcastle Longitudinal Study provided evidence that, “a steeper rise in the number of convictions as the level of deprivation increases was...noted for girls...compared with boys” (Kolvin et al, 1988: 84). It is possible that very difficult backgrounds encourage offending in girls even more than it does in boys. Such ‘evidence’, however, is slim and does not seem to take into account the type of ‘deprivation’/abuse young women experienced.

For example, while childhood victimization is common for male and female offenders (Berman and Dar, 2013; Williams et al, 2012), certain types of abuse—such as sexual abuse—are experienced in excess by offending women (Williams et al., March 2012, Chamberlain and Reid, 1994), and sexual abuse, in particular, has been found to lead to a variety of challenging behaviours (Alder, 2000, Chamberlain and Reid, 1994), including offending (Hubbard and Pratt, 2002). Chamberlain and Reid’s (1994: 36) study involving young male and female offenders in therapeutic foster care, for example, found that girls’ behaviour worsened over the first few months, which they argued was perhaps partially due to more sexual victimization in the young women’s histories (Chamberlain and Reid, 1994: 36). Alder (2000: 112), on the other hand, has cautioned “that sexual abuse has become the concept around which the tendency to pathologies girls’ behaviour has coalesced in recent years.” She has analysed similar behaviour by girls shown to professionals (“‘in your face’...feisty, and ‘difficult’”) as evidence that “some [young women] may have had to develop these characteristics in order to survive” (Alder, 2000:111) Woolgar (2013: 241), similarly, through the lens of neuroscience, suggests that “it may be helpful to think of some of the brain changes

observed following maltreatment as *adaptations* to adverse environments rather than just as frank damage that has been done to the child.”

Finally, the literature suggests that young male/female offenders may be impacted differently through parenting (Farrington et al, 2009; Davies and Windle, 1997; Kolvin et al, 1988; Mednick et al, 1984). The literature, for example, specifically pinpoints that mothers are particularly important in daughters’ offending (Mednick et al., 1984, Farrington et al., 2009, Kolvin et al., 1988, Davies and Windle, 1997). The quality of mothering—or rather the lack thereof—is frequently picked up in the literature with Farrington et al (2009: 110-111) from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development noting that “a convicted mother was especially associated with poor parental child-rearing behaviour (harsh or erratic discipline, cruel or neglecting attitude, parental conflict).” Kolvin et al (1998: 88), in turn, noted that “these mothers [of delinquent youth] fail to provide guidance, direction, and supervision and are poor models of imitation.” Farrington and colleagues (2009) even traced the effects of this poor mothering two generations down and found that it increased the likelihood of granddaughters’ offending (Farrington et al, 2009: 117). Other studies have linked mothers’ mental health problems to daughters’ offending (Davies and Windle, 1997), and mothers’ substance abuse to children’s substance abuse (Garnier and Stein, 2002).

However, given the background characteristics of the homes of young offenders and the high degrees of sexual abuse and domestic violence present there (Williams et al., March 2012, Lansford et al., 2007, Berman and Dar, 2013), which, as literature shows, is dominated by male abusers (Dobash and Dobash, 2004, Johnson and Leone, 2005), the blame for daughters’ offending might be placed on antisocial *and* vulnerable women who have in all likelihood been made more vulnerable by their male antisocial partners (Giordano et al, 2002: 1048; Farrington et al, 2009: 110, 116). While the research above mentions “parental conflict” (Farrington, 2009: 111), it does not address whether such “conflict” was domestic violence. While depression has been linked to improper parenting techniques (see Lovejoy et al, 2000), depression, in turn, is a common effect of domestic violence (Mitchell and Hodson, 1983).

Peer groups and partners

Alongside family environments, the literature suggests that for young people, peers are crucial to becoming involved in offending and antisocial behaviour (Rutter et al., 1998, Garnier and Stein, 2002, Haynie and Osgood, 2005; McCord and Conway, Decemeber, 2005) and that peers even shape offending type (McCord and Conway, December 2005). While the links between peers and offending has been well-established for young men (see, for example, Erickson et al, 2000), in recent years, it has been suggested that the influence of peers may be even more critical for young women (Cooper and Roe, 2012, van Mastrigt and Farrington, 2009).

Moffitt's (1993) highly influential life-course theory has suggested that young people of all types—with and without unusual qualities/behaviours—engage in offending during adolescence. According to Moffitt's theory, there were two types of young offenders, those who, through a combination of childhood difficulties and perhaps genetic predispositions, would begin to act antisocially early, called “life-course persistent” deviants, and “adolescent-limited” deviants who, during adolescence, would be convinced to join their more antisocial peers in their activities. Moffitt and colleagues' (Caspi et al's, 1993) research on young women's antisocial behaviour in single-sex schools versus mixed-sex schools, found evidence suggesting the presence of two routes for young women into offending as well—the first through reaching puberty early and becoming acquainted with young men and the second through having underlying risk factors (such as the tendencies toward violent behaviours as suggested by Cairns et al, 1988 and Laird et al, 1991, for example) and *already* knowing antisocial young men (Caspi et al, 1993: 28).

Silverhorn and Frick (1999:113-114), however, have critiqued such work and suggest that Moffitt's (1993) theory does not fully account for young women's experiences. Silverthorn and Frick instead suggest that young women who offend actually share the same childhood risk factors as the “life-course persistent” group but do not display the same classic early negative behaviour signs as those young men do. They propose that young women may belong to a third classification, a “delayed-onset” group, where high risk factors do not erupt into offending until young women reach adolescence but where those risks lead to “negative outcomes in adulthood, including psychiatric illness and

unstable chaotic lifestyles” just like the “life-course persistent” group (Silverhorn and Frick, 1999: 113).

Caspi et al’s (1993) research, however, regardless of whether young women followed one pathway or the other, suggested that something rather specific led to young women offending, which Silverthorn and Frick (1999) did not mention—the presence of young men. This has been discussed elsewhere in the literature as being important (see Haynie et al, 2005; Gilfus, 1992; Javdani et al, 2011). While Caspi and colleagues’ (1993) work implied that the antisocial girls knew the boys through friendship rather than through romantic connections, male partners have also been shown to pull women into offending. Haynie et al (2005), for example, found that while peers were more important than partners in encouraging antisocial activity, having a boyfriend who engaged in offending encouraged young women to partake. This fits with Gilfus’s (1992: 81) analysis of offending women’s lifestyle where she found that low-income adult women in the US were vulnerable to becoming involved in whatever offending their partners engaged in.

More recent research, however, has demonstrated that young women also offend in single-sex groups, including violently (Arnall and Eagle, 2009). While such ‘new’ research leads to the type of “moral panic” (Cohen, 2011) discussed in the introduction, group aggression amongst girls is not ‘new.’ Research by Cairns et al (1988: 822), for example, on schoolchildren in the US found that “aggressive patterns—and correlated behaviors—provided a basis for social cohesion and commonalities in friendships for both boys and girls,” meaning that single-sex female aggressive groups exist from childhood (see also research by Miller et al, 2009). As further ‘evidence’ a plethora of research exists on young women’s manipulation and bullying with the assistance of peers (Björkqvist, 1994, Björkqvist et al., 1992, Xie et al., 2002a, Xie et al., 2002b, Crick and Grotpeter, 1995, Goodwin, 2002; see also Silverthorn and Frick’s 1999: 107 analysis of this).

“Indirect aggression” (Björkqvist et al, 1992) or “relational aggression” (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995) have been discussed as ways individuals dominate and diminish others through emotional strategies rather than physical ones. While Björkqvist and colleagues (1992, 1994) as well as Crick and Grotpeter (1994) have noted that girls were more

likely than boys to use these methods, Bjorkqvist et al (1992, 1994, 2000) found that these skills were used more as they aged; thus rather than acting impulsively and confronting another child, it became more common for girls/older children to take their time and to react in ways where the perpetrator would be less identifiable.

This type of group aggression/violence has not traditionally been considered to be offending because it rarely catches the attention of authority and has even been depicted as leading to positive outcomes for the perpetrators (such as “popularity”) (Xie et al, 2002a, 2002b). Girls’ social aggression, however, has increasingly gained the interest of feminist criminologists. Batchelor et al (2001), for example, found that young women in Scotland reported that this was the type of ‘violence’ they were most affected by and concerned about: “verbally abusive behaviour...was rarely described as a discreet, single or one-off event. Rather it was regarded as a routine, ongoing and cumulative *process* embedded in girls’ everyday experience” (Batchelor et al, 2001: 8, 9). Batchelor and colleagues’ study also found that this type of offending was complicated. Divisions were not as clear-cut as there being “mean girls” and perhaps “nice girls” but rather that girls “could rarely be neatly fitted into the categories of ‘victim’ or ‘perpetrator’...girls assumed different roles as different times, and sometimes within the same conflict situation” (Batchelor et al, 2001: 9).

This sense of women identifying as both victims and offenders appears elsewhere in criminological literature (see Alder, 2000; Daly, 2008; Sondheimer, 2001) and also puts the criminal statistics discussed in the early part of the chapter—that women frequently offend against people they have some type of relationship with (Ministry of Justice, November 2012; Arnall and Eagle, 2009; Greenfeld and Snell, December 1999) into perspective, as Sondheimer (2001) has suggested. For Sondheimer (2001:83), “relational aggression,” perceived as non-violent in the traditional sense (although Batchelor et al, 2001 would have us re-think this), may precisely be what is behind women’s physical violent offending. Just what it is which requires the ‘leap’ from social aggression to physical violence, however, may be due to childhood factors as discussed earlier, or individual risks, to be discussed in a later section.

Gender

While most feminist criminologists suggest gender plays an important role in criminal involvement (as well as the absence of criminal involvement), they differ in explaining how gender affects it. According to Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988: 511), the explanations tend to either belong to “radical” feminist theories which focus on “structural inequalities”/ “patriarchy” or “liberal” feminist theories which present the offending as due to “the possession of masculine or feminine attitudes or as role differences between men and women.” The remainder of this section will, therefore, frame female offenders as “victims” or as “masculine,” before adding a third category of female offenders as “agents.”

Offending women as victims

A major theme in feminist literature from the US, Australia, and Europe and covering time periods from the 1980s to the present concerns itself with female offenders’ experiences as victims (DeHart and Morgan, 2015; Player, 2014; DeHart et al, 2014; Liddell and Martinovic, 2013; Chesney-Lind and Pasko, 2008; Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1998; Maher and Curtis, 1998; Gilfus, 1992; Chesney-Lind, 1989). Although scholars have pointed out that early negative childhood events affect young male offenders as well as young female offenders (Bäckman et al, 2014; Berman and Dar, 2013; Williams et al, 2012; Miller et al, 2008; Lansford et al, 2007; Farrington, 1995; Loeber and Stouthamer-Louber, 1986; Baumrind, 1966), as the family section described, young women are more often victims of particular types of violence such as sexual abuse (Williams et al., March 2012, Alder, 2000; Chamberlain and Reid, 1994). Player’s (2014: 286-287) review of the literature further highlights that female offenders’ victimization not only includes personal abuse but extends to social “oppression” such as poverty.

Literature which presents criminally involved women or girls as “victims” often begins with emphasising that such women are exposed to victimization and disadvantage in childhood, adolescence, *and* adulthood and that offending, as a result of such “poly-victimization” (DeHart and Moran, 2015) either comes as a reaction to these experiences or is directly connected to them (Finn et al, 2015; DeHart and Moran, 2015;

DeHart et al, 2014; Chesney-Lind and Pasko, 2008; Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1998; Maher and Curtis, 1998; Gilfus, 1992; Chesney-Lind, 1989).

DeHart and Moran (2015), for example, interviewed 100 young women living in residential homes or young offender institutes in the US about their experiences of victimization and offending. They not only found that the young women in their sample had frequently experienced abusive childhood environments and then went on to experience further violence outside the home such as sexual assault and intimate partner violence, but also that different types of victimization had statistically significant associations with specific offence types. For example, being raised in a home where violence was a backdrop, encouraged young women to fight in their adolescence, a concept which has been raised in other literature reviews (see Liddell and Martinovic, 2013: 135-136). DeHart and colleagues' (2014) study involving qualitative interviews with 115 incarcerated women revealed similar findings of multiple forms of childhood and adolescent abuse, which not only led to offending but also to severe mental health problems and substance abuse. In both of DeHart's studies, women used these behaviours to deal with abusers and past abuse, while other research has showed that once such patterns have been established, women continue to rely on such techniques to manage new problems (Yule et al, 2015).

The women's narratives in DeHart and colleagues' research echo findings from research stretching back more than two decades. Chesney-Lind (1989) and Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2008), for example, describe young women's first encounters with the criminal justice system as part of a pathway that begins with their physical and sexual abuse in the home, leading to their minor offence of running away, which, in turn, criminalizes them because agents of criminal justice systems do not take the time to recognize or understand the dangers in young women's lives. In 2015, incarcerated young women described attempts to escape abusive families that resulted in similar criminalizing consequences, perhaps indicating that little change has occurred (DeHart et al, 2015:305).

Joe and Chesney-Lind's (1998) work with girls in gangs in Hawaii provided a closely-linked variation of Chesney-Lind's (1989) research in describing young women with long histories of abuse joining gangs in order to locate a support network which they

could not access elsewhere (Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1998; see also review by Miller, 1998). As a number of scholars have pointed out, however, becoming part of gang life, while perhaps at first being about vulnerable young people pulling together, quickly exposes young women to illegal activities as well as new forms of victimization (DeHart and Moran, 2015; Miller and Decker, 2001; Miller and Brunson, 2000; Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1998; Miller, 1998).

Miller's (1998) work on young women in gangs in Columbus, Ohio and Miller and Brunson's (2000) work on gangs in St. Louis, for example, have argued that most young women are not considered "real" gang members by young men in mixed-gender gangs, who rely on them for sexual gratification in exchange for a type of inferior membership (Miller and Brunson, 2000: 431; Miller, 1998). Women who trade their bodies for membership, by being "sexed in" remain vulnerable in gangs, facing both victimization and ridicule by men and other women who have joined in perhaps more traditional/masculine ways (Miller, 1998:445-446).

At the heart of the women as 'victims' discussion is their treatment by men in their lives and their role in involving them in offending whether directly or indirectly (see Yule et al, 2015; DeHart and Moran, 2015; Finn et al, 2015; DeHart et al, 2014; Maher and Curtis, 1998; Steffensmeier and Allen, 1996; Gilfus, 1992). Even outside gang life, disadvantaged young women have been found to be more likely to become involved with men who are involved in criminal activity (Yule et al, 2015; DeHart et al, 2014; Farrington et al, 2009; Giordano et al, 2002) and who, in turn, involve the women in these activities, exposing them to further violence at home, completing the circle from their childhood as Gilfus (1992) has pointed out.

Other options for vulnerable women might involve indirect partnerships with men through prostitution to support themselves (Finn et al, 2015; Maher and Curtin, 1998; Steffensmeier and Allen, 1996) or they might find themselves in sex work through a romantic relationship with a man who then transitions to selling their bodies (DeHart et al, 2014; Gilfus, 1992). Prostitution, in turn, opens the door to not only offending in this manner but also violent victimization from clients and drug use (Finn et al, 2015). Women working on the street have also been found to engage in theft to earn more income, which Maher and Curtis (1998: 128) have described women "utiliz[ing] the

limited opportunities available to them...for 'getting paid.'" In Maher and Curtis' work involving sex workers in New York City, women's pathway to drug offending, prostitution and robbery is traced from childhood abuse to street work and simultaneous dependence upon street drugs to be able to do the work (p. 124; see also Finn et al, 2015). The desperation for drugs is then taken advantage of by men who begin to pay for sex with single servings of drugs and is exacerbated by the competition amongst local street workers who lower their prices in order to get business (Maher and Curtis, 1999). The desperation this causes leads women to take matters into their own hands by stealing from clients in order to ensure fair payment (Maher and Curtis, 1999). Maher and Curtis (1999:128) call such actions "survival strategies" rather than criminal acts.

Finn and colleagues (2015) through qualitative interviews with 38 sex workers in the US closely examined women's experiences of victimization *and* offending. They concluded that women who offended the most also experienced the most victimization; however, while their victimization tended to be violent, their offending was mostly associated with illegal drug use and prostitution (Finn et al, 2015: 87). Despite that their victimization was more serious than their offending. However, the women reported that the criminal justice system often refused to see them as victims, leading the authors to conclude that "enhanced law enforcement training is warranted" when it comes to female offenders (Finn et al, 2015: 88).

This presentation of women as victims is to a large extent supported by recent UK statistics related to girls and women's abuse histories in the criminal justice system. Arnall and Eagle's (2009:61) examination of young women's backgrounds, for example, found that 36% had been abused through family violence. This figure rises when it comes to incarcerated women, with 53% describing abusive family backgrounds (Williams et al, March 2012: 9) and 46% describing domestic violence with partners (figure cited in Corston, 2007: 17, 55). The latter, for example, is in comparison to 31% of women from the general population who report being abused by a partner or an ex-partner (Ministry of Justice, November 2012: 22)

Through a systematic review of risks for young women involved in the criminal justice system, Javdani et al (2011:1332) have proposed the addition of a female specific risk

factor to the literature: “gender-salient contexts.” The authors argue that the addition of this variable properly demonstrates that offending by women is highly related to their individual victimization as well as the system wide perpetration of women (see model by Javdani et al, 2011: 1340).

Offending women as choosing to be ‘masculine’

A contrasting view of women who offend focuses not on the victimization in their lives, which drags them inadvertently into offending, but instead on women’s attempts to shed their femininity and associated victimization by acting ‘masculine’ (see, for example, discussions by Player, 2014; Lynch, 2014; Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012). Scholars point out that recent newspaper headlines frequently make use of statistics on the increase of women’s arrest for violence to describe female offenders in derogatory masculine ways. In this they echo literature from the 1970s, which blamed feminism for turning decent young women into out-of-control men (Player, 2014:283; Lynch, 2014: 514-515; Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 339; see also the introduction to this chapter). Scholarly literature, however, in reacting to these discourses has introduced ideas of net-widening where female offenders are concerned (Finn et al, 2015; DeHart and Moran, 2015; Bäckman et al, 2014; Lynch, 2014; Scoular and Carline, 2014; Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Sharpe, 2011; Burman and Batchelor, 2009; Worrall, 2008; Hudson, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989). It has also encouraged the idea of “gender as a social construct and not simply as a statistical ‘variable’” (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 338).

Analysis in this lens suggests that it is the belief in gender roles which shapes offending rather than gender itself (Heimer and De Coster, 1999; Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996). Heimer and De Coster (1999:283), for example, argue “femininity” “protects” women from violent offending because of the social stigma involved in behaving otherwise: “violent delinquency would be viewed as ‘doubly deviant,’ a violation of the law as well as their beliefs about femininity.” Steffensmeier and Allan (1996: 481) concur, but add that ‘femininity’ does not necessarily keep women away from crime, it simply shapes the type of offending women engage in, “‘doing gender’ preempts criminal involvement or directs it into scripted paths. For example, prostitution draws on and

affirms femininity, while violence draws on and affirms masculinity" (Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996: 481).

According to Braithwaite and Daly (1994: 221), for example, "violence is gendered: it is in considerable measure a problem and consequence of masculinity." Masculinity, however, and even femininity, due to new understandings about gender, is increasingly seen as something that is "presented" in different social situations: "never static, never a finished product" (Messerschmidt, 1993: 359). Messerschmidt's (1993) research, for example, involving young men, showed that adolescents who did not have access to automatic power and respect, "hegemonic masculinity," which young men of higher socioeconomic statuses had, instead engaged in rebellious masculine activities that challenged authority. Offending could, in the words of Messerschmidt, "service as a suitable *resource* for 'doing gender'—for separating them from all that is feminine" (Messerschmidt, 1993: 359). Others, such as Silvestri and Crowther-Dowey (2008), have analysed Connell's work to show that "masculinity is not something linked exclusively to men and the male body, thus women may also adopt masculinity" (cited in Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 349).

'Doing' masculinity is now increasing being connected to female offending, especially when it comes to violence (Cullen and Agnew, 2011). Cottrell and Monk's (2004: 1081) study of youth who offend against their parents, for example, analysed girls' offending thus, "aggression by female youth was noted as a paradoxical response used to create distance from the 'feminine ideals' that were often ascribed to them." 'Doing' masculinity, however, has also been described by young female research participants themselves. Take, for example, the following quote, and surrounding commentary, from one of Batchelor et al's (2001) participants:

"Violent girls described a constant state of being "ready for action" and self-defence, and public displays of weakness (backing down, crying) were regarded as unacceptable. The following quotes from Marianne, a 17-year-old young mother...[is] typical. "*Like my Da says, "Never show fear for naebody, Mari. If it happens it happens but you never ever let naebody walk over you, never show fer o' naebody"*" (Batchelor et al, 2001:13).

Batchelor et al (2001)'s study with young women in Scotland revealed that girls who were violent acted in traditionally 'masculine' ways. In the quote above the young woman reports that she gets told how to act in the street from her father and subsequently models her behaviour on his advice. She 'does' masculinity because the situation demands it.

Miller's research involving young women in gangs in St. Louis, MO and Columbus, OH, described in the women as "victims" section, carries this work forward by suggesting that women who offend 'do' gender through playing with *both* masculine and feminine roles when necessary (Miller, 2002: 435; see also Heidensohn and Silvestri on Miller (2012:350)). Young women interviewed by Miller and colleagues, for example, related that their gender allowed them to pick the types of criminal activities they involved themselves in, something, which young men in gangs could not do (Miller and Decker, 2001; Miller, 1998a:441). Violent criminal activities of high personal risk such as drive by shootings were something young women usually abstained from, for example (Miller and Decker, 2001; Miller and Brunson, 2000; Miller, 1998a). However, whether or not they involved themselves in such activities depended less on their biological gender and more on choice as some women sold drugs profitably and took part in violent fights or robberies (Miller, 2002; Miller, 1998a; Miller, 1998b), earning respect in similar ways that men did through a process Miller (2002: 443) describes as "gender crossing." In other instances, however, a better plan might be to present themselves as feminine to male victims in order to lure them into more secluded areas where they could rob them (Miller and Decker, 2001; Miller, 1998b). Women might also display their female gender when out in public with a fellow male gang member in order to disguise them both as a couple in order to elude the authorities (Miller, 2002; Miller and Decker, 2001). "Doing gender" according to Miller, therefore, involved knowing when to be "feminine" and when to be "masculine" (see Miller, 2002).

Offending Women as 'Agents'

The complex work involved in deciding which gender to play and the role agency has in such decisions as described by Miller (2002) fits with a third strand of feminist thinking: that women who offend are not necessarily "victims" or acting "masculine" but are, instead taking charge of their lives (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Henriksen

and Miller, 2012; Burman, 2008: Hudson, 2008; Batchelor, 2005; Miller, 2002; Miller, 1998b). Miller (2002: 437), for example, writes, “‘doing gender’ must address the transformative potential of agency,” and Burman (2008:20) when reflecting on Batchelor’s (2001) study of young women in Scotland, analysed young women’s violence as a form of agency. Batchelor (2005), in a study involving young women in Scotland in their late teens and early 20s who were imprisoned for being violent, found that the young women deliberately threw off associations with a victim identity and presented themselves as strong decision-makers. Even though they, like the women in the plethora of literature above, had experienced victimization, they felt their fighting was not a reaction to that earlier abuse but rather something that was in their own control. Similarly, recent research involving female offenders as mothers has demonstrated that not only offending but desistance may be choices women make, depending on their circumstances (Yule et al, 2015; Monsbakken et al, 2013).

Henriksen and Miller’s (2012:443) study involving young women living in low-socioeconomic neighbourhoods in Copenhagen presented fighting as “normal,” given where they lived and how others behaved within these environments (as also found by Batchelor, 2005 and Batchelor et al, 2001). The authors argued, like Batchelor (2001) and Miller (2002) that women moved between positions as victims and offenders and were “thus participants with fluid positionalities in conflict, rather than the victims, perpetrators and bystanders that characterize the fixed positions often applied in more linear analyses” (Henriksen and Miller, 2012: 439). Fighting, especially, was a tangible way to express “the desire to be relevant, to *matter* in their social world” (Henriksen and Miller, 2012: 445).

Race

Feminist criminologists have not only focused on how gender and gender roles influence offending, but also the role race plays. Daly and Chesney-Lind’s (1988) influential paper “Feminism and Criminology” helped set the stage for “intersectionality” (see Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991). Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988: 501-502), for example, encouraged that attention should be paid to “the specific ways in which class, race and ethnicity, religion, sexuality, and so forth intersect in women’s lives.” Research has indicated several ways in which young minority ethnic women’s experiences as offenders are unique. This includes racism by the criminal

justice system, particularly at the policing level; the public/media's particularly harsh view of minority ethnic female offenders; and possibly cultural/ethnic affects on behaviour.

Racism

That black and minority ethnic offenders are overrepresented in the criminal justice system is well-known and has been especially well documented in the US where minority ethnic men and women are incarcerated far more often than white men and women (Carson and Sabol, December 2012: 7-8; Greenfeld and Snell, December 1999). In the UK, there is similar evidence of unequal treatment. Compared to white people, for example, black and minority ethnic individuals are stopped and searched, arrested, and sent to court for their offences more often than white people (Ministry of Justice, November 2013: 11, 12). However, it seems that this is where the overrepresentation ends, with a greater proportion of white individuals convicted for their offences than black and mixed race individuals (Ministry of Justice, November, 2013: 13-14).

The majority of adult and young offenders who are in prison are white in UK (Ministry of Justice, November, 2013, Tye, 2009). However, there may be differences in how black and minority ethnic prisoners are treated compared to white prisoners. Minority ethnic young men, for example, have reported feeling more mistreated and more often verbally abused by employees of the prisons than white young men (Tye, 2009: 48). While young minority ethnic women have not reported the same type of aggressive behaviour, they have reported feeling not looked after and supported, especially related to their health and educational needs (Tye, 2009: 73). In sum, such experiences not only mean that young minority ethnic men and women are more easily criminalized for their behaviour but also potentially that the actions by Criminal Justice System employees described above risks further shaking these young people's faith in the police and the system.

Public/media view

Alongside potential racism by portions of the CJS (Rowe, 2012), are the ways minority ethnic offenders, particular minority ethnic women, are viewed and described compared to white offenders. US research, in particular, has pointed out, through the analysis of

newspaper headlines, that minority female offenders are often depicted as “hav[ing] no hope for reformation” (Brennan and Vanderberg, 2009: 163).

Cultural/ethnic expectations

Finally, some studies suggest that there are not only gendered but also ethnic/cultural ways young women deal with their victimization experiences. Two studies in the US, by Siegel and Williams' (2003) and Holsinger and Holsinger (2005), for example, have found that coming from an abusive background led to violence by African American women (Siegel and Williams, 2003, Holsinger and Holsinger, 2005) but to self-harm for white young women (Holsinger and Holsinger, 2005). Holsinger and Holsinger (2005:236) suggested that such difference may be due to different cultural upbringing: “African American girls are socialized to be self-reliant and independent...[while] White girls are raised to be dependent and accepting of feminine gender roles.” Thus, the “adaptations” Woolgar (2013: 241) noted for victimized young people, might involve different choices of ‘doing’ masculinity/femininity for minority/white young women.

Individual traits: risk and protective factors for offending

The chapter next turns to a series of individual traits, which, at least, partially develop through a social context and, in turn, have implications for restorative justice. These traits are mental health, empathy, shame and guilt, and social cognition.

Mental health

Much literature points to young women having more and earlier mental health issues than young men, particularly related to depression and anxiety (Piccinelli et al, 2002; Fergusson and Horwood, 2001). Piccinelli et al (2002: 490), in a review of the literature, suggests that these gendered differences are to a large degree due to an effect of the social factors explored in the last section, including “adverse experiences in childhood...sociocultural roles with related adverse experiences and psychological attributes related to vulnerability to adverse life events and copings skills” (Piccinelli and Wilkinson, 2000). One such negative occurrence, which has been particularly

linked to depression and substance abuse problems in adolescence and adulthood is sexual abuse (Fergusson et al, 1996: 1369; Piccinelli et al, 2002).

Not surprising, given the childhood environments of female offenders and the presence of this variable, incarcerated women have been found to have serious mental health problems. Among young offenders in the US, incarcerated young women have been found to have more than three times the mental health needs than young men (Timmons-Mitchell et al, 1997). In the UK, female prisoners are at least twice as likely to have experienced depression and to have attempted to end their lives as male prisoners (Light et al, 2013: 17-19).

Depression, however, may not only produce self-harm but may also lead to anger, as a study by Cottrell and Monk (2004: 1083, 1087) on abuse by children on parents demonstrated. The authors found that mental health issues and victimization (such as sexual abuse on daughters) sometimes led to violent outbursts as a response to the abuse.

Guilt and shame and empathy

Tagney (1996) has explained that guilt and shame have both been thought to “inhibit socially undesirable behaviour” (Tagney, 1996: 742). Similarly, empathy has been linked with avoiding types of behaviour that might lead to harm (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004; Bjorkqvist et al, 2000; Kaukiainen et al, 1999, Silfver and Helkama, 2007).

Research, however, has shown that the links between shame, guilt, and empathy to good behaviour is much more complicated than previously thought, especially when gender is considered. Shame and guilt, for example, actually operate quite differently with people who have experienced shame after an event likely to feel “personal distress”, while individuals who experience guilt being encouraged to engage in “perspective taking” (Leith and Baumeister, 1998: 7, 11, 20).

Tangney’s (1995: 1133) review of guilt and shame summarized that people had either “shame-proneness” or “guilt-proneness” (see also Tangney, 1996), which result in very different emotional consequences. While individuals with no empathy are a risk to others (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004: 443), people who feel too much shame or guilt

could be at risk to themselves (see Alder, 2000:109-110, for example, and Tagney et al, 1992). People who feel too much shame, for example, are more likely to experience “anger arousal, suspiciousness, resentment, irritability, a tendency to blame others for negative events, and indirect (but not direct) expressions of hostility” (Tagney, et al, 1992: 673).

Women, not surprisingly, and as has been argued perhaps due to the way they are brought up to be (see discussion by Silfver and Helkama, 2007: 240; Bennetti-McQuoid and Bursik, 2005: 140) have been documented to feel higher levels of both shame and guilt for the things they do wrong, especially when it has to do with “behaviors or situations that are incongruent with one’s gender role” (Benetti-McQuoid and Bursik, 2005: 125; Silfver et al, 2008). They are also more empathetic (Silfver et al, 2008; Roberts and Strayer, 1996). However, even though the literature connects higher levels of empathy with good and kind behaviour (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004; Roberts and Strayer, 1996), this is not necessarily true for young women (see Roberts and Strayer, 1996: 461 as well as the literature on social aggression, especially Kaukainen et al, 1999 and Bjorkqvist et al, 2000). Jolliffe and Farrington (2007: 272-24) have found that young women who offended were actually *as* empathetic as young women who had not offended with only minor exceptions related to certain types of offending committed by a minor sample of “extreme” women (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2007: 280).

To further complicate matters, Jolliffe and Farrington’s (2004) systematic review of empathy and criminal behaviour, suggested that empathy seemed to be created through social factors: “empathy differences between offenders and nonoffenders disappeared when SES was controlled for in the nonoffending and offending populations” (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004: 469). A lack of empathy, therefore, could perhaps be interpreted as an impairment due to chaotic and challenging family/peer/neighbourhoods. Jolliffe and Farrington continued by suggesting that “low empathy may...result from executive function deficits, as a decreased ability to reason abstractly or understand the cause and effect relationships could inhibit the understanding and sharing of another’s emotional state” (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004: 470).

Social cognition

The “executive function deficits” Jolliffe and Farrington (2004: 470) blamed in relation to poor empathy may also lead to further difficulties. Moffitt (1993: 680), for example, has suggested that “receptive listening and reading, problem solving, expressive speech and writing, and memory” are problems young offenders face, which might lead to difficulties in generally engaging with other people.

Social cognition has been defined by Fiske (1993:156) as a process by which, “people try to make sense of each other in order to guide their own actions and interactions.” Some, such as Bjorkqvist et al (2000: 192) have use the term “social intelligence” instead, comprising of “a perceptual, a cognitive-analytical, and a behavioural (skills) component” (Björkqvist et al., 2000).

Research involving young men with problematic behaviour/offending has shown that their social cognition difficulties are so severe that these young people process social interactions “similar in nature and degree to those children with autism, independent of IQ” (Gilmour et al, 2004: 967). They cannot, for example, read other’ emotions accurately (Schofield et al, 2014: 139-140), which helps explain why problems in this area may lead to violence (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2007; Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004; Hollin and Palmer, 2006).

Questions have been raised as to whether female offenders or women from a background of low socioeconomic status also have difficulties with social cognition (Snow and Powell, 2011). The answers seems to be that just like in the empathy research, young women with the most obvious behavioural difficulties have the most difficulties with language and communicating (Olson et al, 1983), again perhaps confirming their “extreme” case (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2007:280). Rather than having to do with impairments in understanding how others’ think/feel, however, these difficulties may have to do with Bjorkqvist et al (2000: 192) described as the “behavioural (skills) component” of social cognition (Sanger et al 1999; Sanger et al, 2003: 478). Sanger et al (2003) have also found that these difficulties for young offending women led to “feelings of low self-worth” (Sanger et al, 2003: 476)

Difficulties in social cognition have resulted in concerns by researchers about offenders', particularly young offenders', abilities to participate in police interviews (Lamb and Sim, 2013), research involving extensive written or verbal participation (Holt and Pammet, March 2011) and criminal justice programs that rely on social cognition (Bryan et al, 2007). An intervention, which is increasingly receiving scrutiny because of social cognition is restorative justice (Snow and Powell, 2011; Snow and Sanger, 2011). Snow and Sanger (2011: 7) have suggested that given the difficulties young offenders face with communication, should any sign of these difficulties rear their head at a moment when offenders are asked to speak coherently about themselves and what they did, they might fail, "creat[ing] an impression of shallowness, low credibility, and/or low empathy for the victim" which might not reflect the reality of their experience.

Based on the literature just discussed, however, restorative justice does not seem to pose a threat to young offending women because of the verbal component of storytelling but perhaps rather because of their poor mental health (Fergusson et al, 1996), guilt and shame in relation to their abusive backgrounds (Alder, 2000), their complex relationship with people they offend against (Arnall and Eagle, 2009; Sonfheimer, 2001; Batchelor et al, 2001; Alder, 2000; Greenfeld and Snell, December 1999, etc), and possibly their ability to control their emotions (Sanger et al, 199; Sanger et al, 2003) when hearing difficult things in restorative justice. Thus, perhaps for young offending women, the question of restorative justice should not be whether they are able to participate but rather how such an intervention might make them *feel*.

Turning points away from offending

This final section will explore what has been shown to change the direction of offenders' lives from antisocial behaviour to prosocial behaviour. It will begin by reviewing turning points involving male offenders and mixed-gender samples before turning to studies involving women only, highlighting some crucial differences.

Male versus female desistance

Much of what we know about male desistance comes from a series of studies on Glueck and Glueck's data from Boston in the 1940s, reanalysed by Sampson, Laub and colleagues (Laub and Sampson, 1993, Sampson and Laub, 1996, Laub et al., 1998,

Sampson et al., 2006). They found that new experiences and opportunities could shake up individuals' lives to such a degree that they could "modify life trajectories...‘redirect paths’" (Laub and Sampson, 1993: 304). Turning points that seemed to make an especially significant difference in the lives of antisocial young men included work opportunities that could develop into satisfying careers, marriages involving care and affection (Laub and Sampson, 1993: 304, 310; Sampson et al, 2006; Laub et al, 1998), and military enrolment which might physically remove a young man from his former home and lead to a new life (Sampson and Laub, 1996).

More contemporary work, however, changed the discussion of desistance from events and people that appeared in offenders' lives to improve them and moved on to the offenders' own decisions and thought processes involved in deciding to offend or desist (Murray, 2009; Giordano et al, 2002; Maruna, 2001). Maruna's (2001: 51) narrative interviews with 65 adult, long-term offenders in Liverpool, showed that it was ultimately the desisting individual who perceived himself to do the actual work. One of aspects that helped this process along was an offender's positive self-image. The desister saw himself as a good person who had simply gone astray but was now himself again (Maruna, 2001: 87).

Other research followed which focused on the "work" required to desist. Murray's (2009) mixed-gender study involving Scottish adolescents, for example, called into question the ease with which young people desisted. Murray's participants did not automatically fall into either "desister" or "persister" categories but were rather "reformed characters," "quasi-resisters," and "desisters on the margins" who used different kinds of techniques to justify their decisions ranging from "minimizing" and "literal denial" to taking "a pause [rather] than a cessation, in offending" (Murray, 2009: 120).

Both Maruna (2001) and Murray (2009) focused on mixed-gender groups with neither exploring whether there were any gender differences. Maruna's reasoning for combining perspectives was because he wanted to "highlight the commonalities" (Maruna, 2001: 51). Others, however, have pointed out that there seem to be crucially different paths toward desistance because of gender. Graham and Bowling's (1995) research on young people in the UK, for example, found that desistance for women

involved marriage and motherhood. In the decades since this research, motherhood has continued to be thought of as a female specific turning point from offending (Kraeger et al, 2010) although motherhood is also recognized to come with complications for vulnerable women (Michalesen, 2011: 360; Giordano et al, 2002)

To explore possibly dissimilar experiences with desistance between men and women and to look for female-specific turning points, Giordano et al (2002) used narrative interviews to examine the desistance of US based women who had offended in their adolescence. What they found worked for desisting women were “cognitive transformations” where the way women thought about themselves changed. Giordano et al found that female desisters especially “crafted highly traditional replacement selves (e.g., child of God, the good wife, involved mother)” and made the best of their situations (Giordano et al, 2002: 1053). Thus, these prosocial roles relied on the gender stereotypes others’ (ie Heimer and De Coster, 1999) suggested kept women from offending in the first place, even as it restricted them in other ways (Giordano et al, 2002).

Although Giordano et al’s (2002) research speaks to the existence of female specific desistance strategies other than motherhood, research based on Giordano et al’s (2002) methodology and theory, but located elsewhere in the US may have expanded this criteria through once again including work. Opsal (2012: 387) found that women transitioning from prison “saw work as an opportunity to create new identities and new lives that contrasted with those they inhabited prior to incarceration.” This occurred even though like in previous studies such as that by Giordano and colleagues (2002), the type of employment found by female desisters was not ideal (Opsal, 2012: 388).

Programs for women who offend

Given the relatively recent scholarship about women’s desistence as described above, it is not surprising that well-designed, female-oriented programs are scarce (Sharpe, 2011; Gelsthorpe, 2011; Burman and Batchelor, 2009; Arnall and Eagler, 2009; Alder, 1997). Instead, programs that do exist are more typically designed for men (Gelsthorpe, 2011; Chamberlain and Rein, 1994). As a result, although a plethora of research has emerged regarding “gender-responsive theory,” that is, that female offenders should be matched with programs that work with their needs (Gelsthorpe, 2011; Bloom and

Covington, 2002; Bloom and Covington, 1998), research in the UK with young female offenders has suggested that although there is a general awareness of this body of research, knowledge has not actually trickled down to consistent practice (Arnull and Eagle, 2009).

The lack of programs for women continues the discussion of this chapter, suggesting that just as the routes towards offending differ, whether or not women are viewed as “victims,” “masculine,” or as “agents,” justice is simply not the same for women and men (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Sharpe, 2011; Burman and Batchelor, 2009; Worrall, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989). Scholars have, in particular, documented that net-widening is common for women, especially young women, who are drawn unnecessarily into the criminal justice system for minor offending (Heidensohn and Silvestri; 2012; Sharpe, 2011; Burman and Batchelor, 2009; Worrall, 2008) and even for actions such as running away, which may often be young women’s efforts to keep themselves safe (Hudson, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989). Feminist scholars have further pointed out that criminal justice officials have on a regular basis used their power to control women who act in ‘untraditional’ ways (Worrall, 2008; Hudson, 2008; Chesney-Lind and Pasko, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989). The result of such official strategies has been the drawing of a variety of “victims” or “agentic” women attempting to overcome victimization into the criminal justice system as offenders (Finn et al, 2015; DeHart and Moran, 2015; DeHart et al, 2014; Liddell and Martinovic, 2013; Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Worrall, 2008; Batchelor, 2005; Burman, 2003; Batchelor et al, 2001; Maher and Curtis, 1998; Chesney-Lind, 1989), including LGB young women (Himmelstein and Bruckner, 2011).

Research by Hannah-Moffat and Yule (2011) has recently shown that, in Canada, even the decision of whether or not to parole women is made according to different criteria than for men. For example, while parole boards make decisions for men according to established risk factors such as age, previous offending patterns and type of offending, additional medical opinions are sought for women and criteria such as how “agentic” women are play a role in women’s release (Hannah-Moffat and Yule, 2011: 159, 161). Women’s displays of “agency,” in this context, are seen as something positive and likely to lead to their “transformation” (Hannah-Moffat and Yule, 2011: 168), while, as Turnbull and Hannah-Moffat (2009:538) explain, their engagement in offending is

interpreted by parole boards as being due to “‘bad choices’ and lack of agency.” Note that the “agency” described by women in a previous section of this chapter which led to their offending and subsequent arrests is absent from such official understandings. In addition to revealing such contradictions, Hannah-Moffat and colleagues have demonstrated that parole boards do not appropriately comprehend women’s needs after parole, particularly as they relate to housing and family relationships, and as a result, women who are released are often set up to fail as they are forced to cut connections and became isolated from their old communities with nowhere else to go (Hannah-Moffat and Yule, 2011: 165-166; Turnbull and Hannah-Moffat, 2009: 547-548).

According to Gelsthorpe (2011), there is information on the type of programs that could best assist young and adult women to make positive decisions in their lives. She cites one of her earlier studies from 2007 to describe components which have been identified as critical for women who offend, many of which will be summarized below (Gelsthorpe, 2011: 137; see also Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 357-358 on Gelsthorpe, 2007). Feminist scholars tend to, for example, to agree that women do better in all-female environments (Sharpe, 2011; Gelsthorpe, 2011; Easton et al, 2010), which do not necessarily take place in a correctional setting (Gelsthorpe, 2011) or at least do not have the feel of one such as through creating therapeutic spaces within correctional settings (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012). Programs which offer women the opportunity to build relationships with either female case workers/group leaders and/or other women have also been beneficial (Gelsthorpe, 2011; Sharpe, 2011; Batchelor, 2005), as well as programs which offer a range of services for housing, substance abuse, domestic violence, education, employment (Gelsthorpe, 2011; Easton et al, 2010; Batchelor, 2005). It has further been suggested that programs working with female offenders should consider working with women’s families to achieve better outcomes (Dowden and Andrews, 1999: 447, 449).

Programs satisfying many of these criteria are now available in the UK, some established and others as pilots in limited areas (see reviews by Gelsthorpe, 2011, and Easton et al, 2010). Generally, these alternatives have received positive evaluations by female participants, professionals, as well as researchers who have suggested such programs are a better fit for women than traditional criminal justice (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Gelsthorpe et al, 2011; Easton et al, 2010). Exceptions, however,

include Scouler and Carline's (2014: 621) work on Engagement and Support Orders for female sex workers where the authors, through interviews with multiple players involved in the creation and control of these orders, found evidence of thinking about the women as "victims who need to be saved." The authors warned that contemporary methods of working with female offenders may sometimes "come at the expense of a recognition of women's agency" (Scouler and Carline, 2014: 622).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored young women's pathways into and out of offending. During this task, the type of offending women are typically involved in has been discussed, and it has been argued that despite headlines instigating a "moral panic" (Cohen, 2011) about female offenders, there is little to worry about.

The chapter then explored the family backgrounds of young female offenders and emphasised some differences to those of young male offenders. Mainly the literature pointed to higher levels of certain risks, especially sexual violence directed against young women (Williams et al, 2012), as well as particularly strong influences from their mothers (Farrington et al, 2009; Davies and Windle, 1997). The section on peers and partners showed that belonging to a peer group allowed young women to meet young men (Haynie et al, 2005; Capsi et al, 1993) which, in turn carried further risks of victimization (Javdani et al, 2011; Gilfus, 1992) as well as offending (Haynie et al, 2005). Groups of other women, too, however, could encourage antisocial behaviour, only in slightly different ways. Finally, the section showed how being female and coming from a minority background added sexism and racism into women's experiences.

Not surprisingly, given the layers of victimization young female offenders have lived through before young adulthood, many suffer from depression and anxiety, and although less often discussed as mental health problems, shame and guilt (Alder, 2000). Aside from a small group of offending young women that closely resemble the issues faced by offending young men (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2007), female offenders' issues/experiences especially when it comes to empathy, guilt, shame, histories of abuse, and social cognition make them seem different from men in important ways.

Finally, turning points for women were discussed, and while many shared important similarities to those of men—relationship, work—other experiences were unique. Motherhood was significant, agency, and attempts to become “traditional” (Michaelsen, 2011; Kraeger et al, 2010; Giordano et al, 2002; Graham and Bowling, 1995). While “traditional roles” might involve clear paths, they also could trap women in patterns of victimization by men (as described by Gilfus, 1992, for example) and unsatisfying marriages and restrict other kinds of growth (Giordano et al, 2002).

Through these discussions the chapter has illustrated—as has frequently been argued—that offending young women are very different from offending young men and that we can, therefore, expect them to have very different experiences from men in certain criminal justice interventions, including perhaps restorative justice. The various sections of this chapter were deliberately and purposefully chosen in order to prepare for a further discussion of restorative justice in the next two chapters of literature review. The complications raised here, however, do not necessarily mean not including young women in such interventions but rather that perhaps there is a need to tailor them to work for young women so that offenders and victims can both benefit, as has been described with other criminal justice interventions (Bloom and Covington, 1998, 2002).

Chapter 2: History, theory and practice of Restorative Justice

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed women's pathways into and out of offending, emphasising risks and highlighting issues that might affect participation in restorative justice—an individual's propensity towards feeling guilt and/or shame, for example, mental health, social cognition, and the quality of young female offender's relationships. This chapter deals with what Restorative Justice (RJ) is, how it came to be, and how it is supposed to work. Throughout each of these sections, the way women fit into these discussions and practices will be discussed—both in terms of their theoretical and practical roles.

Sherman and Strang (2007:32) write, "restorative justice means different things to different people." Aertsen et al (2013: 2-3), for example, come up with a fairly all-encompassing description of RJ when they describe it as "a social movement with different degrees of self-criticism...a domain of academic research with different degrees of methodological adequacy...a field in its own right, looking for constructive ways of dealing with the aftermath of crime, while forming part of a wider socio-ethnic and political agenda." One can pick up on traces of these thoughts in other definitions. Sullivan and Tifft (2006:5) align themselves with "social movement" considerations when they declare RJ to be "a form of insurgency" and "subversive because it challenges, both conceptually and in practice, social arrangements and processes that thwart human development and prevent human needs from being met." Braithwaite's (1999:1) is more theoretical/academic in his definition of RJ "as a major development in criminological thinking," while one of the most popular definitions by Marshall (1996) goes with a more "field in its own right" approach. Marshall (1996:37) suggests restorative justice is "a process whereby all the participants with a stake in a particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future."

With so many different types of definitions available, it might seem strange that Marshall's is used so often. But perhaps it is frequently quoted because it is deliberately

vague as to what RJ is. He defines it as “a process,” in order to allow for what he elsewhere advocates for: “flexibility of practice (creativity)” (Marshall, 1999:5). He is also cautious about specifying who might participate, thus accommodating the often passionate and diverse interpretations of who exactly has “a stake” in the offence committed. Marshall does, however, suggest that the “process” involves a gathering of people, “all the participants... come together,” which perhaps means (in his definition) excluding from RJ types of practices that might only involve a mediator/facilitator meeting with a victim or with an offender, without having a joint meeting (see Sherman and Strang, 2007 on a critique of such practices). Shapland et al (2011:5), and before them, Roche (2006) have critically pointed out that Marshall’s (1996) definition “has less to say about the desired ‘ends’ of that process or the values that might usefully or appropriately inform it,” although Marshall (1999: 5-6), elsewhere, articulated “principles,” “objectives,” and “assumptions” to go along with his definition.

A chapter describing all the various practice of restorative justice could, however, go on endlessly. For the sake of time and space, the chapter will, therefore, only cover processes where two or more individuals meet to speak with the aid of a mediator or facilitator (as Marshall’s, 1996 definition suggests) and it will focus on three types of restorative justice: victim-offender mediation, restorative circles, and restorative conferences (see McCold, 2006; 1999; Dandurand and Griffiths, 2006:14-15; Shapland, 2011: 4 for examples of others who chose this focus). In doing so, the chapter is structured into three sections. The first, History of Restorative Justice, will explore the roots of victim-offender mediation, circles, and conferences, before discussing the (brief) history of women’s roles in restorative justice. The second, Theory of Restorative Justice, will highlight some of the texts, which are seen to be influential in the field, and will attempt to describe the rather complicated area of women being protected from/promoted to engage in restorative justice. Finally, the third section, Practice of Restorative Justice, describes how each of these three practices actually operates, who is involved, and what the gaps in practice might be. As with the other sections, it ends with the ways in which women are actually involved—as victims, as offenders, and as supporters.

History of Restorative Justice

Although most articles on restorative justice begin with a historical overview of how restorative justice came to be and what influenced it, not everyone agrees on the general story. Some suggest that restorative justice began through the work of one probation officer in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada in 1974 (Zehr, 1990: 158). Others, point to the influence of Native American traditions in the US and Canada and Aboriginal practices in New Zealand (Marshall, 1999: 7) or even more “ancient” practices (see Braithwaite, 1999:1-2). Daly (2002: 61, 62), however, has called such stories “myths,” created so that “advocates can claim a need to recover it [RJ] from a history of ‘takeover’ by state-sponsored retributive justice” (Daly, 2002: 61, 62). Daly and Immarigeon (1998) have instead suggested that a number of theoretical and political enterprises in the 1960s and 1970s were the crucial origins of these practices (Daly and Immarigeon, 1998:5-6). A more recent view is to regard all of these practices and programs as influential and to view restorative justice as originally separate practices, which all emerged from various influences and which later became known as restorative justice (Roche, 2006: 220; Daly and Immarigeon, 1998: 4-5).

As mentioned in the introduction, three separate practices that are frequently written about as being restorative justice are victim-offender mediation, restorative circles and restorative conferencing (see Shapland, 2011; Dandurand and Griffiths, 2006; McCold, 2006, 1999). Although all three types are considered by most to be restorative justice, some writers have demonstrated preferences towards certain interventions—with the arguments mainly having to do with who and how many people participate. Sherman and Strang (2007:33), for example, suggest that the best practices have to, at least, include *both* victims and offenders. The United Nations handbook on restorative justice suggest that any type of restorative justice is fine, as long as it adheres to a few basic rules; “(a) an identifiable victim; (b) voluntary participation by the victim, (c) an offender who accepts responsibility for his/her criminal behaviour; and (d) non-coerced participation of the offender” (Dandurand and Griffiths, 2006: 8). Adherence to these things, make the processes “fully restorative” (Dandurand and Griffiths, 2006: 8). McCold and Wachtel (2003: 4), however, use the same words, “fully restorative,” to mean something else: “only when all three sets of primary stakeholders are actively involved, such as in conferences or circles, is a process ‘fully restorative.’” McCold

and Wachtel's (2003: 3) view of the most effective restorative justice are practices that are inclusive, allowing access by "communities of care," who "have a significant emotional connection with a victim or offender," which they and many others, including Marshall (1999) suggest victim-offender mediation typically does not. Technically, since "restorative justice is an unfinished product" (Aertsen et al, 2013: 2), any intervention that either works with an offender about the inappropriateness of his/her offence *or* attempts to 'heal' people after an offence has occurred (Zehr, 2002, Zehr, 1990) has the right to call itself restorative justice (see Daly, 2002 in response to dangers of this).

Victim-offender mediation

Victim-offender mediation has received some criticism as to not providing a forum which appropriately addresses the true ripple effects of crime (McCold and Wachtel, 2003). However, being situated in a form of conflict resolution with a longer history (mediation), has also been interpreted as advantageous since it belongs to a regulated practice (see McCold, 2006; Marshall, 1999). Internationally, there are standardized 40 hour trainings in order to become a mediator ("Train as a neighbourhood mediator," UK Mediation, n.d.; "Basic mediation training," New York Peace Institute, n.d.), followed by an apprenticeship with a more experienced mediator ("Training: apprenticeship," IMCR, n.d.). Additional mandatory training is then sometimes required ("Training and good practice," Family Mediation Council, n.d.). For those arguing that facilitating conversations between victims and offenders requires "skills" (e.g. see Marshall, 1999: 12), the training involved in mediation certification is rigorous. Others, however, are precisely opposed to this sort of 'official' practice because it may affect "innovation" (Braithwaite, 2002: 565) and creates "specialized non-specialists" who may "represent an extremely *biased sample* of the population with regard to sex, age, education, income, class, and personal experience as criminal" (Christie, 1977: 11).

Beyond issues around training and 'professionals,' there have also been many suggestions that calling it "mediation" is off-putting for certain victims and/or crimes (Koss and Achilles, 2008:6) because, in RJ, "the issue of guilt or innocence is not mediated" (Umbreit, 1998: 2), and according to Koss and Achilles (2008:6), "mediation methodology is not designed to respond to acts that involve parties with different levels

of power.” Victim-offender mediations have also been known as victim-offender reconciliation, terminology inspired by Christian groups that ran and facilitated such programs in the United States (Daly and Immarigeon, 1998; Marshall, 1999; Umbreit et al, 2006), which again is sometimes reacted to negatively because of the word ‘reconciliation’ (Umbreit et al, 2006: 53). Similarly, as explored in the introduction, what to call participants in these processes sparks debate (see Christie; 2013; Maruna, 2013: Shapland; 2013). As will be demonstrated in the theory section dealing with women, many of these concerns over language become voiced louder when considering crimes that have women at their centre (see, for example, Koss and Achilles, 2008; Daly, 2008; Daly, 2013).

Victim-offender meetings—regardless of terminology—gained popularity in both Canada and the US, spreading to the UK by the 1980s (Umbreit, 1999; Marshall, 1996:21). Marshall (1999) described initial meetings between victims and offenders in the UK as being up to professionals who already worked with and supported the persons involved such as social workers and probation officers (Marshall, 1996, Marshall, 1999). Due to this professional connection, Marshall (1996:35) described two types of mediation being used in the UK: “those where it is used as part of a programme of work with offenders, confronting them with their behaviour and its effects in an attempt to reform them (*social work model*); and those where it is a service in its own right, offering victim and offender equally the chance to resolve any issues arising out of the offence (*independent mediation model*).”

Restorative circles

When Native American or Aboriginal practices are mentioned, it is usually related to restorative circles (Marshall, 1999; Daly and Immarigeon, 2008; McCold, 2006; Stuart and Pranis, 2006). According to McCold (2006: 28-30), there are at least three types of circles: “healing circles,” “peacemaking circles,” and “sentencing circles,” the first being aimed at victims to receive support from their communities (McCold, 2006: 29), and the second two being used for victims and offenders after a crime/offence (Stuart and Pranis, 2006; McCold, 2006; Sullivan and Tifft, 2006). A famous example of a whole community responding to offences through a restorative circle is Hollow Water, a Native American community in Canada which used circles to speak about generations of child sexual abuse (see McCold, 2006; and especially APC, 1997).

In recent years, these sorts of circles have appeared in schools (IIRP Graduate School, 2009; Karp and Breslin, 2001) and have been brought to communities of high conflict (Wachtel, March 20 2009). As an off-shoot of “healing circles,” which Gaarder and Hesselton (2012: 243) suggest “may be used as a vehicle to support someone in transition,” circles that offer support/help to offenders have become popular in a variety of offending settings such as prisons/juvenile facilities (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012, Schwartz and Boodell, 2009, Gordon, 2004), or post release where circles are aimed at helping offenders to avoid reoffending (Fortune et al., 2010, Kirkwood and Richley, 2008, Walker et al., June 2006, Walker, 2009). While all these circles are considered to be restorative justice because they work with offenders and the ‘community’ in understanding why and how their behaviour affects others, Gaarder and Hesselton (2012) have critiqued that without an actual victim such approaches fail at what many believe to be the main focus of restorative justice, which is to offer victims an opportunity to be present (i.e. Christie, 1977).

Restorative conferences

Finally, conferencing emerged in 1989 in New Zealand through the creation of family group conferences for young persons (Daly and Immarigeon, 1998; Maxwell et al, 2004). Family Group Conferencing has been described as “offender family focused” (McCold, 1999:8) since it does not always involve victims and because its aim has been described as bringing a group of people together who can be responsible for the offender outside of the criminal justice system (Marshall, 1999:14). As Braithwaite (1999:95, 94) has explained, this might involve “a gendered burden of care” since offenders’ mothers are the main support network. More generally, and perhaps dangerously, it also assumes that an offender’s (and/or a victim’s) network is composed of families/supporters willing or capable to take on such work (van Wormer, 2009; Daly and Nancarrow, 2008: 35; Gaarder and Presser, 2006: 488; Elis, 2005).

Family group conferencing, in turn, led to the development of police conferencing (Daly and Immarigeon, 1998; McCold and Stahr, 1996; McCold, 2006, McCold, 1999) which according to McCold (2006: 33) and McCold (1999: 6) is a splicing together of family group conferencing and police cautioning. Although the specific style of these police conferences and how they are done will be described further in the practice

section, they represent an approach that is designed to eliminate the “professional” behind victim-offender mediations: “facilitators are expected to facilitate, not run the encounter, and therefore do not require special expertise beyond a clear understanding of the purpose of the process. Thus, these models are increasingly moving toward an ‘everybody can do it’ and a ‘for almost any reason’ approach” (McCold, 1999:14-15).

The International Institute of Restorative Practices/Real Justice has become pivotal in that movement (O’Connell, 1998), conducting training in a ‘script’ process for individuals interested in trying their hands at RJ (Wachtel et al, 2010; Wachtel, 1999; IIRP, n.d.). Thus restorative justice, from its origins as a religious/traditional/community process (McCold, 2006, Daly and Immarigeon, 1998, Zehr, 1990, Llewellyn and Howse, 1999, Marshall, 1999), or part of social/probation workers’ jobs (Marshall, 1996), has now become a booming business.

UK Context

The introduction revealed the diversity of restorative justice in the UK. Although Gavrielides and Artinopolou (2013: 34-35) have suggested that the UK’s restorative justice comes from “bottom up” practices, some of the types of RJ described in the introduction, such as RJ counties (Norfolk County Council, 2012) and RJ cities (Mirsky, 2009) suggest “top-down” approaches. Which approach is better and more likely to make a difference is the source of yet another debate in restorative justice literature, with some believing “top-down” approaches are necessary in order for restorative justice to have legitimacy (see Alarid and Montemayor, 2012: 460; and Bazemore and Griffiths, 2003 for discussions) and others advocating for ‘bottom-up’ approaches because they often focus on “empowerment” (Gavrielides and Artinopolou, 2013: 38).

As an example of a “top-down” approach, the UK government, in the late 1990s, expressed interest in increasing its uses of restorative justice and offered some unusual promises, “an offender will apologise face to face”/”young offenders apologising to their victims” (“No More Excuses,” 1997: 19, 33). The white paper, *No More Excuses* mentions the already running “caution-plus schemes” in the Thames Valley (elsewhere in this chapter described as police conferencing; see, for example, O’Connell, 1998) and its plans for creating Youth Offending Teams (Y.O.T.s), through the forthcoming

Crime and Disorder Bill, which could, among other things, provide, “family group conferencing” (“No More Excuses, 1997: 19, 29). Ironically, the government promoted these practices for young offenders, which are meant to decriminalize young people, while simultaneously announcing the end of *doli incapax*: “the Government believes that in presuming that children of this age generally do not know the difference between naughtiness and serious wrongdoing, the notion of *doli incapax* is contrary to common sense” (“No More Excuses, 1997: 14).

The UK government, in recent decades, has continued with slightly confusing/contradictory policies when it comes to the principles of RJ, funding evaluations of emerging victim-offender mediation programs and restorative justice schemes in the UK from 1999 to 2000 (Miers et al, 2001), financing RJ schemes from 2001 (Shapland et al, 2011), enthusiastically discussing its plans for restorative justice in *Justice for All* (CJS, 2002) and publishing these plans in *Restorative Justice: the Government’s Strategy* (CJS, July 2003), with the *Best Practice Guidance for Restorative Practitioners* quickly following (CJS, 2004), while refusing to increase its age of criminal responsibility (House of Lords/House of Commons Joint Committee for Human Rights, 2003: 18-20). A possible explanation may be that the UK clearly positions itself as “victim centred” when it comes to R.J. (CJS, 2003:34). Braithwaite (2002: 567), however, in discussing “standards” for RJ has emphasised that there must be “equal concern for all stakeholders” in these processes. It is possible, therefore, the UK ‘top-down’ policy for RJ, including the insistence on apologies may not appropriately be protecting offenders (see Ashworth, 2002: 582, 586).

Women’s role in restorative justice history

Although Daly and Stubbs (2006) and Daly and Immarigeon (1998: 5,6) have stated that they “view the civil rights and women’s movement of the 1960s as crucial starting points” for restorative justice through “[identifying] the overincarceration of offenders and an under-appreciation of victims’ experiences,” theirs is the only account of restorative justice which traces women’s influences to such an early historical point.

It might, therefore, be fair to say that restorative justice has mainly been designed by men and as the practice portion of this chapter will demonstrate, at least some of the main participants (offenders) in restorative justice also tend to be male (see Daly, 1996

in Braithwaite, 1999, for example). As issues related to the participation of women who had been victimized through domestic violence or sexual offences arose, however, feminist perspectives were brought in, initially advocating for women's participation in conferences, which they argued would be: "victim-centered" and "open to public scrutiny" in order "for feminist voices to be heard against those of misogynists" (Braithwaite and Daly, 1994: 239, 241, 243). As will be discussed in the women's theory section, however, this perspective was not easily accepted.

Theory of restorative justice

Although Daly and Immarigeon (1998) suggest that a range of influential theories appeared at the same time as practice, most highlight that restorative justice has always been about practice (McEvoy et al., 2002, Ashworth, 2002, Marshall, 1996). Marshall (1996: 35) has even gone so far as to suggest that "in some respects, the theory has done more damage than good" while McEvoy et al (2002: 475) have identified "significant and obvious gaps and lags in the development of attendant theory, standard and evaluation."

That said, some papers and books published beginning in the late 1970s through the early 1990s are considered to have further influenced the field, if not entirely inspired it. The first of these, Nils Christie's "On Conflicts as Property" (1977:1) suggested that, through the criminal justice system, "conflicts have been taken away from the parties directly involved and thereby have either disappeared or become other people's property." Christie advocated for a new type of "*victim-oriented*" system where victims could have a say in what would occur to right the wrong against them (Christie, 1977: 10). The role of the community and the offender would be to support the victim's wishes. Although Christie recognised that a sense of community was perhaps no longer strong ("much of our trouble stems from killed neighbourhoods or killed local communities"), he suggested that community could once again be created through these sorts of meetings (Christie, 1977: 12). The legacy of restorative justice as 'victim-oriented' remains strong in the present both in theory related to female victims (Koss and Achilles, 2008, Van Wormer, 2009, Daly, 2005) and in practice (Marshall, 1999; Miers et al, 2001), which has perhaps been influenced by Christie's thinking.

Unlike Christie, who focused on the victim's needs, Braithwaite's (1989), *Crime, shame and reintegration*, focused on the offender. Braithwaite suggested that families of offenders would be able to use their ties to the offender to display disapproval of his/her behaviour and that such an approach would have more power over the offender than any judge or official in the criminal justice system. For Braithwaite, the emotion felt by the offender when met by his/her community would be shame for having gone against their moral values; however, Braithwaite emphasised that crucially this shame had to be "reintegrative."

This aspect—reintegration—stands out as one of the most important parts of Braithwaite's theory. While Christie's writing focuses on the moment/setting the victim receives answers and support from the community in a type of "victim-oriented court" (Christie, 1977:10), Braithwaite is concerned with what happens next. The 'community' gathered around the offender, therefore, should according to Braithwaite be there during the 'shaming' and should then welcome them back. As the often repeated statement in restorative justice writing in connection to Braithwaite, RJ should be about "shaming the act rather than the actor" (Sherman et al, 2008:16; Daly and Hayes, 2001: 5). Although the reintegrative shaming theory was not created with restorative justice in mind (Marshall, 1999:30), it became instrumental to restorative justice, particularly to police conferencing (see O'Connell, 1998; Sherman et al, 2000; McCold, 1999). Marshall (1999:30), however, suggests that this is not a good fit since Braithwaite's (1989) thesis involved shaming from a group of individuals whom mattered to the offender—ie their own community—rather than a community made up of 'outsider' officials.

In the United States around the same time, Zehr's (1990: 181) *Changing Lenses* took a more "relationship-oriented" approach with suggesting that crimes were not "conflicts" (Christie, 1977) but rather that they were "violation[s] of people and relationships." Zehr's suggestion was that traditional justice system needed to look at criminal occurrences through a new "lens" and identify that what was needed was to "repair" the hurt that had been caused to not only victims but to the "relationship between victim and offender" since "even if they had no previous relationship, the crime creates a relationship" (Zehr, 1990:181). The softer language and terminology, focused on "repentance" and "forgiveness," had clear connections to the religious roots

that inspired Zehr (Zehr, 1990: 126-157, 214). While as previously discussed, some critics took issue with the idea of “reconciliation” (Umbreit et al, 2006:53), Zehr’s thinking still shows its influence in contemporary theory such as the following definition of restorative justice by Ward and Langlands (2009: 206): “it is considered to be an approach that sets out to heal fractured communities rather than simply punishing and dispatching offenders to prison or community supervision.”

Another group of instrumental writers who in turn have shaped practice (as described in the history portion of this chapter) are Paul McCold and Ted Wachtel (Wachtel et al, 2010; Wachtel and McCold, 2004; McCold and Wachtel, 2003; Wachtel, 1999; McCold and Wachtel, 1999) who were behind the creation of the International Institute of Restorative Practices (“Faculty,” IIRP, n.d.; O’Connell, 1998), “restorative practices” (see Wachtel and McCold, 2004), and are responsible for the spread of O’Connell’s ‘script’ of restorative justice (Wachtel et al., 2010, Wachtel, 1999). In terms of community, they identified a number of different groups of people who might participate in RJ ranging from “primary stakeholders” which would be composed of the victim, the offender, and both of their “communities of care,” to “secondary stakeholders” which are ”those who live nearby or those who belong to educational, religious, social or business organizations whose area of responsibility or participation includes the place or people affected by the incident” as well as “the whole of society, as represented by government officials” (McCold and Wachtel, 2003:3). For McCold and Wachtel (2003: 3), “primary stakeholders” are legitimate participants because they might also feel the effects of the offence unlike “secondary stakeholders” who, they insist “must not steal the conflict from those to whom it belongs,” borrowing Christie’s (1997) phrasing but extending the idea of ‘stealing’ to the majority of community members Christie (1977) suggested including.

A final theoretical concept (and according to Marshall (1999:30) a controversial one) which multiple theorists address—including McCold and Wachtel (2004) but especially Braithwaite (1989)—is shame. Chapter 1 discussed some of the literature regarding shame and guilt, with Leith and Baumeister (1998: 3) clarifying that with guilt, “one can regard oneself as a good person who has done a bad thing.” This sounds identical to the discussions in restorative justice about “shaming the act rather than the actor” (Sherman et al, 2008:16). It would seem, then, that one would want to encourage

guilt rather than shame in RJ (Rodogno, 2008: 159), which Leith and Baumeister (1998:7) have concluded leads to “personal distress.” Rodogno (2008: 150) seems to have been one of the first researchers to link this research on shame and guilt to restorative justice, and he suggests offenders will feel both because of the way the process is structured.

Although raising new crucial questions about shame and guilt in RJ (see Rogogno, 2008: 170), Rodogno uses theory and research to make novel suggestions for practice, “mediators seeking to elicit (adaptive) guilt but not shame may want to avoid casting an unwanted identity upon the offender, avoid or reduce public exposure as much as possible (by for example singling out those parts of the conference in which exposure may be most felt and exclude supporters at those points), while at the same time making offenders aware of the ways in which their act has caused harm to the victim” (Rogno, 2008: 167). As will be demonstrated in the practice section of the chapter, should such expertise in RJ be needed or encourage, this would have implications for types of practice and skills/abilities of the facilitator (who Rodogno perhaps pointedly here refers to as a ‘mediator.’).

Women’s roles in theory

In the history section, it was discussed that women’s roles have not been emphasized. Women are, however, frequently written about in theory. Mainly such theoretical discussions tend to be in form of whether women should participate in restorative justice as victims of domestic violence, although their potential participation as victims in sexual assault cases is increasingly also receiving notice is worth the risks (see Daly and Stubbs, 2006: 17 for a summary of the literature as well as van Wormer, 2009; Koss and Achilles, 2008; and Elis, 2005: 376). Reasons against their participation mostly concern themselves with the possibility that an offender will use a mediation/conference/circle to further control his partner (or former partner) (Daly and Nancarrow, 2008; Daly and Stubbs, 2006), that that victim will not be in the centre of the process (Koss and Achilles, 2008:6), or that the community will not “have enough resources—emotionally, materially, other—to either support women or adequately sanction men’s violence” (Gaarder and Presser, 2006:488).

Domestic violence—in all its forms (partner and family)—has been described as “hard” to deal with in mediation, having to do with years of “entrenched patterns,” which “call for a sophisticated understanding of the dynamics of partner and family violence, and the need to ensure that facilitators are competent and well-trained in handling them.” (Daly and Nancarrow, 2008: 23, 34-35). For cases involving abuse which has not gone on for as long—or may have occurred once such as sexual assault, the argument is less with facilitators’ inability to penetrate the relationship between the victim and the offender and thereby fail to protect her during the conference (Daly and Nancarrow, 2008) and more to do with the belief that such cases “are understood to be ‘too sensitive’ or ‘too serious’ to be handled by an RJ process” (Daly, 2005: 2).

Others have suggested that a meeting with a victim and a mediator/facilitator and an offender of domestic violence or sexual is not enough (see Daly and Stubbs, 2006: 17 for a review of critiques). Although Daly (2002:61) suggests people constantly compare “restorative” and “retributive” justice in order to paint “restorative” justice as the better alternative (see Daly, 2002: 61 for a discussion on this debate), when it comes to crimes involving sexual or family violence, “retributive”/”real” punishment is suggested as a more appropriate response (see Proietti-Scifoni and Daly, 2011). This argument exists in literature dealing with victim-offender mediations where Daly and Stubbs (2006: 18) have described that the process is seen to “‘reprivatize’ male violence after decades of feminist activism to make it a public issue” and where others have raised concerns about restorative conferences and circles, not because the situation is ‘private’ but because concerns exist about whether the right type of people will be present (Gaarder and Presser, 2006, Van Wormer, 2009, Daly and Nancarrow, 2008). To some degree, such thinking suggests that a local ‘community’ or a facilitator/mediator will be incapable of protecting the victim but that the decision makers (whether on the governmental or program level) in determining women cannot participate will be. Such views can either be considered ethnocentric/paternalistic (Koss and Achilles, 2008) or may be due to a lack of agreement as to who the ‘community’ is, as discussed in the general theory section above.

Those who support women’s participation in controversial cases emphasise that such a process would “provide a forum for narrative” to women who might need one (Gaarder and Presser, 2006: 485; Daly and Stubbs, 2006; Van Wormer, 2009; Koss and Achilles,

2008; Daly, 2005). Daly (2005) in the Sexual Assault Archival Study (SAAS) found that possibly one of the most beneficial aspects of processing such cases through RJ was that offenders had to admit their guilt before participating in the process (Daly, 2005: 17-18). And, finally, similarly to Christie's (1977) argument that victims have a right to participate in proceedings related to their own offences, supporters of restorative justice for domestic violence or sexual assault argue that women must be given "choice and input into the resolution of their violation" (Koss and Achilles, 2008: 2).

The discussion of women offenders in restorative justice reads similarly, with the exception, of course, that women were, in early theory, expected to offend less because they were already, through the course of their normal lives, likely to experience close supervision from their families, followed by close supervision by a partner and children (Braithwaite, 1989:93).

Braithwaite (1989: 93-94) also presented women as the most likely 'natural' recipients and doers of reintegrative shaming:

we predict that females will be more often the objects and instruments of reintegrative shaming, while males will be more often the objects and instruments of stigmatisation. That is, it will be more often boys than girls who will be cast out from the family for acts of deviance, and it will be more often the fathers who will be involved in the banishment, mothers, even in the face of outcasting, will more often be struggling to achieve reintegration to the extent possible in the circumstances.

A little more than a decade later, feminist writers began advocating for restorative justice as a criminal justice response for women's offending (Elis, 2005; Verrechia, 2009; Pepi, 1998, Failinger, 2006; Gaarder and Presser, 2006, etc). Despite some authors arguing that whatever benefits restorative justice might bring, it should always be under the control/rule of the criminal justice system (Ashworth, 2002: 591; Marshall, 1999), some feminist writers have gone so far as to suggest that restorative justice should replace all traditional justice for women (Failinger, 2006, Pepi, 1998,

Verrecchia, 2009). Reasons have included RJ's "flexibility" (Verrecchia, 2009: 86; Marshall, 1999:5), which could allow for "*offender-specific programming*" to accommodate girls' needs (Verrecchia, 2009: 86) and allow for understanding of the often complex dynamics between young female offenders and their victims (Gaarder and Presser, 2006: 489), and, again ensuring that they "are given a voice" (Verrecchia, 2009: 89; Failinger, 2006; Gaarder and Presser, 2006.) Many of these writers emphasise that women who offend have often been victimized as young people or continue to be victimized (by partners and/or families) alongside their offending (Elis, 2005, Verrecchia, 2009, Alder, 2000). Thus, the similarities between arguments as to why restorative justice would be appropriate for female victims and why it might be appropriate for female offenders is not surprising since these theorists see women as "victims first" (Verrecchia, 2009: 89; Elis, 2005; Failinger, 2006).

For some, restorative justice for women is not enough but should be accompanied by "strength-based" techniques and/or "gender-specific programming" (Ward and Langlands, 2009; Pepi, 1998; Gaardner and Hesselton, 2012). According to Ward and Langlands (2009: 210, 206), while "a restorative justice encounter may provide an ideal opportunity to engage offenders in future treatment" the current way of doing restorative justice—one meeting representing the end of the process, according to the authors "does not live up to its promise as a needs-based justice system." Pepi's (1998) vision of the role of the 'community' in restorative justice as a team assembled around the female offender who can help identify both risk and resilience factors would presumably satisfy Ward and Langlands (2009), and is precisely what has been advocated by Braithwaite (1989); McCold and Wachtel (2003); and Marshall (1999) for offenders in general.

"Strength-based" techniques in victim-offender mediations involves "focus on offender strengths, attributes, abilities, resources and aspirations" (Bradshaw, 1998: 17). Strength-based techniques might represent what should naturally occur in restorative justice (see, for example, Braithwaite, 1989) but might not if the support is not naturally there (Gaarder and Presser, 2006; Alder, 2000). Advocates of gender-specific programming suggest that "the unique needs and issues (e.g., physical/sexual/emotional victimization, trauma, physical and mental health, pregnancy and parenting) of women and girls should be addressed in a safe, trusting and supportive women-focused

environment” (Bloom and Covington, 1998:9). For restorative circles (to be described more in the practice section) this has sometimes meant that circles are composed of other female participants and female facilitators who “address the realities of girls’ lives, including race, class, and gender inequality” (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012: 246).

Concerns about women’s participation as offenders in RJ usually revolve around the community (Gaarder and Presser, 2006; Alder, 2000; Elis, 2005). Elis (2005) and Alder (2000) have suggested that general community members might not be supportive of female offenders since offending is not what women are supposed to do while Alder (2000: 115-116) has emphasised that given women offenders’ histories with abuse within families, family members might not be appropriate supporters in restorative justice.

Practice of restorative justice

The history section described three types of practices that make up restorative justice: victim-offender mediation, restorative circles, and restorative conferences along with their main differences. This section will describe what actually happens within each of these processes; what the role of the mediator/facilitator is; and how the community might participate.

Victim-offender mediation

As the section on women in theory demonstrated, restorative justice is often linked with ‘storytelling’ (Gaarder and Presser, 2006, Van Wormer, 2009, Koss and Achilles, 2008, Verrecchia, 2009). Umbreit (1998:26) in the training manual for victim-offender mediation specifically introduces this concept along with guidance on how to encourage it in a section titled “storytelling and dialogue”: “you will be asking each party, one at a time, to tell you what happened, what was going on at the time, how he or she felt about what happened, what was going on at the time, how he or she felt about what happened then and how each feels now, and how the crime impacted each person’s life.”

In order to ensure that the right kinds of stories are told, the mediator meets with both the offender and the victim before the mediation (Umbreit, 1998). In these “pre-meetings,” the mediator works with the victim to prepare his/her story. The victim-

offender manual directs mediators to, “ask the victim to described what has happened since the crime, including contact with family members, friends, the criminal justice system” and to “ask the victim to describe other reactions he or she has experienced up to now” (Umbreit, 1998: 15). The work with the offender is slightly more in depth and involves helping to shape the offenders’ story into something coherent and provides “training in communication skills” and “rehearsal and role playing” (Umbreit, 1998: 8). Thus, the mediator is a kind of editor, listening for various types of stories which do not fit the genre of culpability narratives. The mediator is actively supposed to “reject” stories and feelings which could lead to a less successful mediation—such as “denial, minimization, projection, rationalization” (Bradshaw, 1998: 16). In the victim-offender mediation training manual, the authors advise the mediator to especially look for certain kinds of “self-presentation strategies,” or narrative techniques, which are common to offenders, which they might use to manipulate the mediator (echoing the fears described in the theory of women section about how offenders might try to manipulate the victim during the conference) (Bradshaw, 1998: 17). The offender in this text, therefore, is depicted as someone whom must be held at arm’s length and guarded against—someone who uses ‘storytelling’ to their advantage, which does not fit with the literature on young offenders’ difficulties with social cognition as discussed in the first chapter (Moffitt, 1993, Snow, 2009, Jones et al., 2007, Gilmour et al., 2004, Sanger et al., 2003, Snow and Powell, 2011).

The second half of the directives described by Bradshaw (1998:17): “face-work,” “self-promotion”, and “exemplification”, however, are commonly discussed in criminological theory. Sykes and Mazta’s (1957: 667, 668) neutralization theory, for example, suggests five ways offenders distance themselves from their offending: “the denial of responsibility”, “the denial of injury”, “the denial of the victim”, “the condemnation of the condemners”, and “the appeal to higher loyalties.” All of these techniques serve to “minimize” offenders’ part in an offence by pushing blame away from them and sometimes onto someone/something else. In criminological theory dealing with offenders’ narratives, it has been established that offenders describe themselves as good people (Maruna, 2001, Presser, 2004, Giordano et al., 2002, Presser, 2002). However, despite the process of working with the offender to produce the right type of narratives for the meeting with the victim, one of the most important things emphasized in the manual is that the mediator should never demand that the

offender expresses remorse through an apology: “parents often instruct their children to apologize. Mediators may not” (Umbreit, 1998: 30), which is echoed in the literature having to do with restorative conferences (Braithwaite, 2002; McCold 1999).

At the actual mediation itself, the mediator is an active participant (Umbreit, 1998; Bradshaw, 1998). The mediator’s role even continues after the mediation in one or several “follow-up meetings” (Umbreit, 1998: 12). According to Marshall (1999: 11, 27), this “skilled, specially trained mediator” relies on professional abilities having to do with conflict resolution, which “are not as those for counselling, social work, legal negotiation, arbitration or any other profession” although Marshall suggests they “overlap.” Noticeably absent from this type of restorative justice style is the community, discussed by nearly all the major theorists (Christie, 1977, Braithwaite, 1989, McCold and Wachtel, 2003). The victim-offender mediation model often (but not always, as Bradt and Bouverne-De Bie, 2009 suggest) focuses on the participants who are most obviously part of the offence—the victim and the offender (McCold, 1999; Marshall, 1999). The only element of the ‘community’ therefore present might be the mediator himself/herself as has been suggested by Marshall (1999:14).

Circles

The history section described “healing,” “sentencing,” and “peacemaking” circles (McCold, 2006) as well as “circles of support” for various offenders (Fortune et al., 2010, Kirkwood and Richley, 2008, Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012). Like in victim-offender mediation, restorative circles contain some who leads the process, sometimes called a “circle keeper” who guides the participants through the conversation and has tasks to complete prior to the circle (Coates et al., 2003, Stuart and Pranis, 2006). One of these is “preparation” (McCold, 1999, Stuart and Pranis, 2006, Coates et al., 2003). The preparation described for restorative circles is no less rigorous than that described for victim-offender mediation with Stuart and Pranis (2006: 125) suggesting that this is the main task the circle keeper undertakes, “keepers’ contributions are vital, but are primarily made not in circles but in preparing all participants for the circle.”

When the circle is gathered, the talk tends to not be as controlled as that in victim-offender mediation. Instead, the conversation is moved along through the use of a “talking piece” (Stuart and Pranis, 2006; Coates et al, 2003). According to McCold

(1999), the talking piece makes its way around the circle several times, allowing participants to speak and address the victim and the offender. The “talking piece” takes away some of the control and the responsibility from the keeper of the circle in that the circle leader does not have to control the conversation to the same degree as a mediator does in victim-offender mediation (Stuart and Pranis, 2006:125).

A conclusion of the circle, however, does not necessarily mean an end to the process. Restorative circles are sometimes used to create community (Fortune et al., 2010, Kirkwood and Richley, 2008). Stuart and Pranis (2006: 127), for example, have written about the “relationship building” aspect that goes on during circles to make sure this can happen. In some of the examples from the literature, groups last for the duration of a time in detention (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012), or begin in prison and continue on afterwards (Fortune et al., 2010).

Conferences

According to Marshall (1999:14) conferencing “is essentially an extension of victim-offender mediation to include more parties.” Conferences, however, differ from victim-offender mediations and restorative circles in their increasing use of a ‘script’, which facilitators use to move through a conference (see Wachtel et al, 2010). The history section explained that the script was developed in part by Terry O’Connell (Watchel, 1999) for police officers (McCold and Stahr, 1996) with the idea behind the ‘script’ being that “everybody can do it” (McCold, 1999:15).

The script itself is not very different from the type of questions that might be asked in a mediation. The facilitator begins with asking the offender questions such as: “What happened?/What were you thinking about at the time?/What have you thought about since the incident?/Who do you think has been affected by your actions?/How have they been affected?” (Wachtel et al, 2010: 2). These questions ask the offender to examine his/her thought process and to then shift his/her thinking away from himself. It is then the victim’s turn to talk, who is asked, “What was your reaction at the time of the incident?/How do you feel about what happened?” (Wachtel et al, 2010: 2). Following these questions, the facilitator moves on to support persons who, in turn, also answer standardized questions (Wachtel et al, 2010: 2).

Although there are more participants than in victim-offender mediation, the work that is being carried out is fundamentally the same: storytelling by the victim and the offender. Both sets of restorative conference questions overlap with the types of questions the mediator uses such as the focus on thoughts “since the incident,” emotional reactions, and interactions with the individual’s community (Umbreit, 1998: 15). The difference, however, is that these sorts of questions are questions used in a pre-meeting, followed by more fluid storytelling during the mediation itself, while in the conference model, these are the actual questions asked in the conference.

Another difference, which creates debate, and is obviously the reason for the shorter facilitation format and the ‘script,’ has to do with who facilitate the conferences. Concerns, for example, are expressed when police officers are supposed to take on facilitation duties. They range from police officers not being able to handle complex processes (Marshall, 1999) to police officers not being able to behave restoratively (Hoyle et al, 2002). On the other hand, there has also been the view that involving police in conferences is an important step toward making RJ part of the mainstream (McCold and Stahr, 1996: 12) and that involving the police in RJ may lead to “the transformation of police cautioning and police culture more broadly” (Braithwaite, 1999: 100).

Beyond these issues, however, there is also a question whether something is lost when “anyone” leads a conference as Marshall (1999) has suggested. Victim-offender mediation, for example, requires much preparation and deeper ‘work’ with the participants before the conference. Asking professionals with other duties to take on facilitation might mean that the assistance a mediators offers individuals with their storytelling as well as the preparation (Umbreit, 1998; Bradshaw, 1998) is discarded because of how time-consuming conferences are (Hoyle et al, 2002: 56). The next chapter will explore research outcomes directly related to such concerns.

Women’s roles in practice

The section on women’s roles in theory demonstrated that women are frequently written about in terms of whether or not they should participate—both as victims and as offenders. They emerged as controversial participants with many writers and researchers divided on whether the risks that restorative justice pose make women’s participation worth it. Oftentimes, however, these theoretical positions while well

intentioned, lacked evidence as to women's actual experiences as victims or as offenders in restorative justice.

Research by Daly (1996) explains why; when Daly examined the make-up of participants conferences in Australia, she found that most of the women who participated, participated as support persons to the victim or the offender rather than as the offender or the victim (cited in Daly and Stubbs, 2002: 15-16 and Braithwaite, 1999:94). Although this was a small study, it is perhaps the only study of its kind, which examines gender roles within restorative justice (see Daly and Stubbs, 2006; Elis, 2005). Women's roles as supporters, mainly as mothers, has also been noted by Braithwaite (1999:94) who wrote, "in juvenile conferences if we were to nominate one type of actor who is more likely to be influential in the outcome than any other, it might be the mother of the offender." He, however, also reacted to Daly's (1996) findings and his own research by suggesting that restorative justice involved "a gendered burden of care" (Braithwaite, 1999:95) and that the 'work' of restorative justice (continued 'community' involvement around the offender, see Marshall, 1999) would be expected to be completed by mothers who might have limited abilities, which has also been expressed by Gaarder and Presser (2006: 488).

As victims in controversial restorative justice cases—domestic violence or sexual assault—women's participation is still rare regardless of the theory advocating for their participation. Restorative justice for crimes of a sexual nature is only allowed in Australia and New Zealand but crucially for cases involving young offenders (Daly, 2005: 2; Koss and Achilles, 2008:3; Proietti-Scifoni and Daly, 2011). Proietti-Scifoni and Daly (2011) explored some of this reluctance through in-depth interviews with politicians in New Zealand and revealed that major concerns were focused around "community or cultural control" and wanting to make sure "facilitators ha[d] solid skills" (Proietti-Scifoni and Daly, 2011:280). Similar concerns, in turn, were echoed by female Australian citizens in a study by Nancarrow (2006). These studies, although small, suggest that the community in restorative justice is one of the larger concerns for *both* theorists and citizens.

Although RJ for domestic violence might not be permitted within most traditional justice systems either (see Gavrielides and Artinopolou, 2013), ironically, other forms

of domestic violence—such as physical violence between parents and children—are allowed to be processed through restorative justice (Daly and Nancarrow, 2008). Daly and Nancarrow (2008: 19) explored the complex relationships between mothers and sons in restorative justice where mothers were forced to play “a dual role in the conferences: as victim[s] and as...supporter[s].” Daly and Nancarrow found that unlike domestic violence conferences between partners where the victim would be protected and supported by the facilitator and the program, police facilitators in these sorts of cases engaged in “victim blaming” (Daly and Nancarrow, 2008: 32). Daly and Nancarrow concluded that such cases were especially difficult and suggested that “a justice practice—whether restorative justice or standard courthouse justice—cannot do this work alone” but rather “require[d] sustained social work and psychological intervention” (Daly and Nancarrow, 2008: 35).

While the next chapter will discuss in greater detail the information available on female offenders’ experiences in ‘traditional’ RJ, RJ is increasingly being used in alternative ways for women. One of these is RJ circles in detention settings without victims (see Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012 and Fortune et al, 2010). Gaarder and Hesselton (2012) evaluated the use of restorative circles for offending girls in two settings in Minnesota, US, one in a residential setting and the other in a traditional detention setting, run by female professionals (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012).

Gaarder and Hesselton (2012) suggested that the residential circles allowed the young women to talk about their experiences of victimization and deal with their feelings of shame and guilt about their offending. The young women’s experiences with the restorative circles in the detention setting, however, were evaluated more negatively by the authors who suggested that staff did not take the process seriously. Although the authors suggested that both circles lacked victim engagement, they commented that the residential setting circles might solve some of the difficulties which girls had had in restorative justice elsewhere (which will be discussed in the next chapter), especially noting that “the program’s focus on circle preparation and inclusivity provided a possible antidote to the defiant or negative attitudes that some girls felt toward restorative conferences as reported in other studies” (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012: 253).

Restorative circles were used for similar ends in Canada for women about to exit prison (Fortune et al., 2010). Volunteers from the community joined a restorative circle around women before their release with the idea being that the circle would continue to exist and support the women back in the community when they encountered various temptations to offend again. These circles functioned more or less as the residential circles described by Gaarder and Hesselton (2012) with community creation as their main achievement rather than focusing on the effects of their offending, which many have suggested is the true purpose of RJ (Gaarder and Presser, 2006, Marshall, 1996, Pepi, 1998, Umbreit, 1998b, McCold and Wachtel, 2003, Ward and Langlands, 2009, Failinger, 2006).

Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated, restorative justice is an international practice and the processes carry evidence of this diversity. The chapter also discussed that while theoretical writing has played a role in restorative justice, practice is what is important (McEvoy et al, 2002; Ashworth, 2002), which perhaps means there will be unexpected consequences for the UK's current "top-down" approach with creating RJ cities (Mirsky, 2009) and counties (Norfolk County Council, 2012), if the organizations expected to now be RJ-oriented do not want to be (see Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012, for example).

The theory section, in turn, illustrated multiple contested issues in RJ having to do with who restorative justice is for (victims or offenders); what participants are meant to feel during (shame or guilt); what is meant to occur at the end (repair, reintegration, or transformation); who the 'community' is and what role they should have, and finally who the facilitator/mediator should be. The theory section also illustrated that some theorists worry about women in RJ.

The final section on practice described three major ways through which restorative justice occurs—trained victim-offender mediators who work with the participants on their storytelling abilities; organic community circles where members speak and engage; or other professionals—increasingly the police—who use a script to help

victims, offenders, and participants speak to each other. With each of these alternatives, it could be argued that something crucial is left out.

As in the history section, when it came to practice, women did not seem to be as actively involved in major roles but were instead supporters (Daly, 1996 in Daly and Stubbs, 2002), perhaps due to theoretical debates. As an exception to a lack of women's participation, the chapter explored some recent attempts at creating restorative circles for female offenders (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012; Fortune et al, 2010). Although the evaluations of such women only circles were few, they suggested some success in building support around vulnerable women. Since creating community where there is none is a hoped for occurrence in restorative justice (Gaarder and Presser, 2006; Alder, 2000), such offending circles might therefore fill what some writers consider to be a gap in restorative justice. McEvoy et al (2002: 469), for example, write that "in debates about standards and safeguards, the community aspiration has somehow been neglected." These circles, however, are not necessarily "fully restorative", to borrow phrasing of McCold and Wachtel (2003: 4) because they crucially leave out the victims—which for some writers such as Sherman and Strang (2007) would cast doubt that this is restorative justice.

This chapter, therefore, in teasing out several interesting and perplexing issues about where conferences came from, what the theory behind them is, and how the practices are supposed to work leaves us with important questions, which the next chapter aims to answer. Chapter Three of the literature review, in focusing on police-facilitated restorative conferences, explores what actually happens in such conferences. Through a range of outcomes having to do with theoretical aims—satisfaction, recidivism, and transformation, it collects evidence on the experiences of offenders, victims, community members, highlighting the experiences of female offenders throughout, even if scarce, to explore if the reality of women's participation matches theorists' fears, and to lay the grounds for the study in this thesis.

Chapter 3: Restorative Justice Research Outcomes

Introduction

This chapter begins with a review of some of the literature highlights from chapter one and two before moving on to a review of three research outcomes in restorative justice: recidivism, satisfaction, and transformation. Each section will include commentary on the types of methodologies used and their various strengths and limitations, and, of course, what the research outcomes have to say about young female offenders. Although chapter two demonstrated that restorative justice includes victim-offender mediations, restorative circles, and restorative conferences, the chapter will focus on outcomes related to police-facilitated restorative justice conferences, in order to set the scene for the study described in the next few chapters.

The first chapter covered a range of literature from criminology, psychology, sociology, and social work to create an understanding of how young women might come to offend. The chapter raised some important differences between young women and young men by illustrating, for example, that young women who offend may be exposed to more risk (Berman and Dar, 2013; Williams et al, March 2012; Arnall and Eagle, 2009; Hubbard and Pratt, 2002, etc). Throughout, the chapter also hinted that particular risk factors might have an effect on women's participation in restorative justice such as mental health issues stemming from abuse (Light et al, 2013; Piccinelli and Wilkinson, 2000. Fergusson et al, 1996) and high degrees of guilt and shame (Silfver et al, 2008; Benetti-McQuoid and Bursik, 2005; see also Alder, 2000). Finally, the chapter illustrated that how young women 'transform' from a life of risky, antisocial behaviour to a prosocial lifestyle may be different from the ways the research has described young men's pathways (see Giordano et al, 2002).

Chapter two described the history, theory and practice of restorative justice. The unifying strain throughout these sections was an emphasis on women's roles. It was revealed that women have occupied a complex place in restorative justice and may mostly participate in RJ as support people (Daly (1996) in Daly and Stubbs, 2006). Perhaps as a direct result, the advantages and disadvantages of women's participation in restorative justice may not yet be clear (Sherman et al, 2008).

It is at this point that we turn to the current chapter, which contains information about twenty-one police-facilitated RJ schemes in the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Northern Ireland, and the US and is further supplemented by a meta-analysis and a systematic review, which base their analyses on fifty-six restorative justice programs also worldwide. Some of the programs have been created with research evaluation in mind, while others have been evaluated after they have begun. They, therefore, include RCTs, matched studies, as well as evaluations of lone programs without comparisons. Many of the larger studies involve multiple components such as recidivism rates, survey, observation and interview data, while smaller studies may only include one or two of these methodologies. If applicable, within each section, outcomes will be compared between the various participants in restorative justice—offenders, young female offenders, victims, and the community.

Recidivism

Recidivism—or offenders reoffending—is an exclusively offender outcome in restorative justice. The programs evaluated here, which included findings on recidivism, were programs which either were created in order to evaluate restorative justice or which were already in existence. The advantage of restorative justice programs which are built for evaluation is, of course, that researchers can control how offenders end up in restorative justice. Three studies reviewed here, for example, sent offenders to either restorative justice or court from the moment the offenders entered the justice system. Two of these studies, the Reintegrative Shaming Experiment (RISE) in Canberra, Australia (Sherman et al, 2000) and the Justice Research Consortium scheme in London (Shapland et al, 2004, 2008, 2011) were RCTs, and a third police RJ scheme in Bethlehem, PA had many elements of an RCT (McCold and and Wachtel, 1998; McCold, 2003; and Hayes, 2005). Other programmes have compared RJ offenders to court offenders by matching them on various variables (Hayes and Daly, 2003; Hayes and Daly, 2004; Rodriguez, 2007; Luke and Lind, 2002; Maxwell et al, 2004; Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007; Shapland et al, 2008: Shapland et al, 2011, etc) while one study reported recidivism figures without explaining the methodology behind them (Moore and O'Connell, 1994).

Next, views on how to research recidivism differs from study to study (Hayes, 2005; Hayes and Daly, 2004). These differences may make comparing outcomes across these studies problematic. In the studies reviewed below, for example, the data collected on recidivism may count any and all arrests by participants (Hayes and Daly, 2004: 172), or it may count convictions (Shapland et al, 2008: 11). Follow-up times, in turn, range from one year (McCold and Wachtel, 1998); 2 years (Rodriguez, 2007; Shapland et al, 2008); 2-3 years (Luke and Lind, 2002); 3-5 years (Hayes and Daly, 2004); and 4 years (Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007).

Similarly, the offenders who took part in RJ in these studies are not the same. In the studies reviewed, some programs offer restorative justice for minor types of violence and theft (McCold, 2003) while others allow for a mix of high and low level offences (Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003, Daly, 2008) or even include offences that are not considered 'crimes' per say (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004). Some programs only offer restorative justice to offenders with no past convictions (McCold, 2003) while others include a range of offenders with diverse criminal pasts (Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003, Rodriguez, 2007, Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007).

Finally, something to keep in mind while gathering 'evidence' as to which programs achieved the best recidivism outcomes with offenders, is that although they are all conferencing programs, some differ in terms of who is involved during the conferences. While many of the programs run conferences for offenders, victims, and members of the community, others offer a type of restorative justice 'conference' where offenders only meet with a police officer (see O'Mahony and Doak, 2004) or meet with 'victims' who was a member of the organization offended against or an individual who has been victimised in a similar fashion but not connected to the offence RJ'd (see Miers et al, 2001; Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007; McCold and Wachtel, 1998; O'Mahony and Doak, 2004, etc). These 'other' victim-offender RJ scenarios actually seem common in police RJ. The Bethlehem, PA conferencing scheme for example, which will be discussed on several occasions in this chapter as achieving fairly good outcomes, in reality only had offenders and victims meet in 23% of the cases (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 29).

Offenders

Keeping in mind the issues above, several studies on police RJ have shown lowered recidivism for offenders after participating (Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007, Sherman and Strang, 2007, McCold and Wachtel, 1998, Hayes, 2005, Moore and O'Connell, 1994, Hayes and Daly, 2004, Rodriguez, 2007, Luke and Lind, 2002, Hoyle et al., 2002, Miers et al., 2001, Latimer et al., 2005, Shapland et al., 2011, Shapland et al., 2008).

Although these results have sometimes been explained as being due to offence type in RJ (Sherman and Strang, 2007; Sherman et al, 2000; McCold and Wachtel, 1998), the findings are contradictory. An RCT in Canberra, Australia, for example, where offenders were followed up for up to a year, found that recidivism was lower for RJ offenders who committed violent offences (Sherman et al, 2000). The same, however, was not true for offenders who committed property offences or driving while intoxicated offences, leading the authors to conclude that “restorative justice affects offenders charged with different kinds of offences differently” (Sherman et al, 2000:15). Similar successes involving violent offences was found in the quasi RCT in Bethlehem, PA for young offenders with no previous convictions (McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Hayes, 2005). Like Sherman et al (2000), McCold and Wachtel (1998), did not discover an impact for property offenders, leading them to believe that “conferencing affects recidivism by resolving conflict between disputing parties rather than any reduction in recidivism from an offender rehabilitation effect” (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 78). While this might lead us to hypothesise that violent offending is best suited for RJ (see, for example Sherman and Strang, 2007), a handful of other programs have also found lowered recidivism for acquisitive offences (Luke and Lind, 2002; Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007). This included a New Zealand study involving youth with no previous convictions (Luke and Lind, 2002: 8), and a US study involving young offenders who had committed a range of former offences (Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007).

Likewise, the outcomes of the studies suggest that the age of RJ offenders does not seem to matter in terms of lowering recidivism. While many of the studies here only involve youth, a major study of RJ programs in the UK described as “primarily for adult offenders” including “persistent offenders with many previous convictions,” (Shapland et al, 2011: 35, 166) thus traditionally individuals who might be screened out of police

RJ schemes (Shapland et al, 2011), found differences in recidivism in all three programmes after a two year follow-up (Shapland et al, 2011: 170). The programs were composed of one RCT and the others relied on matches samples (Shapland et al, 2008: Shapland et al, 2004).

However, despite these ‘successes,’ there are plenty programs which have no or minor significant differences in recidivism. Among these was an evaluation by the Home Office of seven RJ programs serving a mixture of young and adult offenders (Miers et al, 2001). A conclusion from that evaluation was that rather than offence type, it was the type of offender who mattered. RJ might be “less successful with those offenders who are in the highest risk categories for reconviction” (Miers et al, 2001: 46). The same has been found in programs only dealing with youth (Hayes and Daly, 2004, Rodriguez, 2007), especially child offenders whose early offending may be indicative of deeper behavioural problems (Hayes and Daly, 2004: 177) (i.e. see also Moffitt, 1993’s description of ‘life-course persistent’ and ‘adolescent-limited’ offenders as discussed in the first chapter).

Other suggestions for reasons why some programs succeed in lowering recidivism and others do not, include ideas that some cases are simply more appropriate for communication-type interventions (McCold and Wachtel, 1998:78 and Hayes, 2005:92) or that the emphasis/lack of emphasis of specific key components in RJ might make a difference (Hayes and Daly, 2003, Shapland et al., 2008); however, the latter explanation has been offered with caveats (Hayes and Daly, 2004). Hayes and Daly (2003: 748), for example, found that “when young people show remorse in the conference, the odds of reoffending are reduced by about a third, and when outcome decisions are arrived at by genuine consensus, the odds of re-offending are reduced by about a quarter.” As a slight contradiction, Hayes and Daly (2003), found that “whether offenders offered an apology or agreed to other outcomes (such as direct restitution, work for victims, community work, commitment not to-reoffend” did not lead to reductions in offending (Hayes and Daly, 2003: 178). This, however, might have to do with the sincerity of apologies made by offenders in conferences. As research by O’Mahony and Doak (2004:13) has demonstrated, police facilitators have been noted to force apologies, which means such apologies would not be an indication of

“remorse”, if that is part of what might encourage less offending in the future (Hayes and Daly, 2004:748).

Young female offenders

As chapter two illustrated, women as offenders might not be frequent participants in restorative justice (Daly, 1996 in Daly and Stubbs, 2006). In the studies reviewed in this chapter, which describe participation by gender, the percentages of women who participate as offenders include 15% (Maxwell et al, 2004); 16% (Hayes and Daly, 2004); 20% (Luke and Lind, 2002); 22-23% (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004); 24% (Hayes and Daly, 2003); 29.5% (Berseth and Bouffard, 2007); 38-40% (Rodriguez, 2007) and 47% (McCold and Wachtel, 1998). Some studies, however, do not mention the gender breakdown of participants at all (Chatterjee, August 10 2010, Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003, Moore and O’Connell, 1994, Sherman et al., 2000). The previous chapter pointed to research by Daly (1996) (cited in Daly and Stubbs, 2006) and commentary by Braithwaite (1999:99) who illustrated that women were “influential” participants in restorative justice but often fulfilled roles as support persons (Daly and Stubbs, 2006, Braithwaite, 1999). A failure to break down recidivism data by gender (Elis, 2005), however, suggests that women—and young women—are still not a major part of the criminological discussion in restorative justice. As the sections below on ‘satisfaction’ and ‘transformation’ will illustrate many methodologies treat offenders as a group rather than separating them out by gender (Elis, 2005; Daly and Stubbs, 2006) (with the exceptions being those studies, which report female recidivism, naturally).

A few studies, however, have found that RJ may work especially well in helping young women desist (Rodriguez, 2007, Hayes, 2005, Hayes and Daly, 2004, Sherman and Strang, 2007). In secondary analysis of the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania dataset, Hayes (2005) found that young women offenders “had an estimated rated of survival significantly higher than for male offenders attending a conference...However, there were no differences in estimated rates of reoffending for male and females who were processed normally” (Hayes, 2005: 94). Similar findings were echoed by Rodriguez (2007: 369) on a second American sample, matched with court attendees, leading her to conclude that “girls in the restorative justice program had a lower probability of recidivating than girls in the comparison group (19.5% versus 29.2%)”. Sherman and Strang (2007: 68) in their review of 26 restorative justice programs pointed to a sharp

reduction in young women's violent offending in Northumbria after RJ. Shapland (2008:20), however, took issue with Sherman et al's findings by suggesting that it was their method of analysis (in part due to a follow-up of only one year) which caused the differences rather than an actual reduction in offending.

Sherman et al (2008: 48-49) have suggested that while these figures are interesting, "until the restorative justice agenda includes separate experiments designed from the outset to be 100% female samples, not much more can be said based on research." This, therefore, suggests that this is a gap in the research that warrants not only further quantitative study but also qualitative study, as suggested by Hayes and Daly (2004) and Daly and Stubbs (2006). As Maxwell et al (2004: 15), for example, along with Miers et al (2001) and Hoyle et al (2002) have suggested, "events subsequent to the conferences" are a crucial part of the narrative as well in order to understand whether restorative justice—or something else outside of, or as a result of, restorative justice—helps bring about desistance.

Satisfaction

Reviewing the literature, it seems to have become a standard practice for most studies on restorative justice to include a 'satisfaction' component. Umbreit and Bradshaw (2001:0), for example have written about such surveys being crucial because "in developing areas like restorative justice, victim satisfaction is an important indicator of the acceptability of innovative programs." It is perhaps because of the consideration of the victim that some evaluations of restorative justice only measure satisfaction with victims, (Moore and O'Connell, 1994), which hearkens back to early theories of RJ—such as Christie's (1977:10) urging for the creation of "*victim-oriented court(s)*." Miers (2001:82), in a review of RJ programs and practices around the world, identified programs as being either "offender-oriented" or "victim-oriented," demonstrating that this debate—whom restorative justice is *mostly* for is still ongoing.

The studies reviewed below, however, tend to interrogate all participants' 'satisfaction' with RJ and usually do so through surveys, although, increasingly, surveys are supplemented with, or replaced by interviews (Maxwell et al., 2004, Daly, 2008, Hoyle et al., 2002, Shapland et al., 2011) which contain both "open- and close-ended items" (Daly, 2008: 114). This information is sometimes further supplemented with

observations by researchers who study the interactions between the participants and the work of the facilitator (see O’Mahony and Doak 2004; McCold and Wachtel, 1998; McCold, 2003; Hayes and Daly, 2004; Hayes and Daly, 2003; Daly, 2008; and Hoyle et al, 2002). Participants’ satisfaction is often measured in comparison to the satisfaction of those who received another, more traditional, form of justice (see Chatterjee, 2003; Chatterjee, 2010; McCold and Stahr, 1996; McCold and Wachtel, 1998; McCold, 2003; Hayes, 2005, and others). In smaller studies, satisfaction may be gathered from participants but not compared to participants outside the conferences (see Moore and O’Connell, 1994; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004).

The timing of when participants fill out satisfaction surveys/are interviewed varies between studies—similarly to measurements of recidivism. Some studies ask participants to fill in a survey right after the conference (Hayes and Daly, 2004), while others send surveys to participants around 14 days post conference (McCold and Stahr, 1996). Occasionally, researchers will speak with participants multiple times (Hoyle et al., 2002).

The questions, of course, go deeper than feelings of like or dislike and attempt to tap into emotional and practical aspects related to the experience. For detailed examples of a satisfaction survey, see Strang (2002: 213-242); or the appendices in Hoyle et al (2002: 74-75) and McCold and Wachtel (1998: 115-127). Some examples from these sources include:

- Questions for victims: “How much did you feel the conference/court case respected your rights?” and “How fair did you feel the conference/court case was for you?” (Strang et al, 2002: 229, 230).
- Questions for victims: “Do you feel that Family Group Conferencing should be offered, on a voluntary basis, to all victims?” (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 120)
- Questions for offenders: “Did you feel that your treatment by the police overall since you were caught has been fair or not?” “How did it feel to talk about the offence in front of the people who came to the meeting?” Hoyle et al (2002: 74, 75)
- Questions for offenders: “Do you feel that being in the conference was your own choice?” (McCold and Watchel, 1998: 118).

These examples demonstrate the range of questions and the similarities such as questions having to do with “fairness.” Other programs which do not publish their surveys report outcomes with the same language, ie. “treated fairly” (Hoyle et al, 2002: 28; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004: 16); whether participants had been able to “talk” (Maxwell et al, 2004: 13); and what the “outcome fairness” was like (Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003:353). Sometimes satisfaction, however, is just described as general satisfaction without further commentary (Moore and O’Connell, 1994).

This section will cover satisfaction results for offenders, young female offenders, victims, and the “community.” “Community,” here, will be defined as anyone present for the conference who are not victims or offenders. This, therefore, includes supportive participants, police facilitators, since some studies gather their impressions of restorative justice as well, see for example (McCold, 2003, Chatterjee, August 10 2010, O’Mahony and Doak, 2004), and observer-researchers who watch the conference but do not actively participate because their critiques—ie satisfaction or lack of satisfaction—inform our views of how police officers facilitate and offenders and victims interact with each other.

Offenders

Studies generally have found that offenders respond to the process positively (Chatterjee, August 10 2010, Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003, McCold and Stahr, 1996, Hayes, 2005, McCold, 2003, O’Mahony and Doak, 2004, Sherman et al., 2000, Hayes and Daly, 2004, Hoyle et al., 2002, Miers et al., 2001, Shapland et al., 2011, McCold, 2003). Among other things, they have found conferences to be “useful” (Shapland et al, 2011: 163-164); “fair” (Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003: 353, 2010:3; Hayes and Daly, 2004: 185); “voluntary” (McCold and Wachtel, 1998:61; Hayes and Daly, 2004: 185), and “would do it again”/“would recommend” (Hayes and Daly, 2004: 185; McCold and Wachtel, 1998:61: Shapland et al, 2011:163-164). One programme reviewed here, however—the police-conferencing scheme in Bethlehem, PA found that offenders in RJ and offenders in court were overall similarly satisfied with their interventions (Hayes, 2005:95; McCold and Stahr, 1996:9). Another two found that offenders’ age affected satisfaction (older participants preferring RJ) (Shapland et al, 2011; Hoyle et al, 2002). Finally, the meta-analysis by Latimer et al (2005: 136) found that offender

satisfaction was not as high as estimated in other studies, with only “moderate to weak positive impact on offender satisfaction.”

One issue, which has been thought to affect offender satisfaction, and which links to the next series of discussions in this chapter, is the way offenders are treated by police facilitators (Hoyle et al., 2002). Hoyle et al (2002: 28), for example, found “facilitators...treating adult offenders with far more respect and friendliness than young offenders,” creating the age differences mentioned above (Hoyle et al, 2002: 28). However, Hoyle et al (2002:58-60) also suggested that in spite of these issues offenders may generally like RJ because “simply creating a safe environment where people can talk, on a roughly equal footing to everyone else, about the harm that has been done, results in very high satisfaction rates, almost regardless of how well the police facilitate these meetings” (Hoyle et al, 2002: 59). Thus, a preferential atmosphere to court may be why offenders continue to rate RJ fairly highly, while such an atmosphere combined with good police facilitation may be what prompts a young offender to *also* desist after RJ (see discussion regarding Hayes and Daly, 2004 in the recidivism section).

Young female offenders

General satisfaction outcomes, unlike recidivism outcomes, are rarely compared by gender or race, except for vague descriptive outcomes such as the following by Moore and O’Connell (1994: 71), “Koori participants—victims, offenders, and their families—have praised the scheme, indicating thereby that it is ‘culturally sensitive.’” As a result, there is very little written specifically about young female offenders’ satisfaction in police RJ in the articles reviewed here. Since their thoughts are lumped in with general satisfaction, the assumption might be that young women along with young men are adequately satisfied with RJ as an intervention for their offending.

One study in this review, which mentions young women’s opinions of restorative justice in greater detail, however, provides a contrast with this assumption. Maxwell et al (2004) who conducted follow-up interviews with young people up to four years after their restorative justice in New Zealand found that young women offenders had many complaints about the criminal justice process. These young women especially took issue with the police officers they dealt with: “the girls more often than the boys reported that they were not treated fairly by the police” (Maxwell et al, 2004: 20). To

accompany this data, Maxwell et al revealed that young women in restorative justice had more (“adverse background factors” and “risk-taking behaviours such as frequent experimentation with alcohol and engaging in unsafe sex”) and that they had been arrested for low-level offences such as shoplifting (Maxwell et al, 2004: 20).

Although this is only a brief mention of young female offenders’ experiences in RJ, it raises some interesting questions having to do with gender and satisfaction, the effects of a “troubled” background on young women’s behaviour in a conference, (as Alder, 2000 also proposes) and whether the type of offence young people are referred to RJ for affects their satisfaction. These issues will be explored further in this chapter.

Victims

In contrast to the not quite clear offender satisfaction results, from the US, Australia, the UK, and Canada, including one meta-analysis (Latimer et al, 2005) and one systematic review (Sherman and Strang, 2007), have demonstrated that victims who have experienced restorative justice score the intervention higher than victims whose offenders experienced a more traditional form of justice (Chatterjee, August 10 2010, Chatterjee and Elliott, 2003, McCold and Stahr, 1996, McCold and Wachtel, 1998, McCold, 2003, Sherman and Strang, 2007, Latimer et al., 2005).

Community

The introduction to this section stated that the voices of community members reviewed here would include family members/support persons as well as researcher observers since their satisfaction or lack of satisfaction with the process has the potential to add, new insights to RJ and possibly change the way conferences are conducted.

Similarly to victims, support persons and/or parents of offenders who have participated in police conferencing schemes around the world report that they were satisfied with RJ (Chatterjee and Elliot, 2003; Chatterjee and Elliot, 2010; McCold and Stahr, 1996; McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Hayes, 2005; McCold, 2003; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004; Hoyle et al, 2002). In the Bethlehem study, for example, “parents were more likely to have felt their opinions had been adequately considered in their child’s case than court disposed-parents” (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 66). The exceptions to this positive

reception were some parents in a Northern Irish scheme who felt restorative justice was too much for the type of offence their children had committed (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004: 15), and 32% of all participants (including support persons) in the Thames Valley scheme felt RJ “ma[de] the offender feel like a bad person” (Hoyle et al, 2002: 34). Thus, while *their* experiences were more than adequate, some support people have been critical of the offenders’ experiences.

A seldom considered group of community members in RJ is the group of researchers present at restorative justice conferences in order to observe. Hoyle et al (2002:10-11) have suggested that “our presences as observers at the process did not appear to have any major effect on participants. When we carried out in-depth interviews with them about their experience of the process, very few participants mentioned that they had been distracted or otherwise affected by our presence at the meeting.” It could be argued, however, that simply by being present researchers *do* insert themselves into the case and may influence the participants in ways perhaps neither immediately recognise. For example, researchers inadvertently fulfil one of the ‘best practices’ of restorative justice through following up with participants (see Umbreit, 1998; Maxwell et al, 2004). Indeed, in some cases the research team have followed-up with participants when the scheme has not (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004). From the point of view of victims and offenders, observers in RJ might feel like additional professionals in the proceedings, or they might feel like more ‘active’ community members who watch the proceedings and then engage with participants afterwards. It is surprising that none of the studies reviewed here analyse their own input and/or impact on RJ and its participants especially as it is through the observers that qualitative, more ‘neutral’ impressions of victims and offenders’ responses/sincerity/accountability are described as well as reports on the police officers’ facilitation abilities. The remainder of this section—as well as the ‘community’ section of the next, ‘transformation’ outcome—will, therefore, include researcher-observers input as that of community members.

It is observers, for example, who give a fairly low ‘satisfaction’ evaluation to how well police officers facilitate during conference proceedings (Moore and O’Connell, 1994 in Australia; McCold and Wachtel, 1998 in the US; O'Mahony and Doak, 2004 in Northern Ireland; Hoyle et al, 2002 in the UK). Police officers have been observed to be forceful with offenders, berating them in front of the group (McCold and Wachtel,

1998); they process young offenders through RJ unnecessarily, thus contributing to “net-widening” (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004: 15, 17) and Hoyle et al (2002:29) even concluded that “some of these practices deviate so sharply from the Thames Valley model as to preclude them being described as restorative in nature.” Such critiques led one project to re-train police officers in order to improve facilitator abilities during the evaluation (McCold and Wachtel, 1998).

Getting police officers’ skills right is crucial to participants getting the most out of restorative justice as has been demonstrated in numerous studies (Maxwell et al, 2004; Hoyle et al, 2002; Hayes and Daly, 2003). Surprisingly, however, participants have said they were happy with the same conferences the observers were critical of (McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Hoyle et al, 2002; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004). Sometimes researchers have noted that this may be due to victims deriving comfort from having conferences proceed in police presence (McCold and Stahr, 1996; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004), while others have suggested that participants simply do not know what good restorative justice is supposed to be like (Hoyle et al, 2002).

This does not, however, mean that observers have concluded that police officers are inappropriate to facilitate restorative justice conferences. When restorative justice happens well, the relationship between offenders and the police can improve as has been demonstrated by Hoyle et al (2002). Other have remarked that in order for restorative justice to succeed, the police have to be on board because “the police act as the traditional gate-keepers to the traditional criminal justice system” (McCold and Stahr, 1996: 12). And finally, the police command a respect others do not, which might be crucial to restorative justice, according to Hoyle et al (2002). The suggestion has been made that, ultimately, if the police get on board then perhaps day-to-day policing will change and improve through “informal...street level application” (Bazemore and Griffiths, 2003: 338).

Transformation

Harris (2006:559) in a review of the literature on ‘restorative justice’ and ‘transformative justice’, makes links between the two when she writes, “it is especially common for changes of heart or of perspective, or in the roles and relationships that result from participation in restorative justice processes, to be described as examples of

transformation" (Harris, 2006). Some writers have articulated a set of 'stages' participants go through as part of this transformation in restorative justice, "We could not well explain the regular tangible, visible progression through clearly marked stages of tension, anger, shame, remorse, apology, forgiveness, relief, and cooperation" (Moore and O'Connell, 1994: 70). Although this pathway description by Moore and O'Connell may not be realistic for every participant in restorative justice (see criticism by Daly, 2002:70)—it might be the 'ideal' hoped for by those who run restorative justice programs and, therefore, of interest to researchers. Whether or not an individual has had a "change of heart" as Harris (2006:559) describes above—and to what extent—is, however, much more difficult to measure than the more clear-cut methods of studying recidivism. Instead, the sorts of questions which probe the 'change' tend to be found within the surveys or interviews discussed in the 'satisfaction' section. These questions, of course, never directly mention a 'transformation' but instead query whether participants have experienced 'more' or 'less' of something or whether their 'attitude' or 'feelings' toward something or someone has become 'better' or 'worse.' The following are some examples of 'transformative' questions for both victims and offenders:

- Questions for victims: "Did the conference/court case make you feel more or less settled emotionally about the offence?" "Before the conference/court case how angry did you feel with the offender(s)?" "After the conference/court case how angry did you feel with the offender(s)?" (Strang et al, 2002: 229, 230).
- Questions for victims: "Were you surprised by anything that occurred in the conference session?" "How likely do you think it is that the offender will commit a similar offence against somebody?" (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 120)
- Questions for offenders: "Did your views on what you wanted to come out of the meeting change at any point?"/ "Did the meeting make you feel ashamed of what you'd done or not?" Hoyle (2002: 75)
- Questions for offenders: "Which of the following best describes your attitude toward the victim now?"; "How likely do you think it is that you will commit another similar offence?" (McCold and Watchel, 1998: 118).

As can be seen above, the questions sometimes ask the respondents to evaluate whether someone else in the conference might have transformed. In a way the work involved with these interpretations—especially of other people—is similar to the way the work

of restorative justice has been described by Roche (2003:79-80), “meetings where participants provide verbal accounts which are scrutinized and assessed by other participants, whose own accounts are in turn scrutinized.”

Victims might have to evaluate the offender’s remorse or judge the sincerity of the offender’s apology in order to determine what type of agreement they are happy with. Offenders will have to explain themselves and control their own emotions in the face of a victim’s anger or hostility, the offenders’ own parents’ reactions, and, as has been described above, potentially a police officer’s tendency to be harsh. As chapter one demonstrated, young offenders who have experienced difficulties in their backgrounds, struggle with exactly these skills (Snow, 2009; Gilmour et al, 2004; Bryan et al, 2007), and some have suggested that it is for these reasons that restorative justice is not an appropriate intervention (Snow and Powell, 2011; Snow and Sanger, 2011). As with satisfaction, whether or not participants have transformed is sometimes supplemented with researcher observations who focus on the offenders. Researchers, for example, look for “whether they [offenders] were defiant or remorseful, took responsibility for their actions, understood the impact of their offending, gave a clear story of the offence, were actively involved in the conference discussion, offered an apology or assured the victim that the offence would not happen again” (Hayes and Daly, 2003: 740).

This section reviews offenders’, young female offenders’, victims’, and community members’ thoughts on whether they, or the other participants in RJ, have undergone a transformation as a result.

Offenders

In terms of outcomes to surveys and interviews, offenders in restorative justice schemes as diverse as in the US, United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, and Canada have suggested that the conferences have brought about transformations for them (Chatterjee, August 10 2010, McCold and Wachtel, 1998, O’Mahony and Doak, 2004, Miers et al., 2001). In the Bethlehem, PA scheme, for example, researchers found that offenders had improved views of their victims (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 59). In Canada, nearly all said they were “helped them in their understanding of the consequences of their actions and their willingness to take responsibility for the same” (Chatterjee, 2010:3). Similar findings occurred in the Thames and Valley scheme evaluated by Hoyle et al

(2002). In pilot schemes in Northern Ireland and in the UK schemes evaluated by the Home Office in 2001, offenders felt that participation in the restorative justice would lead them towards a prosocial life (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004:16; Miers et al, 2001: 38).

These perceived transformations, described by offenders, however, have not always been echoed by the police officers who facilitated the conferences. While police officers in Canada and Northern Ireland felt offenders got something out of it (Chatterjee, 2010; O'Mahony and Doak, 2004), Hoyle et al (2002:43) found that “in a third of the cases where the offender(s) thought that the process had gone well the facilitator either thought that it had gone badly or had made no impact at all.” These contradictory views might mean that police facilitators did not pick up on positive changes in offenders or it could mean that police officers’ were unable to distance themselves from their preconceived notions of young offenders, as suggested by Hoyle (2002:68).

Some researchers have cautioned that restorative justice alone is unlikely to cause a permanent change (Hoyle et al, 2002, Daly, 2002, etc) but that good conferencing may begin good things for participants (Maxwell et al, 2004). More in-depth interviews with offenders in the UK and in New Zealand, for example, have shown that desires to transform for other reasons, “family support, wanting to get a job, staying employed and the threat of the court” (Miers et al, 2001: 38) are critical as are “events subsequent to the conferences” (Maxwell et al, 2004: 15). Without this type of in-depth information and longer follow-up with participants (Maxwell et al, 2004, for example followed up with participants several years after restorative justice), offenders’ enthusiasm and initially positive recidivism rates may give a false impression of conferences, as Hayes and Daly (2004) have suggested. It might suggest that a transformation is a result of the meeting between victim and offender rather than a positive occurrence not related to restorative justice (Hoyle et al, 2002) or perhaps a positive occurrence that came about through the gathering of professionals and family members in support of the young offender who could perhaps help address needs he/she might have (Maxwell et al, 2004).

Young female offenders

As frequently mentioned in this chapter, offenders' experiences are seldom separated out by gender, except in the case of recidivism. For that reason, whether young male or young female offenders differ on the survey measures described above in terms of any 'transformative' aspect is unknown. What we do know is how young offenders perceive their own transformation as a *whole group*, and the evidence is promising.

The results of more in-depth qualitative research, however, tell a very different tale about young female offenders' transformation—or rather suggest an absence of transformation. In two of the studies discussed in this review (Maxwell et al, 2004 and Daly 2008), researchers in New Zealand and Australia through observations or interviews with participants found that young women in restorative justice behaved badly. Maxwell et al (2004: 21) in New Zealand discovered through interviews that girls did not believe they would desist as a result of restorative justice and lacked empathy for their victims: "boys were more likely than girls to report that having a family group conference had helped them to stop or reduce their offending....boys were also more likely to report being able to see the victims' viewpoint and that now, as young men, they felt that what they had done was wrong."

The lack of empathy for young female offenders' victims was also discovered by Daly (2008) in researcher observations of young female offenders' conferences and follow-up interviews with both the young women offenders and their victims. Observers in the study noted that the young women were ““defensive and a bit hostile”” with ““little understanding of the consequence of the violence or the trauma to the victim”” (Daly, 2008: 118), and as a whole, young women were observed to be “less often remorseful...more defiant and less likely to apologise spontaneously to victims (Daly, 2008: 114). The failure to take responsibility continued in the conferences with the young women offenders identifying that the victim either began the conflict or helped escalate it and that they, together with the victims, were only mutually culpable (Daly, 2008).

Daly selected a team of all female researchers who both made the observations of the young women and interviewed them afterwards. The young women's "bad attitudes" continued in interviews post restorative justice with interviewer notes reading, "a

nightmare interview. She is a nasty, angry kid...extremely uncooperative and disinterested, rude and offhand" (Daly, 2008: 124). Daly (2008) suggested that rather than being due to their gender, these orientations toward their victims were more due to the type of conflicts the young women were frequently involved in. Sometimes due to the relationships the young women had had with their victim previous to the assault, the young women identified as offenders by the police did not fully agree that they were to blame for the incident (Daly, 2008).

The contrast between the general findings based on survey data that most young offenders rated themselves as having participated positively with these more in-depth qualitative findings suggest a few things. First, it suggests the need for survey data to be explored by gender to see if differences between offenders' sense of their own transformations differ by gender (Elis, 2005). Secondly, it suggests that survey data might not offer offenders or victims enough of an opportunity to express their views of a conference.

The discrepancies could also, of course, be due to the type of offences young women are sent to restorative justice for. In Maxwell et al's (2004) study, the young women had for the most part committed shoplifting offences. One of the studies reviewed here suggested that restorative justice was used excessively for small offences that should not have received a significant criminal justice response at all (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004). As a result of these insignificant offences being processed through restorative justice, some participants—mainly parents—expressed concerns and objections to the process (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004). The young women's lack of enthusiasm for restorative justice in Maxwell et al's (2004) study might have been due to the non serious offences they had committed—and perhaps even the lack of a 'real' victim in the process to feel truly sorry towards.

McCald and Wachtel (1998); Hayes (2005); Sherman et al (2000) Sherman and Strang (2007) have all suggested that conflicts involving violence, especially when the victims and offenders know each other, might be resolved more easily in restorative justice than other types of offences. These studies for the most part, however, involved samples that were dominated by men. Daly (2008: 116) concluded that "offending girls may not be more 'difficult' than boys, but the dynamics of their offences that go to conference may

be more difficult to resolve.” Research in the first chapter has echoed these sentiments in highlighting the complex social interactions and power dynamics between girls and women (Björkqvist, 1994, Björkqvist et al., 1992, Crick and Grotpeter, 1995, Batchelor et al., 2001). It is possible that once these already complex situations reach a physical interaction, they have grown almost impossible for both victim and offender. However, it must be acknowledged that the majority of criticisms involving young women’s abilities to have transformed stem from researcher observations. Researchers might view self-protecting behaviour in the conferences (Alder, 2000) and misinterpret them as a lack of remorse/empathy (Daly, 2008; Maxwell et al, 2004).

Victims

The types of questions for victims listed in the introduction to this section attempted to capture whether the victims’ sense of self had altered through meeting the offender (Strang et al, 2002) as well as whether the victim believed the offender had undergone a transformation in terms of behaviour as a result of meeting the victim (see McCold and Wachtel, 1998).

In regards to the former, Sherman and Strang’s (2007) review of 36 restorative justice programs; Strang’s (2002) evaluation of victims responses after the RISE project in Canberra, Australia, Hoyle et al’s (2002) reviews of the Thames Valley project in the UK; Chatterjee’s (2010) evaluation of a Canadian police restorative justice experiment, and Shapland et al’s (2011) evaluation of three restorative justice schemes in the UK all found that victims felt better after restorative justice. Many victims also “were significantly less likely to say they felt like retaliating against the offender” in the UK studies evaluated by Shapland et al (2011: 146).

The latter type of questions asked of victims—whether they think the offender has changed—involve a different type of work. Victims have been described as actively studying offenders during conferences, “particularly attentive to the tone of offenders’ communications, whether made indirectly or during face-to-face meetings… relying on them to assess whether the offender seemed ‘genuine or not’” (Miers et al, 2001: 33). As was mentioned in the introduction, such evaluations might be difficult for victims and offenders, especially in an emotional setting.

For example, multiple studies have shown evidence that victims have felt the conference offered something to the offender (Miers et al, 2001; Chatterjee, 2003, 2010; McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Hoyle et al, 2002), but such sentiments sometimes match research findings and sometimes do not. Miers et al (2001: 35), who in the evaluation of seven restorative programs in the UK did not find much evidence of lowered recidivism, reported that over 60% of victims “felt that the intervention had made an impact on the offender.” In Bethlehem, PA, 46% of victims who came to a conference because of a violent incident thought “the offenders’ participation was insincere” (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 55), while victims of acquisitive crimes were generally more positive about their offenders with only 18% believing “the offenders’ participation was insincere” (McCold and Wachtel, 1998:55). These victim reports, however, are contrary to McCold and Wachtel’s (1998: 78) discoveries about recidivism: offenders who had committed violent offences were actually more likely to desist after RJ. In response to such contradictions, however, researchers have cautioned “it would be native to assume that a restorative process, even one carried out perfectly could dramatically change offending in every case in which it is deployed,” (Hoyle et al, 2002: 56). It also does not preclude that offenders have not benefitted in *other* ways.

Community

Finally, a “transformation” of the community through RJ could, theoretically, occur through getting everyone “with a stake in a particular offence,” which could include community members “to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence” (Marshall, 1996: 37). Christie (1977:12), in particular had visions of community members uniting in support of victims. In reality, however, most of the community members present—aside from the three studies discussed in this chapter, which used persons from the community not related to the offence (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004, Rodriguez, 2007, Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007)—seem to be those with close relationships to the victims and offenders as Ashworth (2002:582) has suggested. None of the studies reviewed here mention supporters other than parents for young offenders, and indeed, this absence has been criticised by Hoyle et al (2002), Maxwell et al (2004), and Alder (2000). How then is the community transformed through restorative justice?

When it comes to police-facilitated RJ, it has been suggested that the uses of restorative justice may transform the community *through* the police (Bazemore and Griffiths, 2003; McCold and Stahr, 1996) as well as change the police itself (McCold, 2003; Alarid and Montemayor, 2012; McCold and Wachtel, 1998). This may especially occur as a police force with trained facilitators gradually begin to use their skills of reflective listening and improved communication in more “informal” way in their day to day activities (Bazemore and Grittiths, 2003: 338).

Several programs have found that at least some police, in interviews or surveys, spoke about/rated restorative justice positively (Chatterjee, August 10 2010, McCold and Wachtel, 1998, O’Mahony and Doak, 2004). Police officers’ positivity in some of these studies, however, was not matched by the researchers who observed the police officers. For example, in O’Mahony and Doak’s (2004) evaluation of the pilots in Northern Ireland, the researchers raised several criticisms from the police’s use of restorative justice to contribute to ‘net-widening’ to the police officers’ awkward facilitation techniques. Police officers, however, in interviews after their conferences, “felt they had received adequate training and that the programmes were being properly supported and resourced” (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004: 16). The same was found in McCold and Wachtel’s (1998) evaluation of the Bethlehem, PA RJ program where police officers believed they were performing well even though researchers rated them poorly. It is possible that police officers underestimate the training and skills that go into facilitating restorative justice conferences well.

Not surprisingly, although several studies involving police facilitated restorative justice have attempted to capture police ‘transformations’ (McCold and Wachtel, 1998, Hoyle et al., 2002), few have succeeded (McCold, 2003). According to McCold (2003: 386) the only evidence of a “culture shift” among police officers seems to have occurred in the Wagga Wagga police-facilitated restorative justice project (as found by Moore, 1995, cited in McCold, 2003). The Bethlehem, PA program investigated the results of police survey data which police answered prior to and post being trained in restorative justice for similar changes but did not find them (McCold and Wachtel, 1998; McCold, 2003). Instead they found “a moderate increase in how police perceived the community’s support of their department” (McCold and Wachtel, 1998:45) and “a decrease in their orientation toward the use of force” (McCold, 2003: 385).

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that police facilitated restorative justice conferences have been shown to lower recidivism in multiple countries involving several groups of offenders: young and old, violent and acquisitive, male and female. The evidence that is available shows that young women might especially benefit (Rodriguez, 2007; Hayes, 2005; Sherman and Strang, 2007; Hayes and Daly, 2004; Maxwell et al, 2004). But other things beside gender also have a strong effect. According to several studies the events leading up to offence and the relationship between the victim and the offender are crucial (see Daly, 2008, McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Hayes, 2005). Ironically, however, while prior knowledge of a victim has often helped young male offenders in conferences (McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Hayes, 2005), this seems to hinder young women from making peace (Daly, 2008).

What also seems clear is that some participants (victims, support people) are fairly happy with police facilitated restorative justice. Young offenders might be less impressed than older offenders (Hoyle et al, 2002), and young female offenders are (perhaps) the least satisfied offenders in restorative justice (Daly, 2008; Maxwell et al, 2004). This might mean that police-restorative justice is ‘victim-oriented’ (Miers, 2001), which could mean that police go out of their way to treat victims positively in order to demonstrate this—perhaps to the detriment of other participants.

Finally, a range of participants (offenders, victims, and community members) indicated that something about restorative justice changed them for the better. Self-evaluations of transformation, however, did not always match other people’s evaluations of them. Victims, for example, did not always get it right in terms of their evaluation of the offender. In some studies victims believed the offender had changed, but the programs’ recidivism statistics did not back these beliefs up (Miers et al, 2001; Hoyle et al, 2002). In other studies, offenders demonstrated changes in behaviour that the victims did not think possible (McCold and Wachtel, 1998). These discrepancies might suggest that change is not so easy to detect in a restorative justice conference—especially by the persons deeply involved. It might also suggest that recidivism is not necessarily a check as to whether or not the offender has transformed, or it might suggest, as multiple authors have noted that the rest of the offender’s life is also important in turning young

people towards or away from further crime (Hoyle et al, 2002; Maxwell et al, 2004; Miers et al, 2001).

What is not clear, is whether police officers make good facilitators. Although some scholars—including some of the authors of the evaluations presented here—are firm advocates of police facilitating conferences (McCold, 2003; McCold and Wachtel, 1998), the number of studies which comment on bad practice should give us pause. The police conferencing schemes described here seem to pull young people into the system, which do not need to be (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004), treat young people poorly in the conferences (Hoyle et al, 2002), and do not seem to grasp the techniques of good facilitation (McCold and Wachtel, 1998). Much research shows that good practice matters in terms of recidivism, satisfaction, and transformation (Maxwell et al, 2004; Hayes and Daly, 2003; Hoyle et al, 2002). That is not to say that police officers are not to facilitate conferences, but it seems that training, re-training, and closely monitoring police facilitation schemes is necessary in order for them to improve and reach good standards.

It is also not clear whether young women who have offended are generally dissatisfied with police-facilitated restorative justice beyond Maxwell et al’s (2004) and Daly’s (2008) study. To hazard a guess, based on what we do see in the research, it is possible that young women’s perceptions so far, at least partially, have to do with a lack of good police facilitation techniques. Other research might suggest that it is the type of offence the young women were arrested for rather than their gender that made the differences. O’Mahony and Doak (2004: 8), for example, found that many of the young offenders processed through police-facilitated restorative justice in Northern Ireland had committed low-offences that might have otherwise not been processed at all, which made some parents think poorly of RJ (O’Mahony and Doak, 2005: 15). The over-processing of offenders through restorative justice is not isolated to the occasional site but has been found internationally, including in multiple US programs dealing with referrals of minor thefts (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011). Considering young women commonly get sent to restorative justice for these types of offences (Maxwell et al, 2004), and given that criminal justice system has a documented history of perhaps unnecessarily penalising young women (Sharpe, 2011; Burman and Batchelor, 2009; Worrall, 2008; Hudson, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989), it seems possible that young

women are the group most likely to encounter ‘net-widening’ through restorative justice (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004). Then again maybe it has something to do with young women and shame as was suggested in the first chapter (Alder, 2000).

In sum, researching restorative justice is challenging, especially because some of what restorative justice is supposed to accomplish are changes in feelings and beliefs. Feelings and beliefs are harder to measure than something like recidivism, which can be tracked via official records. Initial attempts to capture these changes have been done through surveys. These surveys do two kinds of work: monitor what participants think about restorative justice and how they feel after it. Other studies have added more in-depth qualitative components to complement (or occasionally replace) surveys such as interviews (McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Hoyle et al, 2002; Maxwell et al, 2004) or participant observations (Daly, 2008; Hayes and Daly, 2004; Hayes and Daly, 2003). Qualitative methodologies have helped researchers understand how participants of restorative justice think and have exposed new perspectives—such as young women’s dissatisfaction with restorative justice.

Generally, it seems that more quantitative research is needed to explore recidivism, satisfaction, and transformation by gender (Elis, 2005) since all these outcomes have suggested that young women are effected by restorative justice differently from young men (Sherman et al, 2008). Given that the quantitative and qualitative data contradict each other, there is also a need for more qualitative research on police-facilitated restorative justice without strict interview schedules, particularly with female participants (Daly and Stubbs, 2006). There is only so much data that can be gathered about a concept like ‘transformation’ with one post-restorative justice survey. There is also room for interview schedules that allow participants to contribute their thoughts on transformation and change outside of restorative justice, as Maxwell et al (2004) allowed for. Something missing in the qualitative studies that are available, however, is an explanation of the mode of analysis of interview data and a mention of the effects researchers might have on participants—not only because of observations but also because of follow-ups with participants. The mixed-methodology of this study will attempt to address some of the concerns raised here while exploring women’s experiences in restorative justice and away from restorative justice.

In sum, the literature review up to this point has unearthed major themes that will reappear in the rest of this dissertation such as those of agency, aggression, masculinity and femininity, youth, shame and guilt, transformation, and community. The review has examined differences between male and female offenders from pathways into and away from offending. It has raised concerns that women are not treated as natural participants of restorative justice, and finally, it has explored the role of the police in restorative justice, highlighting the positives of what the police might accomplish in their 'new' roles and also raised issues with what might currently be happening in police-facilitated restorative justice especially where young women are concerned. With these themes and issues in mind, we turn to the methodology of the study which will occupy the remainder of this dissertation.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

The three previous literature review chapters have discussed particulars related to young female offenders; historical and theoretical assumptions about women's participation in restorative justice; and outcomes related to young offenders generally and female offenders specifically in police-facilitated restorative justice. This chapter now turns to the design of the quantitative and qualitative portion of the research, from initial interests to the structure of the findings.

The first part of the chapter will discuss some details of my own background as it pertains to this research. Next, the chapter will cover the background and main points relating to the decisions made concerning the administrative police database, which yielded the figures for the quantitative findings. This methodology chapter, however, will only discuss the highlights of that process, including the research questions and the hypotheses created, and the reader is directed to Appendix 1 for an extended account of how data were cleaned, which variables were created and how.

After the quantitative section, the chapter moves on to an in-depth discussion of the ontology and epistemology of the qualitative study, the qualitative research questions and the fit between narrative analysis and restorative justice. Further particulars about the research are then provided in detail—the sample and access; recruitment; the development of the interview schedule; how the interviews were analysed; and, crucially, the ethical considerations throughout the process. Finally, an in-depth structure of the findings will be presented, which covers young women's talk about their experiences in restorative justice, their lives in general, and their feelings about the offences they committed.

Background

My educational background, prior to my PhD research, was in the liberal arts with a focus on English and American literature. My interests in languages and literature emerged from having been raised trilingual and having moved multiple times between

Europe and the United States before my teenage years. I was used to navigating different cultures and to telling my life story over and over to new audiences.

Other than a two-year stint in academic publishing after university, my professional background has mainly focused on working with at-risk and immigrant youth. I was an ESL tutor to refugee teens in Cambridge, MA during my undergraduate degree as well as a general tutor to inner-city and immigrant youth in Dorchester, Franklin Hill, and Franklin Field also during my undergraduate degree. In Edinburgh, Scotland, I worked as a tutor to children of differing learning abilities while working on my Masters in Nation, Culture and Writing. Having been tongue-tied by languages and speaking with a strong accent most of my youth, I especially identified with hesitant or difficult storytelling, which affected some of my students.

It was during my time in Edinburgh that I came across a charity organization called S.A.C.R.O. (Safeguarding Communities Reducing Offending) and was exposed to restorative justice, a field that connected my interests in stories and working with vulnerable populations. The workers there kindly allowed me to learn about the practice, and I devoured every article and book the S.A.C.R.O. team handed me on restorative justice. Upon returning to New York City, I completely changed career directions. I first gained an internship and then employment at a not-for-profit victim service agency, in their conflict resolution group, which served thousands of clients per year in Brooklyn and Manhattan. The organization provided free mediation to community members experiencing any type of conflict between neighbours, family members, peers, co-workers, housing groups, victims and offenders, and received referrals from individuals as well as private and governmental agencies including the police, probation and the court systems. The program trained its own neutral volunteers through a forty-hour basic mediation program and a twelve-week apprenticeship. I was trained as a mediator through Safe Horizon, completed my apprenticeship in civil court in Kings County, and went on to get further training in community, school and criminal mediation, eventually becoming a Certified Mediator, and becoming active in both practicing mediation and promoting restorative justice in New York City.

Between 2007 and 2009, I facilitated circa 200 mediations and conferences involving adult and juvenile offenders as well as community disputants in Brooklyn, NY. I

coordinated the Brooklyn Criminal Court Victim-Offender mediation program as well as a school-wide mediation program in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. I was part of a training team that taught mediation and conflict resolution skills to members of the United Nations as well as other professionals. In my free time, I volunteered as a rape crisis advocate at Bellevue Hospital in Manhattan where I provided support and assistance to individuals (mostly young and adult women) who had been recently sexually assaulted and sought help from emergency services. For circa two years, I completely immersed myself in narratives by victims and by offenders.

My interest in the voices of young female offenders stemmed from my work in the middle school whose conflict resolution program I coordinated in Crown Heights. During one of the school years, when I asked the staff what type of conflicts they felt most concerned about, I received some of the responses I expected given the neighborhood and the students' ages: "gang violence," "teasing," and "he said/she said" conflicts. A substantial number also said, however, "the girls" or "girls fighting." These concerns matched the number of girls who were referred to mediation by the school. Indeed, they were, by far, the most referred group and their conflicts ranged from physical assaults to gossip and verbal arguments. Members of the school community admitted that they were at a loss as to how to handle the repetitive disagreements between girls, feeling they were more difficult to resolve than those involving boys. There were also many young women referred to mediation in the agency's community center in downtown Brooklyn by probation officers, assistant district attorneys, defense attorneys, and judges in juvenile and family court. Officials seemed to feel that girls involved in family or non-criminal disputes were better off in a process outside the criminal justice system and were exploring mediation as an alternative. Girls, therefore, became increasingly interesting to me because they were so frustrating to other people.

When I began researching restorative justice further, the literature echoed all the conversations about women in the halls of the middle school I visited every week. Not only were young women presented as "troublesome" in popular culture and the media (see discussions by Jackson and Tinkler, 2007; Jackson, 2006), but the literature on young women as offenders in restorative justice presented young women that way as well (see discussions by Alder, 2000, Maxwell, 2004, Daly, 2008).

Quantitative methodology

As explained in the introduction to this thesis, the data accessed for the quantitative study originated from an administrative dataset managed by one police force in the UK and included offenders who were referred to restorative justice, their victims, and support persons. The administrative data was used by the police to track their use of restorative justice locally. What was intended to be a qualitative study about young female offenders' experiences in RJ, thus, became a mixed-method study after an invitation by the police to access the information in the administrative database alongside doing qualitative interviews.

While this offer was enthusiastically accepted, obtaining formal permission to access the data, working with the data once it had been accessed, and recruiting participants was much more difficult than expected. This section introduces the research questions for the quantitative study and the key issues involved in secondary data analysis. It then presents highlights from the various steps involved in data access and data protection; the timeline for data access; the variables used for the study; and the hypotheses, which were tested. For an extended, detailed version of these sections, and others, please consult Appendix 1.

Research Questions

The quantitative study of police administrative data concerning general participants and offenders who participated in police-facilitated restorative justice from 2007 through 2012 attempted to address research questions that emerged from the literature on restorative justice. They read as follows:

1. What are women's roles in restorative justice? That is, what role do women play in restorative justice conferences, not only as offenders but as victims, support persons, and professionals?
2. How do women's roles in restorative justice compare to men's participation?
3. What kinds of crimes committed by women are associated with referrals to RJ?
4. What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice?
5. Is there a gendered difference between female offenders' relationship to victims and male offender's relationships with victims?

Data Access, Data Protection, and Data Access Timeline

Even though informal permission had been granted by my police contact in 2010, a number of processes had to be followed and an extensive data protection agreement had to be signed because of the size of the database (17,000 individuals who had participated in restorative justice) and the sensitive information therein. The process of gaining permission involved police clearances from multiple countries because of my international background and months of negotiations between the university and the constabulary. From beginning to end, the data access, because of data protection issues and the state of the raw data, took two years. The following table shows the timeline for the data access through to extraction.

Timeline for data access 2010-2012	
Initial contact made with constabulary	29 November, 2010
CRB check	February 2011
First meeting with constabulary	21 April, 2011
Fingerprinting	5 July, 2011
FBI clearance	13 September, 2011
Police clearance	15 September, 2011
Initial contract received	October 2011
Contract signed	14 March, 2012
Second meeting with constabulary to discuss data and extraction	4 April, 2012
Data extraction at constabulary and police laptop received	1 May, 2012
Research data extraction	30 November, 2012
Police laptop returned	December 2012

Research Datasets and Variables

As indicated in the data access timeline, the time between raw data extraction and research data extraction took seven months. This is because once the data were in my hands, it required a great deal of time to build a workable database from individual spreadsheets, clean and organize the data, and screen 17,000 entries for possible identifiers. Variables also needed to be created from existing data as well as notes, which accompanied each RJ case.

In the end, two research datasets were created: one contextual dataset involving information on offenders, victims, and other participants, and a second offender database. The main variables used for analysis in these databases included the

following. Please consult Appendix 1 for further explanation about each variable and how it was created/evolved:

- Participant Roles
- Gender
- Ethnicity
- Relationships between participants
- Intervention type
- Restorative Justice type
- Offence type
- Offender's relationship to victim
- Alone versus group offending

Strengths and Limitations due to Errors

The type of data that were available and the choices and decisions, which had to be made in order to work with the data resulted in various strengths and limitations. They included, broadly:

- The unusual size of data on RJ (strength)
- Notes accompanying the data (strength)
- Excellent contextual overview of uses of RJ in this police-facilitated scheme (strength)
- Missing data (limitation)
- Decisions involving coding may have removed uniqueness through the creation of broad codes (limitation)

See Appendix 1 for more a more extensive discussion.

Hypotheses relating to quantitative data

Hypotheses were created to test certain assumptions about women's participation in general as well as offenders in restorative justice. They are listed below, underneath a more general research question.

RQ 1: What are women's roles in restorative justice? That is, what role do women play in restorative justice conferences, not only as offenders but as victims, support persons, and professionals?

Hypothesis 1: Women participate more often as support persons in restorative justice than in any other role.

Hypothesis 2: There is a prevalence of mothers in restorative justice.

RQ 2: How do women's roles in restorative justice compare to men's participation?

Hypothesis 3: Women participate more often as support persons in restorative justice than men do.

Hypothesis 4: Men participate more often as offenders and victims than women do.

RQ 3: What kinds of crimes committed by women are associated with referrals to RJ? What about men?

Hypothesis 5: Women are most likely to be referred to RJ for shoplifting than any other offence.

Hypothesis 6: Men are most likely to be referred to RJ for violence than any other offence.

RQ 4: What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice and the circumstances under which they offend?

Hypothesis 7: Women are more likely to be referred to RJ for acquisitive offences than men.

Hypothesis 8: Men are more likely to be referred to RJ for against the person offences than women.

Hypothesis 9: Male offenders will be more responsible for offences labelled as 'crimes' than female offenders are.

Hypothesis 10: Women are more likely to offend in groups than men are.

RQ 5: Is there a gendered difference between female offenders' relationship to victims and male offender's relationships with victims?

Hypothesis 11: Women are more likely to offend against people they know well than those they do not know.

Hypothesis 12: Women are more likely to offend against people with whom they have a romantic connection than men are.

Qualitative methodology: Ontology, epistemology, and researching restorative justice

I consider myself a feminist, social constructivist researcher with a particular interest in narrative whose research topic initially emerged from practice, as much RJ theory

does (Ashworth, 2002). As a mediator, I became increasingly interested at the abundance of referrals of young women from schools and various branches of the criminal justice system, and as a feminist researcher, I was interested in women's experiences, particularly in areas where women's voices were missing or underrepresented, which the literature review demonstrated was the case for RJ.

The problem in the literature was not only that young women did not enjoy their experiences in police-facilitated RJ (Maxwell et al, 2004) or that some of the positive associations—such as the decline in offending for young women after RJ—could not be proven due to the scarcity of young female offenders in RJ (Sherman et al., 2008), but that theorists and researcher observers often spoke about them or on their behalf. In the literature review, this was presented as part of a trend in restorative justice which presented women as too vulnerable to decide for themselves whether or not to participate in restorative justice. Although surveys have often been collected on satisfaction, fairness, and other thoughts and feelings, the data have not often been separated out by gender (Daly and Stubbs, 2006; Elis, 2005). Surveys may also not provide enough information to explore the complex relationship between decreased recidivism but increased hostility and frustration researchers reported women experiencing (Maxwell et al., 2004, Daly, 2008). It seemed to me that the call that Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988) made for increased qualitative research on female offenders' experiences in the criminal justice system was now needed for restorative justice.

In researching vulnerable and marginalised women I sought out methodologies which would empower them, so that the research, as McCold and Wachtel (2003:2) have advocated for RJ, was done "*with*" them rather than "*to*" them. In doing research '*with*' women, therefore, I wanted an interview setting and a form of analysis, which was respectful and empowering, and I wanted to as Crossley (2000: 39) has said, "to present individual (women's) experiences in a 'realistic' way which appreciates both their 'personal' idiosyncratic nature, and also their linguistic and discursive structuring."

As a social constructivist, I believed that any narrative produced in an interview setting would be "a joint production of the teller and the told" (Bruner, 1990: 123). Riessman (1993: 16, 65), for example, has described "research as a chorus of voices" where "narratives are laced with social discourses and power relations, which do not remain

constant over time...[meaning] there is no reason to assume that an individual's narrative will, or should be, entirely consistent from one setting to the next." From the beginning of the process I understood that I, too, would be within my narrators' accounts, and I, therefore, was prepared to engage with my own talk as well as that of the participants. However, since I was mostly interested in hearing from young women, I was particularly attracted to interview styles and analyses, which suggested participants women were "given a voice," which has been expressed as a specific feminist interest in restorative justice (Verrecchia, 2009: 86). Behind this dissertation also lay a profound belief in storytelling, which I carried with me from my previous studies in literature and language as well as my frequent moves between countries where I was asked to tell my life story over and over again.

Walter Benjamin (1999), in a powerful essay on the "death" of the storyteller, mourned the passing of oral literature in favour of written texts which separate the writer from the reader. Benjamin suggested that the movement towards writing threatened the immediacy and the power (hinted at by Bruner, 1990) that came from having a storyteller and a listener in the same room, or better yet in front of a collective audience (Benjamin, 1999, Bruner, 1990). For Benjamin, novels and newspapers signalled the end of a crucial tradition of community brought together because of and through storytelling (Benjamin, 1999).

My previous work, however, had convinced me that although the oral story has diminished in popularity as Benjamin (1999) predicted, the importance people placed in the oral story is still very much present, only rather than in a public house, storytelling, which people agreed was significant, now took place in different areas. Qualitative research, in a variety of disciplines, is, of course, one such location where the story a person has to tell is thought to be important. Narrative psychology and therapy is another (Crossley, 2000). And, of course, connected to this research is storytelling in both the community and criminal justice system through mediation and restorative justice, where true to Bruner's (1990: 50) view of storytelling having a "peacekeeping function," stories are told by individuals in a conflict in order to "resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future" (Marshall, 1996: 37).

The literature review described that restorative justice has become associated with “storytelling” (Umbreit, 1998a) and how some types of restorative justice (namely victim-offender mediation), go even further in deliberately shaping offender stories, with the help of a mediator, into ones that show remorse and accept responsibility (Bradshaw, 1998). As Bradshaw (1998: 16) suggests in the victim-offender training manual, such shaping is meant to move offenders away from the typical excuses that normally occur in their texts.

It is through storytelling that “transformation” in restorative justice is supposed to occur, although whether or not a transformation happens is a point of contention in the literature (see Daly, 2002: 66-67). As a practitioner of mediation, I had encountered a few transformations but for the most part I recognized that restorative justice was just a few hours in the lives of the young people I worked with. Once they left the room in our community centre or the school, they returned to their schools, families, and communities. While research shows us that some experiences can indeed act as turning points for young people who are criminally involved (Laub and Sampson, 1993, Sampson and Laub, 1996, Sampson et al., 2006), it is hard to evaluate whether restorative justice/storytelling alone can accomplish a turning point without taking into consideration other factors, as has been argued by Maxwell et al (2004) and Hoyle et al (2002).

In designing my research questions, I examined the general literature on young women offenders; research on restorative justice; and my practical experience. I emerged with questions concerning offending, identity, restorative justice, and community:

1. What do young women describe as major influences or turning points to offending?
2. How are offending identities described alongside other gendered identities?
3. What are young women’s experiences of restorative justice conferences?
4. How do young women see themselves in relation to their communities subsequent to restorative justice, and to what community, if any, do they “belong”?

One purpose of the research was to explore the life pathways of young women that brought them to offending and then perhaps out of offending, paying attention to risks they encountered and resources they had. Another purpose was also to closely examine

the way young women described they felt about the offences they had committed to see if their accounts after RJ were similar or dissimilar to ‘typical’ offender narratives, and finally to hear about young women’s experiences in restorative justice.

One of the constants of the research was my desire to use narratives to explore restorative justice. Since the point of restorative justice is for individuals to have the chance to talk about their experiences, thoughts, and feelings in full, and the effects of doing so is supposed to change the way offenders think about what they did, I needed a methodology that allowed the interviewees the time and space to explore their identities and life stories in relation to offending in a similar way that restorative justice (hopefully) had.

As I was making contacts for an interview sample and beginning to read about interview styles and schedules and analysis, I considered grounded theory and thematic analysis, but decided that since these types of analysis break stories down (Riessman, 1990: 1195), the whole life narrative would be lost and therefore a sense of narrative identity (McAdams, 1993) as well as a sense of the “‘world’ recreated by the narrator” (Riessman, 1990: 1195). I also noted what Crossley (2000: 39) has suggested is “important from a feminist perspective:” “they [participants] need to maintain an element of individuality, agency and autonomy, and not simply to ‘die’ into the fragmentary, disordered condition characterized by postmodern theorists.” Thus, even from an early planning stage, narrative analysis seemed to fit best with my research questions which had to do with identity, offending, restorative justice and the social “world” (Riessman, 1990) around them.

Sample and access

One of the major difficulties described in the literature was the lack of young women who had experienced restorative justice as offenders (Sherman et al., 2008). According to Sherman and colleagues (2008) this lack made investigating the research “surprises” such as restorative justice being more effective in lowering young women’s recidivism than young men’s (Hayes, 2005, Hayes and Daly, 2004, Maxwell et al., 2004, Rodriguez, 2007, Sherman and Strang, 2007) impossible.

The original plan was to conduct a qualitative study of circa twenty-five young female offenders' life stories, which would include their experiences in RJ and with offending. However, as was described in the quantitative methodology this changed with the offer of the administrative database, and the research evolved into a mixed-methods study, with the heart of the research being a narrative study of young women's stories. From building the database (described in further detail in Appendix 1), I was aware that there were 2,586 women who had committed offences.

In beginning to identify young women who met my research criteria, I, initially, identified young women between the ages of 18 and 25 who had experienced conferences (rather than street RJ) and had engaged in some type of against the person crime, which might be violence, theft, criminal damage or any other offence provided there was a clear victim. This was done to ensure that there was a victim present at a conference, which has been suggested as being the most beneficial form of RJ (Sherman and Strang, 2007).

The age parameters set for my research were in part determined by the Social Work and Psychology Ethics Committee, which preferred that I only interview young women over the age of eighteen. Since the quantitative findings showed that 62.1% of the offenders were between the ages of 10 and 16 while only 15.8% were between 17 and 24 (and of whom 315 were female), I was concerned about recruitment. However, since I was deliberately identifying young women from all years of the restorative justice scheme (beginning in 2007), I hoped I would be able to access young women who had offended and experienced RJ during their peak offending years. I ultimately decided that speaking with young women about their experiences in RJ after a few years of reflection would be useful for the research.

I considered the possibility that some of the younger participants might find storytelling difficult as Snow (2009), Snow and Sanger (2011), Snow and Powell (2011) and Holt and Pammet (March 2011) and Bryan et al (2007) have suggested. In part this is what interested me since they had already experienced restorative justice, which demanded they do a version of this. I did not intend to judge the young women on their storytelling abilities, but was simply open to hearing the kind of story they were prepared to tell. I also recognized that because of the sampling technique of asking women from various

years of the restorative justice scheme to be interviewed, they would be telling their life stories and narratives about restorative justice at different time spans. That is, one might have experienced RJ six months ago and the next participant four years ago, which Hayes (2005: 84) suggests should be the way the effectiveness of RJ (at least in terms of recidivism) is evaluated. In part this would allow for other life experiences to take place, other than RJ, which Maxwell et al (2004) have suggested is crucial to whether or not young people who have experienced RJ reoffend. However, this delay in asking for a life narrative, would, of course, change the type of narrative the young women had to tell beyond the passing of time. McAdams (1993), for example, has theorised that the end of the teenage years is the first time young people are prepared to think of their lives as a life story—and to look back upon it reflectively. Thus, I was prepared that I might be capturing young people at the cusp of beginning to think about the whole of their lives.

In sampling my participants, I carefully worked through the database, which, as described in Appendix 1, contained unique participant IDs and intervention IDs along with descriptions of the offence and both the current ages of participants as well as the ages of participants at the time of RJ, both of which I had calculated. I created a list of twelve to twenty participant IDs at a time, which I then e-mailed to my contact in the constabulary starting in July 2012.

Recruiting

After nearly a month and a half of delays, a female civilian who worked for the constabulary was tasked with recruiting on my behalf. She began calling participants in September 2012, which was the constabulary's preferred method of contacting participants. Although I was not privy to the conversations she had with potential participants, I had provided the constabulary with a leaflet explaining my research (see Appendix 2), which I asked them to use and to share with those recruiting on my behalf. The leaflet described the research, some details about myself, and that participants would receive £20 as a thank you for their time. This civilian was to explain the research to them and request their permission to share their phone number with me so I could provide them with more details.

One of the problems which quickly arose was that mobile numbers from 2007 were no longer still active in 2012 and many times landline phone numbers were not listed in the database. At times, no phone numbers were available at all. If there was a phone number available, the constabulary employee called and left a voice mail explaining the reason for the call and requesting a call back. After three months of low response rate, I opened up my criteria to involve any young woman between 18 and 25 who had taken part in either street RJ or conferences (rather than just conferences). When this also returned low numbers, I expanded the age criteria up to 30 years of age.

Once the civilian administrator had received permission for me to contact the participants, I called them to introduce myself and describe my research. The young women I spoke to had various degrees of understanding about what the research was about. One person believed she had to pay to take part of the interview. I explained that they had been contacted because they had taken part of restorative justice but that my research was also about young women's experiences with the police, getting into trouble, and about their lives in general. The interview was presented as an opportunity for them to talk about their lives and what was important to them and would lead to the recommendations to the police of how to improve services and interventions for young women. I explained that while the police had contacted them for me, I did not work for the police and would change their names so that their stories would be anonymous. Two women declined to take part in the research after I had spoken to them.

By January 2013, I had only interviewed four participants. Although the administrator at the constabulary was calling at every opportunity she had, she only worked twice a week and this work was only one small part of the rest of her duties, which took precedence. She and I decided that since the response rate had been so low, the next step would be to send letters out to the participants (see Appendix 3). The letter I drafted tried to frame my research in a fresh way that might connect to young people, feel less academic, and clarify that I wanted to hear about young women's lives outside of offending as well.

Not surprisingly, the same problem that existed with phone numbers also existed with addresses. Many young women no longer lived at the same address in their twenties as

they did in their teens. By June 2013, 168 women had been contacted for interviews via phone or letter, sometimes both. I had contact via phone calls, text messages, or e-mail with sixteen young women from that pool of 168. Three changed their minds about taking part. One young woman called me to refuse, and in the end, 12 were successfully interviewed—around 7% of those invited. In sum, using the police to recruit on my behalf was difficult for the reasons described above and because many young women who had offended were suspicious of the police calling them to recruit for interviews.

The young women did not believe there was a distinction between the police and myself, regardless of what I said. When I began speaking to the women, many said they did not trust or like the police and did not want to help them. Having the police reach out to them first was sometimes a shock, especially after some time of not offending, as described by this participant, *“Like when I received the call to speak to you. As soon as I heard _____ constabulary I thought, what, I’ve done absolutely nothing wrong, what do you want from me?”* The young women associated a call from the police as a sign of trouble and, therefore, immediately felt suspicious or nervous. One participant described receiving her letter (which was forwarded to her from her father) as a ‘shock’ since this had all happened so long ago, *“This happened years ago. I was shocked when I got the letter.”* Another young woman said her experience in RJ had been so terrible she in no way wanted to relive it by talking to me.

Despite my conversations with the young women on the phone, some did not understand how much information about them I had received from the police beforehand. This distrust of the police and concern about how much access I had had to their records appeared throughout the interviews, as illustrated by the following participant:

Interviewee: Before with the police. Oh I was in so much trouble all the time. Like obviously I don’t know what they’re said or showed you my record or give you a bit of information.

Birgit: I don’t have any information other than what you tell me, so...

Interviewee: Oh (laughter).

Birgit: That’s how I choose to keep it. That way you can share whatever you want with me and I hear it from you.

Interviewee: (Laughter). Well with the police. I don't like. We don't get on.

I found that participants had to be reassured that I had not read a substantial file on their past behaviour before they felt comfortable speaking to me. In truth, I had not received much information on participants prior to the interviews. Although I selected participants due to their ages and knew the police version of their offences (in the form of one to five sentences), by the time the letters had been sent out and participants responded to me, I had no way of knowing who was who or for what offence they were referred.

The young women were protective towards their records and felt shame and fear at the thought that anyone could view them, as illustrated in this participant's use of the word 'die' to describe her feelings. Once they had participated, however, many participants described feeling empowered about allowing to share their opinions.

Interviewee: Do you know what? It was really good to talk about things like. Because I don't. I was saying to my mum I was quite glad that the woman and you actually contacted me because at first I couldn't really understand what she meant when she. I thought, well, what was this about then? I thought she just gave my name and showed someone my record or something, and I thought, no, die...

Birgit: No...

Interviewee: But then when I spoke to you about it, I was, like, oh, yeah, because I obviously say what I think and things like that because I always like saying my thing. I like to share my opinion (laughs), but, yeah, it's been good. I've really enjoyed it.

The greatest response I received was from the first batch of letters that were sent on my behalf by the police (nearly half the sample). Although the police sent these letters out, they had failed to include an accompanying letter saying so. Since the letters were sent in plain envelopes, there was no indication that the letter was being sent by the police. Although one person was distraught at receiving such an unsolicited letter and chose not to take part, the fairly high response rate by others who were recruited and interviewed through this letter indicated that other participants might have come forward had I not recruited through the police.

The Narrative Interview

Although there is no one agreed upon way to conduct a narrative interview, some suggest they should be conducted with the interviewers asking the participant to tell their life story with few other contributions (such as part of the Biographic Narrative Interview Method as described by Wengraf (2001; 2006)). Others, such as McAdams' (1993) approach combines unusual questions such as having participants think about their lives as a book, coming up with titles and narratives for each chapter in their life with further questions about 'high' and 'low' points in life, future plans, and so on (McAdams, 1993, Crossley, 2000). Finally, some suggest that the presence of the interviewer will always affect the participant's life story (Bruner, 1990) and simply advise the analyst to consider the interviewer's contribution as part of the narrative (Riessman, 1993), coming prepared with "5 to 7 broad question about the topic of inquiry, supplemented by probe questions in case the respondent has trouble getting started" (Reissman, 1993: 55). Of these approaches, two (McAdams, 1993 and Wengraf, 2001, 2006) offer the closest that exists in terms of a 'manual' or guideline in how to both interview and analyse narratives. Perhaps for this reason, McAdams' approaches in interviewing have become popular in a variety of fields such as criminology (Maruna, 2001) and psychology (Crossley, 2000). Mischler (1995), for example, suggests that McAdams' style of interview is especially appropriate for large samples of participants where life stories are intended to be compared and analysed together; "Imposing a telling on the told," or "standardiz(ing) the format for eliciting accounts" may allow for a more straightforward analysis (Mischler, 1995: 99).

While I was drawn to different aspects of these interviews, I was aware that several aspects of the recruitment and the setting might make it difficult for young women to tell their stories. The first had to do with the unnatural setting of an interview. Other than interviews for employment and perhaps a police interview about their offence(s), it was likely they had never experienced this kind of interview. This might lead to feelings of shyness, which would affect the ease with which they told stories. I was also aware that recruitment had occurred through the police had raised some powerful emotions in potential participants—including fears that the police had shared private information, or that I would—which might produce guardedness in terms of what they could or should talk about. For these reasons, I decided against interviews which would

have me sit back and ask participants to do all the storytelling work. I also strayed away from questions I thought were a bit clunky. Asking participants to imagine their life was a book, for example, (McAdams, 1993) might certainly encourage participants to think about their lives as “literature” (Freeman, 2000, Freeman, 2004), ensuring that their narratives would deliberately contain a sense of dramatic tone, imagery, and metaphor (McAdams, 1993). However, more ‘naturally’ told stories in interviews have been seen to contain these elements as well (see Gergen and Gergen, 1983) but perhaps in a less self-conscious manner. I also was not sure how much young women, of the technology era, would identify with crafting their life stories as a novel.

As for the Biographical Narrative Interview Method (Wengraf, 2001, Wengraf, 2006), I had the sense that given the difficulty of recruiting, getting young people to agree to three separate interviews with the same person would likely not be possible. What I took from the BNIM approach, however, was a kind of modified version of the first and second interviews. I was committed to having space for the young to say what they wanted to and how they wanted to beginning with an introductory question that would simply encourage them to speak. I embedded the second stage—researcher’s follow-up questions—into the first section. Thus, the participants would be encouraged to speak about whatever they wanted to, and when there were lulls in the conversation, I would ask a follow-up question to what they had just spoken about. The only exceptions to this follow-up strategy was that if the participants did not spontaneously bring up offending or restorative justice, I would. I also concluded the interview with some questions to leave them feeling empowered such as, “What advice would you give to the police when they work with young women?”

In preparation for the interviews, I constructed a fairly detailed interview schedule that asked open ended question about various stages and events, which the literature suggested were important in young women offenders’ lives and which borrowed from the interview styles discussed above. These included who took care of them as children; who they turned to when they were sad or happy; what school was like; if they had a best friend; what they did after school; and so on. This produced an interview schedule of many questions. Since I was not about to go into a narrative interview armed with so much of my own talk, I narrowed this list down to five question categories, which included childhood, school, adolescence, friends and dating, mental health, work,

getting into trouble, important relationships, current lives, and future plans (see Appendix 4). Both versions of the schedule have obvious influences from McAdams' (1993) and various restorative justice theory (Wachtel et al, 2010, for example). I brought a handwritten sheet of these questions with me and kept them by my side during interviews. I was, however, prepared to not use them at all, or to talk about things I had not considered but that the interviewees felt were important.

Scheduling an interview time that worked for participants was often difficult. I always called or texted participants the evening before to make sure the date and time we agreed on still worked. Several participants needed to change the arranged time either the night before or on the day we were scheduled to meet. Work and/or child care were the most common reasons why participants had to reschedule.

In order to create the most comfortable interview space I could, I asked participants to choose where they wanted to be interviewed. The only caveat I had was that the place should be somewhere they would feel comfortable talking about themselves in an open way. As a result, I mostly interviewed the participants in their own homes or a relative's home at a day and time that worked for them. I also interviewed two participants at coffee shops of their choosing, and I interviewed one participant at the university. They greeted me somewhat nervously, and we made small-talk for several minutes, reducing some of the awkwardness. Most of the participants I interviewed at home offered me tea or water to drink, and the interviews either took place in the living/dining room or kitchen. Often participants requested having the TV on in the background. One participant's lights had gone out so we conducted our interview in the dark with the TV in the background. I always re-explained the research to them and went through the consent forms before I began recording. If the interview took place away from their homes, such as in a coffee shop, I made sure to pick a table that was some distance away from others and made sure they were comfortable with where we were sitting.

Every interview was shaped differently, and I let the participants create the structure of their interviews. Most ranged from one hour to one and a half hours. After the first interview, where the participant told me she had assumed the police had shared her whole file with me, I made sure to open with the same statement, which sounded something like this: "I haven't been told anything about you, so could you tell me about

your life?” I found that variations on this question sometimes emerged, depending on my own tiredness or anxiety. Sometimes it came out, “Could you tell me a little bit about your life?” which produced a shorter narrative, more of a summary of some details about participants’ lives, which nonetheless were interesting to compare in terms of what they emphasised. Sometimes this opening question produced further questions from the participants like, “What do you mean? Now?” to which I responded they could tell me anything they wanted to and begin anywhere they wanted.

I was also prepared that asking these young women to talk about their lives might bring up some raw emotions. I had thought about what to do if they became distressed—offer to take a break or to talk about something else—and I was prepared to refer them for help should they want it. While some of the young women became upset at various stages of the interview, all wanted to continue the interview, and at the end most said they had enjoyed our interview. The last question I always asked was, “How did this interview make you feel?” which gave them an opportunity to talk through their feelings and give me feedback. It also let me know if I should offer them referrals. I offered to refer one young woman to support services for her mental health needs but she declined. I then checked to see what support she had at home, and she assured me that she and her mother spoke about her depression and that her mother had been pushing her to go to her GP.

Since I was approaching the research with a social constructivist perspective, I was planning on “interrogat[ing] how talk among speakers is interactively (dialogically) produced and performed as narrative” (Reissman, 2008: 105). In order to keep track of my “subtle but steady pressure” (Bruner, 1990: 59), I kept an interview diary where I recorded my interactions with participants over text messages, phone, and e-mail. After I left an interview, I typed my thoughts about how it went, my impressions of the participant and the environment, and of how I had felt throughout. These notes helped me understand how I shaped individual interviews both consciously and unconsciously and how each environment, in turn, shaped me and my interview style.

Although I would share the gender of my participants, I, at the age of thirty-one, was several years—sometimes more than a decade—older than my participants. We did not share a cultural background, although one participant was foreign born as I was, with

the rest being local to the area or having moved locally when young. Although I have a very traditional Swedish name, which many people have trouble identifying as female, my accent is American due to my years there. In order not to complicate things, my letter to the participants only presented myself as having worked in New York. I came to each interview casually dressed in jeans and a sweater with no jewellery so that I would never be more dressed up than the participants.

Even though I had not told them much about myself, my background sometimes became a curiosity to the participants. One young woman, for example, who had been born and raised locally and was very connected to her family—her whole interview emphasised that she was a young woman who loved staying at home—suggested toward the end of the interview that she might also choose to one day live abroad, perhaps even in New York.

Interviewee: I'd like to travel as well. America. I've been to New York once, and it's amazing. The lifestyle is just so different. I love being abroad and living their lifestyle, and I'd like to sort of work abroad eventually.

Her comment surprised me since the rest of her narrative did not fit in with this discourse. However, by saying this, it seemed that she was trying to identify something that she and I had in common, as Phoenix (2013) and Bamberg (2006) have suggested participants often do.

At other moments, I noticed that *I* brought myself up deliberately in order to affect the interview and encourage more open talk. In the following example, I attempt to place the participant as the role of expert—in contrast to my inexperience with the area—while also suggesting that my past work with young people in trouble might mean that I am ‘on her side.’

Birgit: You said. You said that you made up for those teenager years and got into a little bit of trouble. [yeah]. I'd love to hear a little bit about that, and again you can tell me as much or as little as you want, but I'm really interested in the idea of young women getting into trouble here because I know a little bit about the New York context but I know nothing here.

Although I was prepared for these sorts of moments—of either the participants inserting me into their story, or as in the second, me inserting myself—I was less prepared for the presence of other participants in the interview. On the phone I had been focused on asking the participants to find a space where they could speak freely. In my mind, I assumed this to mean a space without other people. Several participants, however, either turned up with other participants or had other people already present when I arrived.

One participant whom I met at a coffee shop, for example, brought a friend who sat at the next table and wore headphones. Another woman who chose to be interviewed at a relative's house sat with me in the kitchen while her relatives sat in the TV room. When she let me into the house, she did not introduce them or me. I was more than comfortable with these sorts of silent but present others since it seemed to make the participant more comfortable, and we could still speak freely. The friend in the coffee shop, for example, allowed for an even greater distance between our table and other customers. Other times, however, there was less physical distance between us (me and the participant) and family members. Young children, for example, under the age of three were always present in the room with their mothers and me, but sometimes partners or the parents of the young women were as well.

‘We’ negotiated the arrival and/or presence of such participants in different ways. One participant’s mother entered the same room where we were having our interview approximately 20 minutes after she came home from work and began to watch TV. I had just asked the participant a question about what she thought about restorative justice as a response to the type of conflict she’d had when the participant, instead of answering me, asked her mother to leave:

Interviewee: Mum, can you not sit in this room. Because it’s really like.

Mum: Oh I’m sorry, (laughter.)

Interviewee: I can’t help it. I can’t...

Mum: Oh alright, (laughter.)

Interviewee (to Birgit): Sorry, do I what? Sorry.

On that occasion, the participant felt unable to answer the question fully with an audience so she asked her mother to leave. On other occasions, however, several young women actively brought in other participants to our conversations. This occurred often with participants answering phone calls in the middle of our conversation. Rather than interpreting them as interruptions, however, these appearances of others demonstrated to me what participants' expectations of the interview might have been prior to my arrival—as the following example does—and showed me that far from a private conversation, the interview was often something multiple persons other than myself and the participants had become aware of and felt they had a stake in:

Interviewee: I don't really like drink that much. When I was like. I can't remember like 15 or something like that. My phone's going off. Why's my phone. Who is it? Do you mind if I take this call? Hello, yeah and you? I'm having my interview right now. I'm being recorded on the phone to you babe (laughs) yeah. Boy. He said do I get paid for that then?

Birgit: No (laughter)

Interviewee: Your voice isn't on the recorder. Yeah I know but she's only got a voice recorder.

When family members were present in the next room, their contributions were sometimes harder to control than hanging up the phone. One young woman's partner was watching their two children in the living room as the participant and I sat in the kitchen. As there was no door between the two rooms, the children from time to time ran through and asked for their mother. At one point, however, the young woman's partner asked her to clarify what she was speaking about.

Birgit: What was like that? Getting caught by the police when you were 12?

Interviewee: Not very good. I was scared. Very scared. I was upset. Actually I was more worried about what my dad was going to do to me than I was the actual police and that. I weren't really bothered by what they was going to do to me. I was worried what he was going to do to me.

Partner: What?

Interviewee: Being in trouble.

The participant answered his question in this brief fashion, not offering much clarification, and then waited for me to ask another question while her partner continued

to look after the kids. This kind of interaction repeated itself at another points in the interview. For the two of them, the brief interactions during the interview seemed normal, and the participant did not seem to mind. I noticed that for myself, however, their interaction restricted the kinds of follow-up questions I would have asked. For example, even though she mentioned her partner throughout the interview, I did not feel comfortable asking her to tell me more about him or their relationship, which I would have normally done with any participant telling me about a partner. I also did not know why the participant's partner interrupted when he did. I wondered if his interruptions correlated with occasions he thought she might be talking about him, which made me further hesitate to bring certain topics up.

Transcription

I transcribed all of the interviews myself in part because the data protection agreement I had with the police limited the number of people who were allowed to come in contact with the data to myself and my supervisors. Since criminal records—even informal ones—are sensitive and possibly damaging to the reputations of the young people involved, I wanted to make sure no unnecessary people came into contact with their voices and names.

Riessman (1993: 12) has suggested that narrative researchers must make choices, “about how detailed transcriptions should be....should they include silences, false starts, emphases, nonlexicals like, ‘uhm,’ discourse markers like ‘y’know’ or ‘so,’ overlapping speech, and other signs of listener participation in the narrative?” My approach was to capture everything as best I could as in Riessman’s (1993: 56) approach, which included interviewer mistakes—such as asking clumsy questions or accidentally interrupting participants.

Analysis

One of the first discussions one encounters in the literature about narratives is what one is. The answers sometimes have to do with the function narratives serve, which range from the personal to the interpersonal to the communal. Narratives have been said to “play the central role in human sense making” (Gee, 1991: 22) through “linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understanding composite” (Polkinghorne, 1988: 13). When this “composite” deals with the entirety of

the experiences of the teller, such a personal narrative “provides...life with unity or purpose in order to articulate a meaningful niche in the psychosocial world” (McAdams, 1993:5). Narratives are used to explain and normalize conflicts (Bruner, 1990). Narratives, however, also have a more light-hearted or every day function: they are used to “entertain” (Cortazzi, 1994: 162) or teach, delivering “something useful...a moral...some practical advice...a proverb or making...the story teller is a man who has counsel for his readers” (Benjamin, 1999: 86).

Others, however, in paving the way for analysis, have pointed not to what a narrative *does* but focus on the parts a story must have. Stories, according to Sarbin (2004:6) must have “duration—a beginning, a middle, and an ending.” Within this structure, something needs to occur in order to move the story forward; that is, a story needs a plot (Bruner, 1990), and, of course, a sense of time (Sarbin, 2004, Cortazzi, 1994, Clandinin and Connelly, 2000).

Although what elements are needed to build a story and a story’s overall purpose do not seem to be contradictory, analysis of interview narratives are sometimes said to either be “experience-oriented,” “event-centred,” or as ““social, co-constructed” (Squire, 2013: 33, Squire et al, 2013:5, 6). Sometimes this difference is framed as “person-centred” versus “culturally-oriented approaches” (Loots et al, 2013: 108-109). Many analytical possibilities exist, each with methodological implications, and other than the exception of perhaps the BNIM as described by Wengraf (2001; 2006) and potentially McAdams’ (1993) methods (also analysed by (Crossley, 2000), there is no clear manual of how to move from interview to analysis.

One form of narrative analysis focuses on the structure of narratives. Labov and Waletzy (1967), for example, suggested that narratives must have elements in order to qualify as one (Mishler, 1995). This, of course, restricts what can be analysed with possibly very few ‘real’ narratives appearing within an interview even though there is a lot of talk (Patterson, 2013). In recent years, there have been movements away from Labov’s rigid criteria to ones that view “everything as a narrative” (Squire, 2013: 48) because as Patterson (2013: 43) has put it, “it makes no sense to treat the complexity and subtlety of the narration of experience as though it *should* have an orderly, complete structure by reducing it to the one type of text that conforms to the paradigmatic model.”

Literature has continued to be crucial to the development of narrative theory in a variety of disciplines. Propp's (1968) work on Russian folktales, for example, demonstrated that fewer plots exist than one would expect. Similarly, scholars from disciplines outside literature pointed to certain story structures and genres repeating themselves. Gergen and Gergen (1983: 258) have analysed narratives as being either "progressive," "regressive," or "stable." They then drew comparison between these structures and genres from literature, determining, for example, that a regressive narrative, where things suddenly go sour, fell into the tragedy genre. A life narrative, according to Gergen to Gergen, would not, for the most part, fit neatly fit into these progressive, regressive, or stability narratives and would likely be composed of a few upward or downward twists; however, the overall sense an individual has of his/her life will fall into one of three patterns (Gergen and Gergen, 1983).

The search for narrative genres frequently emerges in narrative analysis. McAdams' (1993: 47), for example, suggests that analysts listen to narrators' tone as well as the metaphors they use which in turn reflect to an analyst whether they see their life as a tragedy, romance, comedy, or satire. McAdams continues with attention to literature/myth by hunting for "imagoes," which he defines as "personified and idealized concept(s) of the self" who are constructed based on their most desired needs—either a draw towards independence, "agency," or interconnectedness "communion" (McAdams, 1993: 122, 123; McAdams, 1988). His list of "imagoes" with a high sense of agency include "warriors" and "travellers;" those who are more concerned with establishing close relationships to others might be "caregivers" or "friends;" and finally individuals with neither close relationships nor independence might be "survivors" or "escapists" (McAdams, 1993: 123). A McAdams analysis would, therefore, pay attention to literary techniques such as metaphor, imagery, and symbols, tone—and from tone, literary genre. It would also look at the type of struggles the narrator imagines herself/himself in as to being concerned with either "agency" or "communion," and from there what of character the narrator imagines herself to be, which at times involves "two conflicting imagoes arranged as narrative thesis and antithesis" (McAdams, 1988:27). Crossley (2000: 89-101) maps out McAdams process for ease in six separate steps.

Freeman (2004: 63) took a similar perspective as McAdams to the analysis of interview data by looking at “life...as a kind of *literature*,” searching for metaphors, imagery and other literary techniques. An advocate of “big stories” (Freeman, 2006; see also discussion by Phoenix, 2013), Freeman, like McAdams (1988; 1993), attempts to capture his narrator’s whole life story and then sometimes situates it in other narrative discourses/genres/identities such as the tortured/struggling artist (Freeman, 2000; Freeman, 2004: 71). Freeman’s method of analysis—of texts as “big gulps of text—entire stories” (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004: 2), however, has been criticised by Bamberg (2006), not for its literary analysis, but for its neglect of “small stories,” defined by Bamberg (2006: 139) as “the contexts in which narratives take place, what they consist of, their performance.” With a focus on the large pattern, an analyst might miss out on discourse which, according to Bamberg, gives equally good access to the way an individual thinks about the world, as well as the specific place and time the story is being told. “Big stories” according to Bamberg (2006) do not, for example, focus on the developing relationship and exchanges between the interviewer and interviewee, but rather just on the life story the interviewee presents as though the other details do not matter (see also Phoenix, 2013). According to Freeman, however, asking participants to reflect on themselves and their life means encouraging them to take time to do what is ultimately necessary but which most people do not give themselves the opportunity to do until possibly a much later stage in life (Freeman, 2006: 136, 137). McAdams (1993: 253) expresses something similar when he says, “although its intended function is to gather data on lives, our life-story interview may also serve to help people *identify* the personal myth that they have been *living* all along. Such identification may help in the process of *changing* the myth should the person feel that change is required.”

Should one follow the BNI method as described by Wengraf (2000: 117, 2001:236; 2006), analysis would take the form of the “lived life,” which is a short factual account of the life story as told in the interview, followed by the “told story,” which is a more in-depth analysed narrative, which pays attention to the “structure and the modality of the narrative account, the significance of the way the story is told.” While the BNIM does not directly suggest using literary techniques, reading a write-up of a BNIM interview feels very similar to reading one analysed by a recommendation that the interview is treated like “literature” (Freeman, 2004). Wengraf’s (2000: 118, 122)

analysis of two miners accounts after having lost their work, for example, compares one of the accounts to a “*bildungsroman*” and the other to a “sociotechnical love story” and focuses on major and minor themes. Wengraf associates them with genres that are recognizable both in culture and in fiction. The main apparent difference is the attention to the shorter, more factual “lived life,” which is presented before the in depth analysed story.

Even Gee’s (1991: 9) approach could be said to be influenced by literature—or rather poetry with its categorization of interview data into “lines” and “stanzas.” However, Gee’s (1991) approach like McAdams’ (1988, 1993), Freeman’s (2000, 2004, 2006) and Wengraf’s (2000, 2001, 2006) all edit out the contributions of the researcher (Emerson and Frosh, 2009, Riessman, 1993). That the narratives have been told to someone is sometimes clear from certain approaches such as the following from BNIM interview and analysis: “When asked about experiences at work, Donald told a story” (Wengraf, 2000: 119). However, sometimes this is more subtly woven into the text such as in the following text by Freeman (2000: 85), “Commenting again on those people in his home town who do the ‘pretty little watercolours’ he had referred to earlier...” In the first example, the presence of someone who helps shape the narrative through specific questions is evident, while the second example suggests a speaker and a listener, but the contributions of the listener are not clear, nor is the place where this dialogue is taking place.

With the increasing focus on an interview transcript as co-produced by interviewee and interviewer (Riessman, 2008: 31-32) and the need to be reflexive in an interview setting (Riessman, 2008: 137, 191), narrative analysis has moved toward including the interviewer’s comments alongside the interviewee’s—through what was earlier mentioned as “culturally-oriented approaches” (Loots et al, 2013); or what Bamberg (2006) defines as the “small story.” This sometimes has occurred through an insertion of the interviewer’s commentary and questions into methods that have previously excluded them such as Emerson and Frosh’s (2009) use of Gee’s methodology to analyse narratives told by young sex offenders. Generally, these approaches pay attention to language on the line level as well as the way the story is told and to whom (Phoenix, 2013, Bamberg, 2006). Both Bamberg (2006) and Phoenix (2013: 73) have suggested that analysing “small stories” does not mean one loses a sense of the whole.

For example, Phoenix's (2013: 81) analysis of an interview with a mother of mixed-race children presents the interviewee in literary terms when she describes her as a "hero of her account" and when Phoenix considers how the interviewee presents herself across several episodes in the interview, much like Freeman (2006; 2004; 2000), Wengraf (2000), and McAdams' (1993) analyses might do. Phoenix (2013), however, *also* analyses how the interviewee constructs a story about herself and her experiences with racism that might fit with those she might expect the interviewer to have had. In Phoenix's words, "narrators actively set up their entitlement to talk by warranting themselves through particular kinds of experience and positioning themselves in specific ways, which include anticipation of what they assume the interviewer wants to hear or will approve" (Phoenix, 2013: 82).

A mixture of these "big story" and "small story" approaches can be seen in "narrative criminology," a term coined by Presser (2009). Presser (2009: 178) suggests that narrative criminology "positions narrative itself, as opposed simply to the events reported in the narrative, as a factor in the motivation for and accomplishment of crime and criminalization." As Presser (2009) demonstrates, using narratives in criminology is, of course, not new. She mentions Sykes and Matza (1957) who proposed that offenders used certain narrative techniques to explain away their offending (Presser, 2009, Sykes and Matza, 1957). However, there have been suggestions in recent years that some offenders, particularly young offenders, have trouble with storytelling for a variety of reasons, which perhaps means that they are better suited to heavily structured, survey type methodologies (Holt and Pammet, March 2011).

While these doubts and concerns about collecting narratives/getting young offenders to tell their stories are ongoing, there is, in contrast, increasing enthusiasm for collecting and analysing narratives for adult offenders. Maruna (2001), utilising McAdams' (1993) interview schedule and analytic techniques, examined the narratives of 65 male and female offenders in Liverpool, UK categorizing them according to "desistance" and "persistence" narratives. Maruna's findings revealed that desisting offenders shared a particular narrative genre—a "redemption script"—to explain their offending and their decision to stop offending, while persisters, in turn, had their own "condemnation scripts." According to Maruna (2001: 87):

“the redemption script begins by establishing the goodness and conventionality of the narrator—a victim of society who gets involved with crime and drugs to achieve some sort of power over otherwise bleak circumstances. This deviance eventually becomes its own trap, however, as the narrator becomes ensnared in the vicious cycle of crime and imprisonment. Yet, with the help of some outside force, someone who ‘believed in’ the ex-offender, the narrator is able to accomplish what he or she was ‘always meant to do.’ Newly empowered, he or she now also seeks to ‘give something back’ to society as a display of gratitude” (Maruna, 2001: 87)

Through “making good” of their past antisocial lives, desisters identified their histories as necessary precursors to the lives they were now living (Maruna, 2001: 87). Having established a sense of themselves in the present as good people, they looked to their pasts for evidence of this. They found such evidence in various ways; some compared themselves favourable to their antisocial peers and suggested they were not as bad. Others suggested that they had always had something good about them—“the real me”—which they were now again turning to (Maruna, 2001: 88) or that they offended for good reason, ie, “a heroic underdog who only did what needed to be done to help family and friends” (Maruna, 2001: 90). Although Maruna’s work captures some of the “big story” in its attention to how the individual sees himself and creates a narrative and an identity from his life experiences, Maruna also pays attention to “small stories” by analysing particular elements of language—from changing pronouns to the use of the past and present tense—that sometimes contradicts the overall coherent life story.

Presser (2002; 2004) in her doctoral work, focused on the narratives of violent male offenders. Her analytic technique was based on grouping them into narrative genres that described how the men made sense of their offending and what kind of a person they saw themselves as being, given these past offences. Presser’s genres included “return” narratives where men believed they had made a wrong turn in life but had now reverted back to who they were (which Presser identified were similar to Maruna’s (2001) desistance narratives); “stability” narratives where protagonists saw themselves as constantly good, even though they had committed violent crimes; and finally, “elastic” narratives where the interviewed men moved between these other two narrative genres in their discourses.

Presser, however, then went beyond these “big stories” (Phoenix, 2013; Freeman, 2006; Bamberg, 2006) by focusing on the relationship between interviewer and interviewee and analysed the interview as a chance for men to describe themselves “as a certain moral character...as someone who helps other people” (Presser, 2004: 93, 94). Under the term “narrative criminology” (Presser, 2009), Presser (2012) and Sandberg (2013) each further contributed to the field with analyses of male murderers, using both “big” and “small” story techniques. Sandberg (2013: 80, 79) in particular contributed to ideas of my own analysis by demonstrating how offenders’ “self-narratives and identities are fragmented” even though “many narrators manage to give the listener the impression of a unified self-narrative, perhaps because a unified narrative is expected and thus readily perceived.”

In analysing the narratives of twelve young women who had offended, I was interested in both “big” and “small” stories just as Presser (2002; 2004; 2012) and Sandberg (2013) had done, in part because I wanted to do the material justice and because I was curious as to what these different approaches within narrative theory would reveal. In beginning with “big story” approaches, however, I had some concerns. The approaches used by Freeman (2000, 2004), McAdams (1993), and Wengraf (2000) are very detailed examinations of one person’s life. Given that the young women I interviewed had either official and/or unofficial records with the police that their employers and some family and friends might not know about, I was adamant about keeping their identities confidential. As I moved into “big story” analysis, therefore, I was not only unsure how to proceed given the lack of direction in the field but also how I should amend the approach in order to capture a whole life and the crucial episodes which made it up but without revealing too much.

I had several starts and stops in analysing the data. Since confidentiality was on my mind, I began looking at Maruna’s (2001) model for inspiration. His analysis of 65 interviews was made within two groups of narratives—“persisters” and “desisters”—but within those groups only short sections of text were quoted, along with a participant’s age. The analysis always referred back to a larger group of participants, with quotes used for illustrative purposes. I attempted an analysis following this pattern, beginning with writing about childhoods filled with abuse and neglect, then childhood

bullying, excessive alcohol consumption, group offending, conflicts between girls, especially having to do with facebook, and other major themes, which fit with the ‘normal’ criminological story. The problem was, however, that even though many of these narratives fit these patterns, half did not. For every young woman who came from a background with risk factors, there was a young woman who came from a background with no risk factors. Although I was writing about an overall narrative pattern that ‘fit’ in with the narratives I was seeing within “narrative criminology” (Presser, 2009), I was not capturing all the narrative pathways, and I was focusing on offending narratives, which, in turn, neglected other types of stories which were being told.

I went back to the literature and examined how Crossley (2000) had moved beyond McAdams’ (1993) initial narratives to groups of narratives. In her analysis of narratives told by HIV positive men, for example, Crossley grouped them according to how they perceived time. Some of her interviewee’s lived in the “present,” while others lived in the “future,” and a third group were in the “empty present.” (Crossley, 2000: 143, 147, 149). Crossley (2000:143, 147, 149) called these narratives, “conversion/growth”, “normalizing,” and “loss” stories which seem to be variations on Gergen and Gergen’s (1983) “progressive”, “stability”, and “regressive” narratives. Presser (2002; 2004), similarly found that her male participants fell into three narratives genres, at least one of which was identical to one of Gergen and Gergen’s (1983) three narrative groups (“stability”).

Before I could discuss the narratives as a group and thereby protect my participants’ confidentiality, I needed to get to know my narratives and see what type of genres they fit into. I began with a first layer of analysis where I followed Mishler’s (1995: 95) description of “reconstructing the told from the telling.” Choosing one of the young women’s narratives, I slowly rewrote it from beginning to the present. While doing so, I paid attention to suggestions offered by McAdams (1993), Crossley (2000), and Wengraf (2001; 2006). I focused on creating a “lived life” chronology (Wengraf, 2001; 2006), locating crucial details, ages, and life stages. I, however, did not keep this section brief as Wengraf (2001; 2006) suggests, but simultaneously looked for metaphors, imagery, narrative tone (McAdams, 1993), “recurrent themes” (Phoenix, 2013:76), and narrative genres (Gergen and Gergen, 1983, Crossley, 2000, McAdams, 1993, Maruna, 2001, Presser, 2002, Presser, 2004). The result was a very detailed portrait told in

chronological way that had notes about themes, repetitions, and every episode and life stage mentioned during the interview. I then did as Squire (2013) has suggested, going “back and forth between the interviews themselves and generalizations about them in a classic ‘hermeneutic circle’, using a combination of top-down and bottom-up interpretive procedures” (Squire, 2013: 57). During supervision meetings, my supervisor and I, in turn, had discussions about this analysis.

After working with several narratives in this way, I began to see narrative genres and similarities between interviews which I had initially thought were not that closely connected. Several of the young women, for example, spoke about changing themselves deliberately in their childhoods from victims to fighters. They believed themselves to be highly agentic and had experienced shifts from victim identities to fighter identities. I thought about calling these narratives “transformation” narratives. Another group of women had also experienced shifts, but these tended to be from victim identities to survivor identities. I thought about calling those narratives “survival” narratives, while the third group had not experienced major changes in their lives and argued they had remained the same. For a while these narratives were therefore called talked “continuity” narratives. These groupings were similar to Presser’s (2002, 2004) approach. However, I was still slightly troubled by these groupings until I realized that more than types of narratives, I had slotted the young women into identity types as suggested by McAdams (1983). The first group, for example, were “fighters.” The second group were “survivors,” and the third group were “good girls.” In order to illustrate these identity types, and preserve anonymity, I created a narrative out of multiple young women’s voices to introduce each identity type, in a similar fashion to Maruna’s (2001) analysis. I then presented one carefully chosen life story to illustrate in greater detail. In order to preserve confidentiality here, I altered some details as suggested by Squire (2013: 58).

Once the life narrative/identity section was complete, I turned my attention to other material in the interviews. Although these narratives are narratives by young women who have offended and therefore fit in with “narrative criminology” (Presser, 2009), they were low-level or sometimes one-time offenders, which meant that their life stories were about more than offending. While the first type of analysis reflected these various stories, I was curious to closely examine the stories the young women told about

offending. I went through each interview and excerpted all short and long narratives the young women discussed. For some who had been in trouble with the police often these amounted to numerous stories, while for others this might only have been one. I ended up with twelve excerpts of various lengths. Because I was aware of some gaps in the life history approach, including close analysis of discourse and how the interviewer helped shape the story (Bamberg, 2006; Presser, 2002, 2004), I paid particular attention to these moments.

I called the chapter “Morality Tales” because of the repetition of this phrase in both criminological and narrative literature, see, for example, “one is playing out a morality tale of some sort, one that posits its protagonist as a particular sort of person” (Presser, 2009:185) and, “All stories are thus, so some extent morality tales” (Squire, 2013: 50), and because like many offenders in criminological literature, these young women did not see themselves as having done much wrong (see Presser, 2004, 2002; Maruna, 2001; Sykes and Matza, 1957). Like Sykes and Matza (1957), Maruna’s desisters (2001) and Presser’s violent men (2002; 2004), I found that the young women used a variety of narrative techniques to minimize their offending. Once I had twelve narratives analysed discursively, I chose a selection, which I felt displayed something interesting about what it meant to be a young woman today and which represented various techniques or ways of understanding their offending. Since I had explored three narratives of young women in great detail in the “Pathways and Identities” chapter, I chose not to present their stories about offending in the “Morality Tale” section for confidentiality purposes. Of the nine remaining, I chose one narrative by a “fighter” about motherhood and “respecting yourself,” one narrative by a “good girl” illustrating the difficulty of talking about harming someone, and three narratives by “fighters,” “survivors,” and “good girls” about “games” with friends which were interrupted and criminalised by the police. These morality tales, therefore, discussed offending in a group, offending for someone else (a child/family), and finally, offending alone.

Lastly, I dealt with talk about restorative justice as well as the police since most of the women brought the police up during their interviews, telling stories about their interactions with them as offenders, victims and as observers. Unlike the other two chapters, I treated this section mostly thematically with some occasional discussion of discourse used much like Phoenix and Frosh’s (2001) approach in their article on young

men's masculinities. I began analysing the way women portrayed the police and the way they understood their roles, coding themes such as "the police as helpers" and "the police don't help" alongside themes of "mad" female offenders. I then moved on to restorative justice, gathering women's definitions and understanding of the process, who participated in restorative justice, how they felt at various stages, including how they felt about the victim, themselves, and the police.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were built into the process at every stage, beginning with the design of the research and ending with the conclusion of the interview.

Planning and ethical approval

One of the first stages of the research—before contacting organizations to see if they would be interested in giving me access—was to create a research proposal, which was submitted, along with a detailed ethics form required by the university, to the department's ethics committee. The committee's response was to ask for changes to the age range of participants I planned to interview (originally teenagers up to the age of 20). The committee felt that due to the vulnerability of some of the youths I might interview, and the potential difficulty of obtaining consent from parents and young people, interviewing young women over the age of 18 would be more appropriate. I revised the research plan accordingly.

Access and data protection

The quantitative methodology section briefly discussed the data protection agreement that I, along with the university, signed in order to access the data. Appendix 1, in more detail, covers this and the security measures set in place in order to protect the data in my possession.

Participant contact—privacy and literacy

As discussed in this chapter, before I contacted the participants, a civilian from the police phoned and/or sent a letter on my behalf explaining the research and who I was. Only after they had given their permission to the police, did I contact them directly. The exception was the letter, which was sent out on my behalf by the police without an

indication that the police was sending them. To participants who believed they did not have an official record with the police, receiving such a letter demonstrated that information on them was still retained somewhere. As I found out from the women, this caused fear, anger, and concern that their privacies had been violated. I, immediately, alerted the police to this error and the letters were redrafted to include an introductory paragraph from the police.

I was also concerned that letters would perhaps be opened by people other than the addressee, especially if others at the home address did not know about the offence. In response to some of these concerns, I kept the letters as general as I could.

An aspect I had not considered was that some of my participants would not be able to read the letters I sent. When it came to signing the consent forms, one of my earliest participants told me she could not read. Since I always talked about the research with the participants before I put the recorder on, I felt comfortable they understood the purpose of the research and were able to ask questions before we began. That particular interview, however, was a good learning moment and from then on, I asked all participants if they wanted me to go through the consent form with them and spent additional time chatting about the interview and answering questions before we began.

Financial compensation—fair compensation versus financial incentive

I offered the young people £20 for their interviews. Although this may be seen as problematic by some, I believed that since I was asking for a significant amount of time from adults, this payment was a fair compensation for their time. The payment was not meant to bribe them to participate—which considering the low take up rate of interviews likely did not happen. I, instead, wanted to provide appropriate payment for work, just as I was receiving. My studentship paid me to conduct the interviews, and I was further reimbursed for my transport to and from interviews. I felt it was only fair to compensate them.

Preparing participants for the interview

One of my primary goals was to make the interview as comfortable and enjoyable as possible, which involved clarifying their needs and expectations, as well as mine, both

before and during the interview. As part of participant preparation, I provided them with written information on the purpose of the study. I provided opportunities to ask questions and voice concerns through phone calls prior to the interview, and I told them of my plans for publishing the research. Since I was working with potentially vulnerable young people, I wanted to make sure each participant felt supported and heard. I also wanted to make sure that they fully understood the benefits and risks of participating.

I had not considered, however, that some participants would not want to speak on the phone before the interview. Some insisted on only texting, which meant that they were differently prepared to other participants. Only communicating through text message also meant more risks for me as a researcher, especially if they responded to a letter. Since I received no names from the police, I had no way of knowing if the person I was texting with and planning on meeting was the person they said they were or if they were on my initial list. I also had no idea who would be in the house when I arrived. Although potentially problematic, given that the women I was contacting were low-level female offenders, often one-time offenders, I determined that the risks were low. In order to prepare such participants for the interview, I spent considerable time explaining the research and answering questions in person.

Location of interviews and safety

For the participants' convenience, the interviews were scheduled at a time, date and location of their choosing, either in the participants' homes, or in a mutually convenient and private location. Once I declined a participant's preferred interview site. She wanted me to meet her in a field so we could do the interview in her car. Since the location was some distance away from my home and because I had only communicated with her through text messages, I did not feel comfortable with the arrangement.

Since I had no car, I travelled via bus or trains sometimes for long distances at hours where only one train or bus might be available on the return journey. In arranging the interviews, I took all the necessary precautions to ensure my own safety and informed my partner or a PhD colleague of my whereabouts and at what time I expected to be finished. Our agreement was that I would text them when I was done, and if they had not heard from me by a certain hour, they would call me.

Obtaining participants' consent

Prior to the interview, participants were given consent forms (see Appendix 5), which were signed before the interview proceeded. I made it clear, on the consent form and in person, that the participant had a right to withdraw her consent at any time during the interview, or within the period of two weeks after the interview.

Since at least one of my participants was not literate, I carefully read the consent form to her and offered to do the same for other participants. Several took me up on the offer.

On the consent forms, the participants also agreed to the interviews being recorded. I ensured them that no one else would listen to the files. I stored the files on a private folder on dropbox, and I was the only person with the password to my account. I transcribed the interviews myself, so that I would be the only person who listened to them. I also told the participants that once my PhD was finished and I no longer needed the recordings, that they would be deleted.

Participants' distress

I was prepared that the life interview might touch on difficult subjects. I, therefore, made it clear to them that they could refuse to answer any questions they wanted to. As I was a trained facilitator with experience working with traumatised individuals, I felt I would be equipped to professionally and responsibly handle any participant reaction and offer appropriate support. I was prepared to offer a break in the interview, ask the participant if she would like to cease the interview, remind the participant that she did not have to speak about anything that made her uncomfortable, and, of course, ask how I could be of best assistance. Although there were some tears during the interviews, no participant took a break or asked for their interview not to be included. Two young women asked for a story they told me not to be included, which I respected. I took these requests as positive signs that they felt empowered enough to ask for what they wanted.

Some of the interviews were distressing to me. I made sure to talk about those instances or interviews with my supervisor or a fellow PhD student.

Debriefing and end of interview

Finally, as part of ending the interview, I verbally debriefed the participants. This involved checking with them how they experienced the interview. I also asked them what advice they had to offer to other young women in similar situations as themselves and what advice they had for practitioners who work with young persons. The feedback I received from the young women generally emphasised that they had found the opportunity to speak about themselves useful and that they were pleased to have a chance to share their opinions about the police and restorative justice.

Although some narrative analysts suggest providing participants with copies of the analysis in order to receive feedback (Riessman, 1993). I chose not to do this. I take the same position Freeman (2004: 69) does when he defends his decision not to, “it is of course true in this context that *my* word is hardly the last. But neither, I would argue, is *theirs*.”

Characteristics of the sample

This section summarizes what the twelve young women interviewed shared about their life stories before experiencing restorative justice. In light of the literature on young female offenders, it will focus on risk factors.

Childhood risk factors

Many of the young women interviewed had experienced multiple risk factors, which have been highlighted in the literature, during their childhoods; they included observing domestic violence, being physically abused, sexually harmed, and neglected (Arnall and Eagle, 2009; Holsinger and Holsinger, 2005; Williams et al, 2012; Siegel and Williams, 2003; Hubbard and Pratt, 2002; Chesney-Lind, 1989). None of the young women had received support from social services or the police during their childhoods.

Bullying

In their childhoods and early teenage years, most of the young women reported being severely bullied by their peers, isolated from peers, or having no friends at school.

Sexual assaults and intimate partner violence

Several of the women in this sample had been sexually assaulted by family members, partners, or acquaintance in their late teens or early 20s. These sexual assaults had long-term effects on their relationships with their families, their trust of men (including professionals such as police officers), and their mental health. In addition, some of these women were then abused by partners, some of whom were also involved in illegal activity—either dealing/doing class A drugs or theft. Further victimization by men, however, was not always sexual in nature. One young woman who had experienced childhood risk factors was trafficked into factory work in her early 20s by her boyfriend. The relationships with these antisocial men, however, did not usually seem directly to lead the women to offending as has been suggested by the literature (Haynie et al, 2005; Gilfus, 1992). Instead, the relationships with these men lowered their self-esteem, isolated them from prosocial influences, and worsened their mental health.

Unlike their childhood victimisation, their victimisation as young adults—particularly by men—allowed many of the women to come into contact with the police who investigated their cases. They became known as victims in the official system. These early experiences of victimization and then the confirmation from the police and courts of their victim status became crucial parts of their identities and their life stories—although these victim identities emerged in different ways.

Mental health

At the time of the interview, a majority of the women reported battling with mental health disorders including depression and/or a diagnosed mental illness, as the literature suggests (Light et al, 2013; Timmons-Mitchell et al, 1997). A few of the participants had self-harmed, abused drugs/alcohol, or attempted suicide. Two of the women interviewed had been committed for a period of time in mental health settings.

Drugs and alcohol

Alcohol use was common but drug use beyond the occasional use of cannabis was not, just as suggested by Arnall and Eagle (2009). Despite the frequent engagement with

excessive drinking and occasional cannabis use, however, not all the women were under the influence when they offended. The four women from nonviolent backgrounds were drinking when they committed the offences, whereas only two of the women who had experienced prior victimization were under the influence, matching findings by Arnall and Eagle (2009).

Mother-daughter impacts

Research on young women offenders has pointed to links between mothers' well-being/parenting/antisocial behaviour and daughters' antisocial behaviour (Davies and Windle, 1997, Farrington et al., 2009, Mednick et al., 1984, Kolvin et al., 1988). In this sample, mothers' drug use, mothers' depression, and mothers' neglect/abuse led to daughters' drug use (Garnier and Stein, 2002), daughters' depression (Davies and Windle, 1997), daughters' offending (Farrington et al, 2009; Davies and Windle, 1997; Mednick et al, 1984; Kolvin et al, 1998) and daughters' early pregnancy (Lansford et al, 2007), as the literature has predicted.

However, fathers also had a crucial impact. Violent boyfriends or husbands were usually in charge of the physical, emotional, economic and/or sexual abuse in the household, often through "intimate terrorism" (Johnson and Leone, 2005). As a result, the young women witnessed domestic violence, which the literature suggests affects children's wellbeing (Kitzmann et al., 2003) and leads mothers to become depressed (Mitchell and Hodson, 1983), which, in turn, interfered with their parenting abilities (Levendosky et al., 2006).

The following table summarises some of these characteristics of each of the twelve women interviewed.

	Age	Ethnicity	Employment	Motherhood	RJ type	Offence	Narrative type
YW1	22	White and Black Caribbean	PT Employed	No	Conference	Assault	Fighter
YW2	28	White (Other)	FT Employed	Yes	Unclear	Assault	Fighter
YW3	26	White British	FT Employed	No	Conference	Assault	Fighter
YW4	29	White British	Unemployed	Yes	Conference	Harassment	Fighter
YW5	19	White British	FT Employed	No	Street RJ	Assault	Survivor
YW6	21	White British	FT Employed	No	Street RJ	Shoplifting	Survivor
YW7	22	White British	Unemployed	No	Conference	Harassment	Survivor
YW8	19	White British	FT Employed	No	Conference	Assault	Good girl
YW9	19	White British	Searching for work	No	Street RJ	Shoplifting	Survivor
YW10	19	White British	PT Employed	No	Street RJ	Fraud	Good girl
YW11	25	White British	PT Employed	Yes	Conference	Assault	Good girl
YW12	20	White British	FT Employed	No	Conference	Criminal damage	Good girl

Structure of the findings

The findings section begins with the analysed quantitative data obtained from the administrative police database. The lack of measured outcomes in the database and the missing data means that the analysis focuses on what can be said with certainty: who participated in restorative in one police country from 2007 through 2012, including demographic information such as age, ethnicity, and gender; what their role was (victim, offender, support person); the type of offending engaged in; and the type of restorative justice experienced. The first half of the chapter discusses all the participants in restorative justice, and the second half then focuses on offenders in the process. Since the research questions all have to do with gender differences, male and female participants are compared on a number of variables.

The quantitative chapter provides crucial context setting, which, although descriptive in nature, is important in its own right. The administrative dataset gives a sense of what kind of restorative justice was used in this county, for whom, and why, which is unusual given that police authorities currently do not have to submit such information to a central department (Pemberton, February 4, 2014). This database, therefore, expands the growing knowledge of the quality and quantity of police restorative justice in the U.K. (see, for example, Shapland et al, 2011, 2008, 2004; Hoyle et al, 2002; Miers et al, 2001 and others), allowing for perhaps future comparative work.

The database, of course, was also used to recruit the young women whose experiences will be discussed in great detail in the remaining findings chapters. Women were sampled by age (18-25) and, at first, by type of restorative justice (conference), before the criteria were expanded to include any young woman between the ages of 18 and 30 who had committed an offence and experienced any type of restorative justice. Because the women were sampled from the database, some of their experiences as related to the interviewer could be compared with characteristics and variables available in the database to see if the women interviewed were representative of the rest of the female offenders in the database, which will be discussed further in the conclusion. Analysis of the administrative data was performed alongside the interviews, which allowed for

testing of various hypotheses, which were brought up as dominant themes in the women's interviews. The quantitative findings chapter will explain what these variables were and what came from this type of analysis.

The second chapter presents the first of the qualitative findings. Titled, "Pathways and Identities," it takes a 'literature' approach (Freeman, 2004) and an 'imago' approach (McAdams, 1993) to the twelve narrative interviews. Through examining the pathways women describe their lives taking—the lows and the highs and the sense they make of them—along with literary techniques, the chapter presents three narrative identities. The first group are "fighters" who became tired of being victimised and began to stand up for themselves, fighting off bullies and other enemies, sometimes becoming bullies themselves. The second group, "survivors" also experienced multiple forms of abuse but reacted to this abuse by surviving the experience with a lower sense of agency. Finally, the third group characterized themselves as "good girls" who came from prosocial backgrounds and perceived themselves to be prosocial in the present, despite one mistake.

The second chapter, "Morality Tales," looks discursively at stories told about offending. It explores stories by five women whose narratives were not closely analysed in the "Pathways and Identities" chapter. Through analysis of offending in a group, offending for family, and offending alone, the chapter explores how young women make sense of their first or most vivid encounter with the police and the various ways they "neutralize" their behaviour (Sykes and Matza, 1957) crucially to *me* as a researcher (see Presser, 2002; 2004). Through this type of "sociocultural approach" (Squire, 2013: 65), the chapter also discusses contradictions and "competing identities" (McAdams, 1988: 27) within their narratives, which may not necessarily fit neatly into their narrative identities as presented in the first chapter, but which may be useful for restorative justice.

Finally, the third chapter looks at young women's experiences with restorative justice through their participation in the process as well as their previous interactions with the police. Through a thematic-discursive approach, the chapter examines each stage of restorative justice—from definitions and who was present to how the young women

experienced the police—and makes suggestions for improvements in the practice of police-facilitated restorative justice.

Chapter 5: Police-Facilitated Restorative Justice (RJ) Contextual Findings and Gender Differences between Offenders

Introduction

The methodology chapter briefly described some of the difficulties related to the constabulary's administrative database of Restorative Justice (RJ) interventions from 2007 through 2012, from which the findings in this chapter are obtained (with more detailed information available in Appendix 1). The chapter mentioned delays due to issues involving access and due to the need to create two workable databases involving circa 17,000 individuals, including circa 7,000 offenders. Once the databases were built, errors and missing data were discovered.

The methodology chapter also outlined a number of strengths and limitations due to the errors. These included:

1. The unusual size of data on RJ (strength)
2. Notes accompanying more standard data (strength)
3. Excellent contextual overview of uses of RJ in this police-facilitated scheme (strength)
4. Missing data/errors (limitation)
5. Decisions involving coding may have removed uniqueness through the creation of broad codes (limitation)

With these strengths and limitations in mind, the findings in this chapter will be discussed in two sections. The first section of the chapter, Contextual Restorative Justice Findings, describes the data concerning all participants in restorative justice, which includes victims, offenders, and community members. This includes descriptive information concerning gender, ethnicity, role in restorative justice, and relationship to other participants as well as the results from the hypotheses formulated from the literature on crime and gender in order to explore the data further, which will be listed alongside the appropriate research question. To remind the reader, the research questions pertaining to the contextual data were:

1. What are women's roles in restorative justice? That is, what role do women play in restorative justice conferences, not only as offenders but as victims, support persons, and professionals?
2. How do women's roles in restorative justice compare to men's participation?

The second half of the chapter, Offender Findings, focuses on the offenders who experienced restorative justice. Descriptive data on gender, ethnicity, age and age group is presented alongside differences between male and female offenders on a number of variables including age, gender, ethnicity, offence type, RJ type, group versus lone offending, and relationship to the victim. Analysis was again driven by hypotheses stemming from the research questions. Again, these hypotheses will be listed throughout this chapter and connected to the research questions, which were:

3. What kinds of crimes committed by women are associated with referrals to RJ?
4. What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice?
5. Is there a gendered difference between female offenders' relationships to victims and male offender's relationships with victims?

Contextual Restorative Justice Findings

Gender and Ethnicity

A total of 17,486 participants were involved in police-facilitated RJ from 2007 (when information began to be collected in the administrative database) to May 1, 2012 (the date when the administrative data were extracted by the researcher) in one rural county in the UK. 51.5% (N=9000) of these participants were male. 46.3% (N=8099) of the participants were female, and 2.2% (N=387) were of an unknown gender.

Table 1 illustrates the participants' self-identified ethnicities as well as police officers' perceptions of participants' ethnicities when participants did not identify their own (Police Officer identified-White/Black/Asian/Middle Eastern). Although there was a substantial amount of missing data for ethnicity (25.5%, N=4,464), the figures show that the majority of participants in restorative justice self-identified as White British (69.6%, N= 12, 165), followed by persons from other white backgrounds (2.4%, N=419). A possible explanation explaining the lack of minority ethnic participants in

restorative justice is that the county where the data was collected is predominantly White British (over 90%) (ONS, December 2012: 7).

Table 1- Self-identified and police identified ethnicity of participants in RJ

Ethnicity	N	Percentage
White British	12,165	69.6%
Missing	4,463	25.5%
Any other white background	419	2.4%
Police Officer identified-white	79	0.5%
Any other Asian background	66	0.4%
Any other black background	65	0.4%
Any other ethnic group	43	0.2%
African	42	0.2%
Any other mixed background	31	0.2%
White and Black Caribbean	29	0.2%
Chinese	19	0.1%
Caribbean	17	0.1%
Indian	15	0.1%
White and Black African	11	0.1%
White and Asian	8	.0%
Person declined	4	.0%
Police Officer identified-black	3	.0%
Pakistani	2	.0%
Bangladeshi	2	.0%
Sit involving public disorder	1	.0%
Police Officer identified-Asian	1	.0%
Police Officer identified-Middle Eastern	1	.0%
Total	17,486	100%

Table 2, a breakdown of ethnicity by gender, in turn, shows that the majority of male and female participants were White British and that men outnumbered women in nearly

every ethnic group, which meant that the most typical person to participate in restorative justice in this authority was a White British male (N=6,409).

Table 2- Ethnicity by gender

Ethnicity	Female	Male	Missing	Total
Missing	45.5% N=2,030	47.7% N=2,128	6.8% N=305	25.5% N=4,463
White British	46.9% N=5,709	52.7% N=6,409	0.4% N=47	69.6% N=12,165
Any other white background	44.4% N=186	52% N=218	3.6% N=15	2.4% N=419
Any other Asian background	24.2% N=16	71.2% N=47	4.5% N=3	0.4% N=66
Any other black background	33.8% N=22	63.1% N=41	3.1% N=2	0.4% N=65
Any other ethnic group	34.9% N=15	62.8% N=27	2.3% N=1	0.2% N=43
African	47.6% N=20	42.9% N=18	9.5% N=4	0.2% N=42
Any other mixed background	48.4% N=15	48.4% N=15	3.2% N=1	0.2% N=31
White and Black Caribbean	34.5% N=10	62.1% N=18	3.4% N=1	0.2% N=29
Chinese	31.6% N=6	68.4% N=13	0% N=0	0.1% N=19
Caribbean	41.2% N=7	52.9% N=9	5.9% N=1	0.1% N=17
Indian	13.3% N=2	80% N=12	6.7% N=1	0.1% N=15
White and Black African	27.3% N=3	72.7% N=8	0.0% N=0	0.1% N=11
White and Asian	37.5% N=3	62.5% N=5	0% N=0	.0% N=8
Person declined	25% N=1	75% N=3	0% N=0	.0% N=4
Pakistani	0% N=0	100% N=2	0% N=0	.0% N=2
Bangladeshi	50% N=1	50% N=1	0% N=0	.0% N=2
Sit involving public disorder	0% N=0	100% N=1	0% N=0	.0% N=1
Police Officer identified-white	74.7% N=59	22.8% N=18	2.5% N=2	0.5% N=79
Police Officer identified-black	33.3% N=1	66.7% N=2	0% N=0	.0% N=3
Police Officer identified-Asian	0% N=0	100% N=1	0% N=0	0.0% N=1
Police Officer identified-Middle Eastern	0% N=0	100% N=1	0% N=0	.0% N=1
Total	46.4% N=8,106	51.5% N=8,997	2.2% N=383	100% N=17,486

Roles in restorative justice

In terms of who experienced RJ in this scheme, the quantitative data revealed that the most common participants in RJ were offenders (40.2%), followed by victims (28.4%), offender supporters (18.7%), and victim supporters (5.7%). This suggested that the RJ scheme likely used forms of RJ, which involved no victims, as has been found in other police RJ schemes (Bergseth and Bouffard, 2007; O'Mahony and Doak, 2004; Miers et al, 2001; McCold and Wachtel, 1998). The roles and percentages are listed in table 3.

Table 3- Role in restorative justice

Role	N	Percentage
Victim	N=4,961	28.4%
Offender	N=7,030	40.2%
Victim supporter	N=1,011	5.8%
Offender supporter	N=3,274	18.7%
Victim/Offender	N=8	.0%
Authority figures	N=416	2.4%
Other supporters	N=50	0.3%
Others	N=736	4.2%
Total	N=17,486	100%

Women's roles in restorative justice

Few studies have been conducted that have specifically examined women's *general* participation in restorative justice (Elis, 2005). A frequently cited study by Daly (1996) (discussed in Daly and Stubbs, 2006) found, in an analysis of 24 conferences in Australia, that the participant make-up included 15% female offenders (compared to 85% male offenders); 52% female offender supporters (48% male offender supporters); and 58% female victim supporters (42% male victim supporters) (Daly and Stubbs, 2006: 15). Given that previous research in restorative justice has highlighted that the number of female offenders in these processes is low (Sherman et al., 2008) and that female victims are often protected from RJ for certain crimes such as domestic violence and sexual assault (Daly and Stubbs, 2006, Gaarder and Presser, 2006, Van Wormer, 2009, Koss and Achilles, 2008, Daly, 2005; Elis, 2005), one of the research questions interrogated how women generally participated in this RJ scheme, and a second research question explored gender differences in participation. The research questions with associated hypothesis are listed below:

RQ 1: What are women's roles in restorative justice? That is, what role do women play in restorative justice conferences, not only as offenders but as victims, support persons, and professionals?

Hypothesis 1: Women participate more often as support persons in restorative justice than in any other role.

RQ 2: How do women's roles in restorative justice compare to men's participation?

Hypothesis 4: Women participate more often as support persons in restorative justice than men do.

Hypothesis 5: Men participate more often as offenders and victims than women do.

To test these three hypotheses, a chi-square was run, which explored the relationship between gender and participant roles. The roles participants played in restorative justice were significantly associated with gender, χ^2 (14, N=17,486) = 3288.268, $p=.000$, phi=.434. However, as table 4 illustrates, the first hypothesis (hypothesis 1) was not supported while hypotheses 4 and 5 were supported.

In this police-scheme, the majority of women who participated in restorative justice participated as offenders (N=2,586); followed by roles as offender supporters (N=2,185); victims (N=2,133); and then as victim supporters (N=655). Men, in contrast, participated most often as offenders (N=4,368); followed by roles as victims (N=2,766); offender supporters (N=1,074); and victim supporters (N=351).

This means that this particular RJ scheme had a relatively high percentage of female offenders compared to, for example, most of the police-facilitated schemes evaluated in the third chapter of the literature review (Maxwell et al, 2004 had a breakdown of 15% female offenders compared to 85% of male offenders; Hayes and Daly, 2004 had a breakdown of 16% female offenders compared to 84% male offenders, etc). Thus, the fairly pessimistic hypothesis about women's roles was not supported, even though women as offender supporters was the second most common role for women.

Examining the gendered breakdown of the participants as a whole group (table 4) demonstrated that there was a larger proportion of males than females in both offender (62.1%/36.8%) and victim categories (55.8%/43.0%). Confirming Daly's (1996) research (as cited in Daly and Stubbs, 2006 and Braithwaite, 1999), there was a larger

proportion of female victim supporters than male victim supporters (64.8%/34.7%) and a larger proportion of female offender supporters than male offender supporters (66.7%/32.8%) (Daly and Stubbs, 2006; Braithwaite, 1999).

Table 4- Role in restorative justice by gender

Role	Female	Male	Missing	Total
Offenders	36.8% N=2,586	62.1% N=4,368	1.1% N=76	40.2% N=7,030
Victims	43.0% N=2,133	55.8% N=2,766	1.2% N=62	28.4% N=4,961
Victim supporters	64.8% N=655	34.7% N=351	0.5% N=5	5.8% N=1,011
Offender supporters	66.7% N=2,185	32.8% N=1,074	0.5% N=15	18.7% N=3,274
Victim/offender	12.5% N=1	87.5% N=7	.0% N=0	.0% N=8
Authority figures	54.3% N=226	39.9% N=166	5.8% N=24	2.4% N=416
Other supporters	64.0% N=32	34.0% N=17	2.0% N=1	0.3% N=50
Others	39.1% N=288	33.7% N=248	27.2% N=200	4.2% N=736
Total	46.4% N=8,106	51.5% N=8,106	2.2% N=383	100% N=17,486

Relationships in restorative justice

The presence of a “relationship” variable in the administrative dataset, allowed for further exploration of how the participants described above were related to each other. One of the limitations to the findings overall—missing data—(discussed in depth in Appendix 1), however, was a particular issue here because a substantial number of the cases (73.0%) had a blank relationship entry, indicating the need for more rigorous data collection at the point of RJ and/or data input. A further problem was that due to data entry practices it was, at times, not possible to distinguish *to whom* these relationships were directed without the presence of last names, which had been removed as part of data protection before the data were accessed.

This variable, therefore, will not be discussed in detail in this section other than to point out that the most common relationship type which was recorded was that of “mother” (9.6%), which as Braithwaite (1999) has suggested is not unexpected. While general relationships between participants were not clear from these data, relationships between victims and offenders were more easily identified through the detailed notes which accompanied each offender case. The relationship variable, therefore, will be returned to in the forthcoming offender section.

Offenders

Gender and ethnicity

The total number of offenders included in the analysis was 7,003 after the exclusion and inclusion of cases (see Appendix 1). Of these offenders, 4,271 were male (61.0%) and 2,588 (37.0%) were female, with 144 (2.1%) offenders with an unknown gender.

As shown in table 5, offenders self-identified as one of fourteen different ethnicities. The majority of participants, however, self-identified as White British (74.9%); followed by Other White backgrounds (2.7%). As suggested in the contextual section, over 90% of the population in the area where the data was gathered is White British (ONS, December 2012: 7). It is probable that the lack of minority ethnic participants in restorative justice is due to the demographics of the area; however, it is also possible that minority ethnic offenders who are arrested are not being referred to R.J. because of problematic police practices in the area (see Ministry of Justice, November 2013: 43, 57; Ministry of Justice, October 2011: 35). As national RJ data in the UK is not gathered at the moment (Pemberton, 2014), the comparison of ethnicities of offenders who participate in RJ in the UK is not possible.

While there was no significant relationship between ethnicity and gender (χ^2 (17, n=6,859)=15.638, $p=.550$, phi=.048), the frequencies of offenders' ethnic make-up, however, are displayed below.

Table 5- Offenders' self-identified ethnicities and police officers' perceptions of offenders' ethnicities

Ethnicity	N	Percentage
White British	N=5,248	74.9%
Missing	N=1,398	20.0%
Any other white background	N=189	2.7%
Any other black background	N=33	0.5%
Any other ethnic group	N=22	0.3%
Any other mixed background	N=22	0.3%
White and Black Caribbean	N=18	0.3%
African	N=17	0.2%
Pakistani	N=15	0.2%
Irish	N=11	0.2%
Indian	N=4	0.1%
Caribbean	N=7	0.1%
Chinese	N=6	0.1%
White and Black African	N=7	0.1%
White and Asian	N=3	.0%
Person declined	N=2	.0%
PO-white	N=1	.0%
PO-black	N=2	.0%

Age

Offenders' ages were measured from their date of birth to the start date of their restorative justice intervention. The youngest offender to participate in restorative justice was 3 years of age (unless this was an error in the police's data entry) and the oldest participant was 89 (N=6681, missing 322). Restorative justice in the county tended to be an intervention for young people, as the mean age of 19.98 demonstrated.

The majority of offenders who experienced restorative justice were between the ages of 10 and 16 (62.1%), indicating that the police authority mostly used RJ for young offenders (table 6). The majority of female offenders belonged to this 10-16 age group (N=1,717), which was the age group with the closest male to female ratio (41.6% female compared to 58.4% male) (see table 7). Thus, just as the literature has suggested, the large number of female adolescent offenders in this dataset is likely due to a spike in female offending around this age because of teenage pressures and influences

(Moffitt, 1993; Caspi et al, 1993), followed by a faster drop off in offending than that of young men (see, for example, Australian Institute of Criminology, 2013:67; Ministry of Justice, October 2010: 36).

Table 6- Offender age groups in restorative justice

Under 10	10-16	17-24	25 and over
2.6% N=173	62.1% N=4,150	15.7% N=1,051	19.6.7% N=1,307

Missing= 322

Table 7 - Offender age groups by gender

Age	Female	Male	Total
Under 10	19.4% N=33	80.6% N=137	2.6% N=170
10-16	41.6% N=1,717	58.4% N=2,407	62.1% N=4,124
17-24	30.1% N=315	69.9% N=862	15.8% N=1,048
25 and over	33.7% N=438	66.3% N=862	19.6% N=1,300

Offence types

As described in Appendix 1, the “offence” variable was recoded numerous times before settling on broad offence types. The most common offence types in the database, presented in table 8, by gender (χ^2 (13, n=6,818)=1060.470, $p=.000$) phi=.394), were shoplifting (27.0%), criminal damage (22.8%), violence (22.4%), intimidation (11.9%), and other theft (8.6%).

The table demonstrates not only the range of offences that were referred to RJ but also gives an indication of the types of offences which had few male and female offenders. (drug and alcohol offences; sex offences; robbery and burglary offences; non-people non crimes; and weapons offences).

Table 8 (i)-Offenders' offence type by gender

Offence type	Female	Male	Total
Shoplifting	64.6% N=1,188	35.4% N=650	27% N=1,838
Criminal damage	14.2% N=220	85.8% N=1,333	22.8% N=1,553
Violence	33.9% N=518	66.1% N=1,012	22.4% N=1,530
Intimidation	41.7% N=337	58.3% N=472	11.9% N=809
Other theft	27.2% N=160	72.8% N=429	8.6% N=589
Hate	35.7% N=40	64.3% N=72	1.6% N=112
Non-people, non-crime	21.4% N=18	78.6% N=66	1.2% N=84
Robbery and burglary	6.9% N=5	93.1% N=67	1.1% N=72
Dangerous dogs	57.9% N=44	42.1% N=32	1.1% N=76
Sex offences	7.7% N=3	92.3% N=36	0.6% N=39
Traffic	31.4% N=11	68.6% N=24	0.5% N=35
Fraud	47.1% N=16	52.9% N=18	0.5% N=34
Drugs and alcohol	20.0% N=6	80.0% N=24	0.4% N=30
Weapons	0	100% N=17	0.2% N=17
Total	37.6% N=2,566	62.4% N=4,252	100% N=6,818

Because some of these categories had very few female offenders and the main purpose of this study was to examine women's participation as offenders, they were coded as missing, along with categories with low numbers in general (fraud, traffic, dangerous dogs, and hate) in order to more closely examine female offenders' patterns of offending across the main crime types.

This resulted in a total of 6,401 cases, which were included for analysis and 602 cases were coded as missing (8.6%). The offences included in further analysis are listed below in table 8(ii) below.

Table 8 (ii)-Offenders' offence type by gender

Offence type	N	Percentage
Shoplifting	1,840	26.3%
Damage	1,579	22.5%
Violence	1,541	22.0%
Intimidation	838	12.0%
Theft	603	8.6%
Missing	602	8.6%
Total	6,401	100%

Women's Offending

Two research questions had to do with women's offending and gendered differences with men's offending, which led to referrals to RJ. The research questions and associated hypotheses are listed below:

RQ 3: What kinds of crimes committed by women are associated with referrals to RJ? What about men?

Hypothesis 7: Women are most likely to be referred to RJ for shoplifting than any other offence.

Hypothesis 8: Men are most likely to be referred to RJ for violence than any other offence.

RQ 4: What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice and the circumstances under which they offend?

Hypothesis 9: Women are more likely to be referred to RJ for acquisitive offences than men.

Hypothesis 10: Men are more likely to be referred to RJ for against the person offences than women.

Because the literature highlighted that some of the most common reasons for arrest and sentencing for girls and women in the UK were acquisitive offences (Copper and Roe, 2012; Arnall and Eagle, 2009), it was hypothesised that some of these offences would be referred to an alternative route and make their way to RJ. Acquisitive offences were chosen rather than violence because research on other police-facilitated RJ schemes has shown that they mostly do not deal with serious offences (McCold and Wachtel, 1998, O'Mahony and Doak, 2004), and it was assumed that female violence might be seen this way. In contrast, it was assumed that the police might have an easier time referring men's violence.

Results of the chi-square showed that offence type and gender were significantly associated, $\chi^2 (4, n=6,316)=965.326, p=.000, \text{phi}=.391$.

As demonstrated in table 8 (iii), women (64.6%, N=1,188) were more likely to be referred to RJ for shoplifting offences than men (25.4%, N=650) while men (72.8%, N=429) were more likely than women (27.2%, N=337) to be referred to RJ for theft.

Acquisitive crimes, however, made up more of women's overall offending than it did men's: 65.6% compared to 27.7% (see figure 8 (iv)), supporting hypothesis 9.

Men, in turn, were more likely to be referred to RJ for committing violence (66.1%, N=1,008) than women were (33.9%, N=516) (see figure 8 (iii)). Men were also slightly more likely to be referred to RJ for intimidation crimes (58.4%, N=474) compared to women (41.6%, N=337). When looking at how much these offences contribute to men and women's overall, offending, however, men's against the person offences (violence and intimidation) amounted to only 38.1% of their offending while women's against the person offences amounted to 35.2% of their offending (see figure 8 (iv)). Thus, the hypothesis that men were more likely to be referred to RJ than women due to against the person offences was only marginally supported.

Shoplifting did, indeed, make up the majority of women's offending in RJ (49.0%, N=1,188) supporting hypothesis 7 (see figure 8 (iv)). Contrary to hypothesis 8, men, however, were more likely to be referred to RJ for damage (34.2%, N=1,332) than for violence (25.9%, N=1,008) (see figure 11 (iv)).

Looking at the offences overall, women were most likely to be referred to RJ for shoplifting (49.0%) followed by violence (21.3%) and then fear (13.9%). Men, on the other hand, were more likely to be referred for damage (34.2%), violence (25.9%) and then shoplifting (16.7%).

Not only are these gendered differences interesting, but to some degree, these figures generally are surprising. Police figures of recorded crime from 2012-2013, for example, show that more individuals are arrested for violence than they are criminal damage/arson or shoplifting (Home Office data cited in Office for National Statistics Bulletin, 2013: 12-13). However, a comparison between national police data and this police RJ database is not ideal since the RJ database includes under 10s, which the national police data does not, and because the national violence category includes violence with and without injuries as well as homicide. Instead, the types of offences and the gendered differences seems to support findings in the literature regarding police-facilitated RJ as an intervention for predominantly low-level offending (see McCold and Wachtel, 1998, O'Mahony and Doak, 2004), and thus men and women are

referred for less serious offences: shoplifting for women and damage for men rather than violence.

Table 8 (iii)-Offenders' offence type by gender (iii)

Offence type	Female	Male	Total
Shoplifting	64.6% N=1,188	25.4% N=650	29.1% N=1,838
Damage	14.3% N=222	85.7% N=1,332	24.6% N=1,554
Violence	33.9% N=516	66.1% N=1,008	24.1% N=1,524
Intimidation	41.6% N=337	58.4% N=474	12.8% N=811
Theft	27.2% N=337	72.8% N=429	9.3% N=589
Total	38.4% N=2,423	61.6% N=3,893	100% N=6,316

Table 8 (iv)-Offenders' offence type by gender

Offence type	Female	Male	Total
Shoplifting	49.0% N=1,188	16.7% N=650	29.1% N=1,838
Damage	9.2% N=222	34.2% N=1,332	24.6% N=1,554
Violence	21.3% N=516	25.9% N=1,008	24.1% N=1,524
Intimidation	13.9% N=337	12.2% N=474	12.8% N=811
Theft	6.6% N=337	11.0% N=429	9.3% N=589
Total	100% N=2,423	100% N=3,893	100% N=6,316

Intervention type

Along with offence types described above, offences were further classified in the database as various “intervention types,” which provide insight into how the offences diverted to RJ were thought of by the police.

The majority of offences within the database, described in table 9, were classified as crimes (77.9%, N=5,433), indicating that these offences were of a serious enough nature that they could have been prosecuted in the traditional CJS had they not been diverted to RJ. Antisocial behaviour (ASB) (5.6%, N=392) likely similarly involves lower-level crimes, which could have gone a more traditional route. The offences which fell under the local resolution (6.4%, N=449) or community resolution (1.1%, N=76) categories may have lacked the seriousness that would require prosecution. In personal correspondence with Emily Pemberton from the Ministry of Justice, community resolution was described as “an informal police disposal which enables the police to deal more proportionally with low impact crime and is primarily aimed at first time offenders” (Pemberton, 2014). The resolution which these crimes by first-time

offenders could have been diverted to a number of interventions, therefore, *including* RJ.

Of particular interest, however, is the non-crimes category, which was the second largest category of offences in restorative justice (8.5%, N=592) and might mean that these offences did not fully meet the criteria to be classified as a crime.

Table 9- Intervention types in restorative justice

Intervention type	Frequency	Missing
Crime	N=5,433	77.9%
Non-crime	N=592	8.5%
Local resolution	N=449	6.4%
ASB	N=392	5.6%
Community resolution	N=76	1.1%
Traffic	N=33	0.5%
Missing	N=28	0.4%
Total	N=7,003	100%

In order to more closely examine this category, a hypothesis was created suggesting that the crime category would be male dominated.

RQ 4: What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice and the circumstances under which they offend?

Hypothesis 11: Male offenders will be more responsible for 'crimes' than female offenders are.

A chi-square was run to determine the relationship between gender and intervention type and the relationship was found to be significant $\chi^2 (5, n=6,850)=25.33, p=.000$, phi=.061 supporting the hypothesis. See table 10 for the figures.

Table 10- Intervention types in restorative justice by gender

Intervention type	Female	Male	Total
Crime	38.3% N=2,063	61.7% N=3,325	78.7% N=5,388
Non-crime	39.8% N=231	60.2% N=350	8.5% N=581
Local resolution	38.1% N=154	61.9% N=250	5.9% N=404
ASB	25.7% N=96	74.3% N=278	5.5% N=374
Community	41.1% N=30	58.9% N=43	1.1% N=73
Traffic	40.0% N=12	60.0% N=18	0.4% N=30
Total	37.8% N=2,586	62.2% N=4,264	100% N=6,850

Some queries, however, remained after closer examination of the intervention types. The first related to non-crime offences—what they were and why they might be police matters if they were not serious enough to be considered crimes. Although not originally part of the research questions having to do with gender and gender differences, this variable was pursued further because net-widening is an important issue in criminal justice programs offering alternatives to prosecution (Bechard et al, 2011; McMahon, 1990; Decker, 1985) and has been discovered within RJ schemes in the UK (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004) and in the US (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011). Further, feminist criminologists have pointed to net-widening especially affecting women (Finn et al, 2015; DeHart and Moran, 2015; Bäckman et al, 2014; Lynch, 2014; Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Sharpe, 2011; Easton et al, 2010; Burman and Batchelor, 2009; Worral, 2008; Hudson, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989).

It was hypothesised that non-crimes might be represented by the intimidation category where intimidating behaviour had been displayed but no violence or damage had occurred as a result of these threats.

Hypothesis: The non-crime intervention type will most likely be composed of intimidation offences.

A chi-square demonstrated a significant relationship between crime type and offence type, χ^2 (20, n=6,395)=.328, $p=.000$, $\phi=.657$, the results of which are shown in table 11.

A label of crime was most highly related to shoplifting offences (35.6%, N=1,820) followed by damage to property (26.3%, N=1,344), and violence (25.4%, N=1,297). Just as hypothesised, a non-crime label was most likely to be linked to intimidation (59.0%, N=291).

The dominance of shoplifting, damage, and violence give an indication what types of crimes are seen as most eligible for diversion from CJS to RJ by police officers in this RJ scheme. To some extent, the choices of these types of crimes as appropriate for RJ is not surprising. They are all offence types where wrongs might easily be proven by the police, meaning that it is likely that an offender's guilt is not in question. While guilt is important to RJ (Umbreit, 1998b, Shapland, 2013), shoplifting cases might not

involve a personal victim. Sherman and Strang (2007) in their analysis of several RCTs have found that RJ where offenders meet personal victims is the most effective in terms of reducing recidivism and providing victims with emotional benefits. Unless the shoplifting occurred from local shops with one owner who was directly impacted, these crimes might not reap the most benefits of RJ.

Non-crimes, local resolutions, ASB, and community resolutions were all most likely to involve intimidation. While these are not crimes—and therefore possible evidence of ‘net-widening’—they might also be opportunities for police to engage with at-risk behaviour before it escalates to criminal behaviour such as damage or violence (DeHart and Moran, 2015; Bechard et al, 2011; Prichard, 2010; Binder, 1987). For example, while net-widening is often described negatively in the literature—as drawing young people into the system for minor offences (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011; Decker, 1985) or for offences which might signal a cry for help (see Chesney-Lind, 1989), net-widening has also been presented as positive (see Prichard, 2010: 114; Binder, 1987:205). In RJ, it might, for example, provide for opportunities to address emotional harms caused to others even though these harms do not technically involve breaking the law. A facilitated meeting with the victims of this behaviour might help the offenders to understand the negative impact on others and encourage them to make a change—just as RJ aims to do (Zehr, 1990).

Table 11- Offenders' intervention type by offence type

Intervention type	Violence	Damage	Intimidation	Theft	Shoplifting	Total
Crime	25.4% N=1,297	26.3% N= 1,344	2.5% N=129	10.1% N= 516	35.6% N=1,820	79.8% N= 5,106
Non-crime	14.8% N=73	14.8% N=73	59.0% N=291	7.9% N=39	3.4% N=17	7.7% N=493
Local resolution	28.8% N=113	7.9% N=31	54.2% N=213	8.9% N=35	0.3% N=1	6.1% N=393
ASB	15.1% N=52	33.0% N=114	48.1% N=166	3.8% N=13	N=0	5.4% N=345
Community	3.6% N=2	23.6% N=13	69.1% N=38	0	3.6% N=2	0.9% N=55
Traffic	66.7% N=2	33.3% N=1	0	0	0	.0% N=3
Total	24.1% N=1,539	24.6% N= 1,576	13.1% N=837	9.4% N= 603	28.8% N=1,840	100% N= 6,395

Alone versus group offending

The literature has frequently demonstrated that young adults can be encouraged to offend by belonging to a group (Haynie and Osgood, 2005; McCord and Conway, 2005; Garnier and Stein, 2002; Rutter et al, 1998), and that this is true for women in particular (Cooper and Roe, 2012; van Mastrigt and Farrington, 2009), and especially if the group is composed of both men and women (Miller et al, 2009; Caspi et al, 1993). The presence of notes, which accompanied every case made it possible to see whether offenders had offended alone or in a group.

Table 12 shows that offenders in RJ were most likely to have offended alone (51.3%); followed by offending in a single sex group (35.5%); and offending in a mixed sex group (8.2%). When looking at the cumulative lone versus group offending effect, there was a fairly even split between the two, with a slight preference for offending alone (51.3%, N=3,592) versus offending in a group (47.8%, N=3,345).

Table 12-Offenders' alone versus group offending

Alone versus group offending	N	Percentage
Offended alone	3,592	51.3%
Offended in a single sex group	2,484	35.5%
Offended in a mixed sex group	572	8.2%
With group but only person RJ'd	161	2.3%
Offended in a group (gender make-up of group unknown)	128	1.8%
Missing	66	0.9%
Total	6,937	100%

In reaction to the literature (see Cooper and Roe, 2012 and van Mastrigt and Farrington, 2009), a hypothesis was formulated which suggested women would offend more often in groups than men would.

RQ 4: What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice and the circumstances under which they offend?

Hypothesis 12: Women are more likely to offend in groups than men are.

A chi-square test found gender and alone versus group offending to be significantly related, $\chi^2 (5, n=6,805)=111.292, p=.000$, phi=.128, as illustrated in table 13. The effect size, however, was small.

As suggested by the hypothesis, men were most likely to offend alone (55.8%, N=2,364) and women were more likely to offend in a group (cumulative percentage of 55.5%, N=1,420).

The data also shows that, proportionally, mixed-group offending occurred more often for young women than for young men (10.8% women versus 7.0% men). However, contrary to literature that suggests young men are crucial to young women becoming involved in offending (Miller et al, 2009; Capsi et al, 1993), single-sex offending took place more often for young women in this scheme than mixed-gender offending did (41.6%, N=1,077 versus 10.8%, N=276). Arnall and Eagle's (2009) research involving young women in the CJS in the UK came to similar conclusions with single-sex offending occurring far more often for young women in their sample than mixed-gender offending.

Table 13- Offenders' alone/group offending by gender

Alone versus group offending	Female	Male	Total
Offended alone	44.6% N=1,145	55.8% N=2,364	51.6% N=3,509
Offended in a single sex group	41.6% N=1,066	33.3% N=1,413	36.4% N=2,479
Offended in a mixed sex group	10.8% N=276	7.0% N=295	8.4% N=571
Was with group but only person RJ'd	2.5% N=63	2.3% N=97	2.4% N=160
Offended in group but gender of group unknown	0.6% N=15	1.7% N=71	1.3% N=86
Total	37.7% N=2,565	62.3% N=4,240	100% N=6,805

Offenders' relationships to their victim

The literature cross-culturally suggests women often have some sort of relationship with their victims, especially in violent offences (Ministry of Justice, 2012, Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). Since the relationship category in the previous section contained so much missing data, the notes accompanying each offender's case were, therefore, used to examine typical relationship patterns between offenders and their victims in restorative justice. The most common relationship patterns in RJ are shown in table 14.

They consisted of “corporate victim” (37.1%), followed by a similarly aged “peer” (15.1%) and a person who was otherwise “known” to the offender but was not in the same age group (12.9%). Surprisingly victims who were family or connected through romantic relationships were less common than victims who were strangers.

Table 14-Offenders' relationship to victim in restorative justice

Relationship to victim	N	Percentage
Corporate victim	2,597	37.1%
Peer	1,058	15.1%
Known	905	12.9%
Stranger	655	9.4%
Family	266	3.8%
Romantic	116	1.7%
Missing	1,406	20.1%
Total	5,597	100%

Female Offenders' relationships to their victims

Because the literature on young women's offending suggests that young women's relationships with other young women are often complicated, and that these complications sometimes lead to offending (Daly, 2008; Batchelor et al, 2001; Sondheimer et al, 2001), it was hypothesised that women would be more likely to offend against persons they had relationships with (family and friends) than persons they did not know as well in restorative justice.

The second hypothesis emerged because the young women in the interviews suggested that a number of the fights they had had were with other women about boyfriends/partners. It was, therefore, hypothesised that women were more likely to be referred to restorative justice for offending against a person connected to them romantically (as defined by the variable described in Appendix 1) than men would be.

RQ 5: Is there a gendered difference between female offenders' relationship to victims and male offender's relationships with victims?

Hypothesis 15: Women are more likely to offend against people they know well than those they do not know.

Hypothesis 17: Women are more likely to offend against people with whom they have a romantic connection than men are.

A chi-square demonstrated that the relationship between victims and offenders was significant to gender, $\chi^2 (5, n=5,528) = 253.162, p=.000$, phi=.214. The results are shown in table 15 (i).

Hypothesis 15, however, was found to be unsupported. Women's victims were most commonly corporate victims than any other type of victim (57.9%, N=1,344 of their total offending—see table 15 (ii) for this figure). This meant that, cumulatively, in this RJ scheme, women's victims were more likely to be someone they did not know compared to someone they did. However, strangers as victims only made up 5.9% (N=137) of women's total offending compared to 15.8% (N=645) of men's total offending (see figure 15 (ii)), which partially supports the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 17 also was unsupported. Men had more victims in the romantic category than women did (58.3% versus 41.7%). Although this supports the general literature that men offend more than women do (Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996), an examination of the proportion of these types of victims to their overall offending revealed that romantic victims made up 2.1% of men's victims and 2.1% of female victims (see table 15 (ii)), suggesting that this is perhaps worth further study.

Table 15 (i)- Offenders' relationship to victim by gender

Relationship to victim	Female	Male	Total
Corporate victim	52.1% N=1,344	47.9% N=1,237	46.7% N=2,581
Peer	37.4% N=383	62.6% N=641	18.5% N=1,024
Known	35.6% N=320	64.4% N=578	16.2% N=898
Stranger	21.2% N=137	78.8% N=508	11.7% N=645
Family	33.6% N=89	66.4% N=176	4.8% N=265
Romantic	41.7% N=48	58.3% N=67	2.1% N=115

Table 15 (ii)- Offenders' relationship to victim by gender

Relationship to victim	Female	Male
Corporate victim	57.9% N=1,344	38.6% N=1,237
Peer	16.5% N=383	20.0% N=641
Known	13.8% N=320	18.0% N=578
Stranger	5.9% N=137	15.8% N=508
Family	3.8% N=89	5.5% N=176
Romantic	2.1% N=48	2.1% N=67
Total	100% N=2,321	100% N=3,207

Restorative Justice Type

The second section of the chapter, so far, has discussed findings related to offenders and their gender differences. This last variable discusses what type of restorative justice these offenders experienced.

According to the quantitative data, three types of restorative justice were used to process offenders in this area—conferences, school RJ, and street RJ. As shown in table 16, the most common form of RJ used was street restorative justice (53.4%, N=3,743), followed by conferences (37.2%, N=2,608). According to personal correspondence with a representative of the constabulary, street restorative justice involved police officers using restorative methods when they come upon a conflict at the scene and restricted the number of participants to “no more than 4” (Palmer, January 21, 2014). Although this type of restorative justice may save police time, doing RJ at the scene means skipping a few steps in RJ, such as preparation, which has been identified as one of the most important steps in both police-facilitated RJ and victim-offender mediation (Maxwell et al., 2004, Umbreit, 1998b). Restricting the number of participants also means that the process might not have adequate support, which again has been raised as crucial to effective RJ (Hoyle et al., 2002, Maxwell et al., 2004).

Table 16-Restorative justice type

RJ type	Frequency	Percentage
Street RJ	N=3,743	53.4%
Conference	N=2,608	37.2%
School RJ	N=472	6.7%
Missing	N=180	2.6%
Total	N=7,003	100%

However, because women were likely to be referred to RJ for low-level offences, it was hypothesised they would be more likely than men to experience street RJ.

Hypothesis: Women are more likely than men to experience street RJ

A chi-square was run to see if restorative justice type was significantly related to gender. It was not: χ^2 (2, n=6,737)=2.698, $p=.259$, $\phi=.020$. The descriptives, however, are reported in table 17.

Table 17: RJ type by gender

RJ type	Female	Male	Total
Street	38.1% N=1,413	61.9% N=2,299	55.1% N=3,712
Conference	36.8% N=947	63.2% N=1,627	38.2% N=2,574
School	40.6% N=183	59.4% N=268	6.7% N=451

Restorative Justice type was significant, however, by offence type, χ^2 (8, n=6,264)=873.160, $p=.000$, phi=.373.

Table 18 illustrates that street restorative justice was the most common form of RJ for all offence types except for damage which was split equally between being handled in street restorative justice (48.9%, N=758) and conferences (48.9%, N=757).

Table 18-RJ type by offence type

RJ type	Violence	Damage	Fear	Theft	Shoplifting
Street	47.8% N=728	48.9% N=758	44.1% N=337	62.2% N=370	71.5% N=1,309
Conference	42.5% N=647	48.9% N=757	29.8% N=228	33.3% N=198	28.1% N=515
School	9.8% N=149	2.2% N=34	26.1% N=200	4.5% N=27	0.4% N=7
Total	24.3% N=1,524	24.7% N=1,549	12.2% N=765	9.5% N=595	29.2% N=1831

Conclusion

The quantitative data revealed crucial insights into the workings of a police-facilitated restorative justice scheme from 2007 through 2012, especially as it relates to women in general and female offenders but also as it relates to RJ participants as a whole.

These included:

1. High number of female offenders compared to some other police RJ schemes
2. High number of female supporters, as has been found in other police RJ schemes
3. Young people under the age of criminal responsibility part of RJ as offenders
4. Majority use of street RJ—may neglect best practices
5. Predominant use of RJ for minor offences and offences without clear victims (ie shoplifting)

The contextual data showed that while the women who participated in this scheme mostly participated as offenders—which is perhaps a unique feature of this scheme--

the findings confirmed other research (Daly 1996 in Daly and Stubbs, 2006) that women play an important role as supporters in restorative justice, particularly to offenders. Not surprisingly, and fitting with Braithwaite's (1999) discussion, these women may for the most part be mothers.

The presence of so many women in supportive roles, and especially in higher numbers than men, of course, raises the same questions and concerns about women's responsibilities in, and after, restorative justice expressed by Braithwaite (1999: 94), who, in light of Daly (1996)'s research, suggested that restorative justice may involve a "gendered burden of care," and that "the potential fiscal benefit of conferences that they may be cheaper than court room justice is a benefit likely to be carried on women's backs" (Braithwaite, 1999). The additional 'caring' that needs to take place during RJ—in terms of supporting participants or keeping things calm—and after RJ—in perhaps keeping the offender on the straight and narrow or looking after the victim's needs—becomes women's responsibilities, not men's, in this scheme just as Braithwaite (1999) hypothesised for RJ in general.

However, the presence of so many women in supportive roles also suggests that the 'community' in this restorative justice scheme—and likely in others—is predominantly female. Theories that have addressed concerns about community members being unfair towards female offenders in restorative justice because they are women (Elis, 2005; Alder, 2000), may, therefore, not be examining the gender of support persons in restorative justice and incorporating those findings into their theories (as Elis, 2005 has suggested). It is possible that women's dominant presence as supportive community members has the potential to alleviate, if not eliminate, such concerns *if* they are allowed to take ownership of the process rather than being overshadowed by police-facilitators or other professionals.

The data on offenders demonstrated that RJ in this police scheme was mostly used as an intervention for offenders in their teenage years. Along with these expected figures, however, were a number of young people under the age of criminal responsibility whose names and details are recorded in the police system. While a police intervention with such young children might be preventative—to inform and education children at-risk of further offending before they are criminalised for their actions (see Prichard,

2010; Binder, 1987), it might also be indicative of net-widening found elsewhere (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011; O'Mahony and Doak, 2004). The same is true for the use of RJ for ‘non-crimes’ mainly having to do with intimidation. Whether the police successfully use such opportunities to de-escalate and perhaps prevent further offending will depend on the quality of the restorative justice they offer.

The quality of restorative justice in this police scheme—which will be discussed further through the young women’s thoughts and experiences of the process—became of concern due to the predominant use of street RJ for every type of conflict, which is meant to deal with a conflict as quickly as possible but in the process skips best practices such as preparing participants and making sure appropriate support people are present (Maxwell et al., 2004, Hoyle et al., 2002). The offence type that street RJ was most used for emerged as shoplifting which was the only offence type dominated by female offenders’ participation. The process through which young women experienced RJ, therefore, was possibly a form with less benefit because it does not address the harm caused to an individual and personal victim (Sherman and Strang, 2007) *and* it did so quickly without attention to best practices. These potential issues are then weighed against the decriminalisation of women through restorative justice, which keeps their offending out of court. What kind of benefit, if any, young women received from RJ will have to be further investigated in the qualitative findings.

Chapter 6: Pathways and Identities

Introduction

As discussed in the methodology chapter, this chapter takes a life history approach to narrative and traces twelve young women's stories from childhood to the present, attempting to capture their life pathways and identities as presented in their interviews. In order to do this, I have treated the interview data as "big gulps of text—entire stories" (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004: 2), relying most heavily on the direction of McAdams (1988, 1993); Freeman (2000; 2004; 2006); and Wengraf (2000; 2001; 2006) in guiding me through the analysis.

Offending is a theme in all of these stories since the young women interviewed had been told that this was one of the subjects I was interested in prior to our meeting, and I, at some point, asked them to tell me the story about their offending if it did not emerge spontaneously during the interview. None of the women, however, claimed offending as the major identity in their life—which fits with how other offenders, male and female, have depicted themselves (Maruna, 2001; Presser, 2002; 2004; Giordano et al, 2002). Instead, as will be seen in the text below, victim identities along with other prosocial identities appeared repeatedly or even dominated the discourse, again as has been found in other studies involving male and female offenders (Manura, 2001), violent offenders (Presser, 2002, 2004) and murders (Sandberg, 2013). As mentioned in the methodology chapter, out of feminist concerns, I wanted to provide opportunities for the women to talk freely about who they identified as—beyond offending, or sometimes in spite of offending (see Crossley, 2000:39). This allowed the young women the opportunity to think about their lives and to make connections between events, which Freeman (2006) and McAdams (1993) have both suggested is one of the main benefits to participants of life history interviews. This chapter, therefore, treats offending as part of a longer story where offending may be a prominent theme or may not be, depending on the rest of the young women's lives, which they shaped and presented as they wished.

In early drafts of analysis, the narratives were told chronologically, using the "reconstructing the told from the telling" technique to use the words of Mishler (1995: 95) or a version of Wengraf's (2001:236) "the lived life." The narratives were then treated like "literature," as recommended by Freeman (2004: 63) with an emphasis on

character portrayal and development—both of the women themselves as well as people who surrounded them—genre, themes, imagery and metaphors, and unifying it all the young women’s “personal myth”—or the overriding identity based on their tone, imagery, and sense of self in relation to others (McAdams, 1993: 36; Freeman, 2004; Freeman, 2000; Phoenix, 2013; Gergen and Gergen, 1983; Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004). A particularly helpful entryway into some of the women’s stories was McAdams’ (1993: 71) suggestion that analysts look for characters’ “motivation”—“agency” or “communion.” For these narratives, the presence or absence of agency emerged as a dominant preoccupation, and tracking who had power in these women’s narratives and lives became important.

While the stories were told in an interview, which has been suggested affects and complicates the life story (Bamberg, 2006; Presser, 2002, 2004), the presence of the interviewer during the interview will be the subject of the next chapter, “Morality Tales.” This chapter will instead focus on the “presentation of self” (Goffman, 1978), since it has been demonstrated that individuals are often keen to repeat an identity, or an idea they have of themselves, through their stories (Gergen, 2004). The idea the narrators have of themselves may be especially crucial to restorative justice, as this is what they will bring with them to the conference. As will be seen with the prevalence of victim identities in this chapter, a victim identity for an offender in restorative justice may complicate the demand that the offender display remorse and guilt for a specific offence, which may directly interfere with the idea that “the issue of guilt or innocence is not mediated” (Umbreit, 1998: 2).

Once individual stories had been analysed, they were compared to each other in terms of types of narratives (signalled through pathways) (Riessman, 1993; Crossley, 2000) and the presentation of identity and “motivation” (McAdams, 1993:71). The narratives then began to fall naturally into groups. This chapter presents the three groups, which emerged through analysis: *fighters*, the most agentic women who told narratives involving an early transformation or shift in their identities from victim to fighter; *survivors*, less agentic women who had experienced multiple forms of abuse, including sexual assaults; and finally *good girls* who reported having made one “mistake” in an otherwise prosocial and “normal” life. Once the collective stories and individual life histories have been presented, comparisons will be made between these young women’s life histories and other offender narratives.

Each section will begin by discussing the experiences and plot patterns of the group of women. One of the reasons for this style is to preserve the anonymity of the women as far as possible. Since young female offenders are a small, and often vulnerable, group, the possibility of identifying them through a detailed account of their life histories is a risk. Each collective account is then followed by a more detailed description of a life. In writing these sections, I followed Squire's (2013: 58) advice to "omit or change more specific data, guaranteeing confidentiality." While this might occur "at the expense of some of that data's richness" (Squire, 2013: 58), respect for the young women's experiences and identity have demanded this approach.

Even though the women had committed a wide range of offences within the three groups—with and without direct victims—the three women whose lives are presented as sample narratives within the "fighter," "survivor," and "good girl" categories had committed a violent act. This was a deliberate choice since it emphasises that violent young women are not all the same (as recently expressed by Arnall and Eagle, 2009) and it demonstrates that they make sense of their identities and offence(s) very differently, in spite of the surface level similarities.

Fighters: "You just have to fight."

Four young women presented themselves as fighters. Their fighting identities were not the same thing as being violent—although all four young women had participated in numerous physical fights throughout the years—but rather addressed the agency they felt they possessed, and which they had deliberately cultivated since their childhoods. At their most optimistic, they depicted themselves as in the midst rescuing themselves from impossible circumstances and reshaping their own destinies.

The earliest settings of these women's stories were most often claustrophobic and dark. Their childhood homes were filled with poverty, alcoholism, and drug use, or at times overcrowded with children. Deaths in the family changed life dramatically for the worse. Fathers and step-fathers arrived on the scene to bully and abuse the women and children in the household, only to leave and make way for similarly terrible men. Mothers, in contrast, were "soft"—less vividly described and utterly devoted to the men who terrorized them. As a result, the young women portrayed them as putting up with the abuse at the cost of their own, as well as their children's, wellbeing.

In the midst of this setting, the narrators presented their childhood selves as highly feminised. They were “*good*,” or “*shy*,” “*helpful*” around the house, “*comforting*” to their siblings who had “*bigger mouth(s)*” and were, therefore, punished for talking back or disobeying the men in the house. By an early age, these “*good*” girls had witnessed and experienced a great deal of physical abuse and fear and seemed destined to develop into women like their mothers.

If home was terrifying, the community only replicated this feeling. Outside the home, the girls were picked on and bullied by other children, who sensed or saw a difference in them, particularly if the neglect they experienced at home translated into their physical appearance. At times even adults in the community joined in with the abuse—such as when the young women’s physical “difference” was related to race. Available protection from caring adults was limited to a grandmother, a loving but “*soft*” mother who could not stand up for herself, and a teacher whose influence was limited to the gates of the primary school. These protectors could not always keep them safe and therefore only provided a reprieve from the world around them. Being bullied in school often led to the girls starting to skip school, and absentee parents either did not notice or did not care.

In their late childhoods or early adolescence, the young women described reaching a turning point in their lives where they had enough of victimization. With no one available to rescue them, they decided to rescue themselves. The young women began to fight back—metaphorically and physically. They stood up to bullies, abusive stepfathers, and neighbours. They told narratives of transformation, which involved an identity change of sorts, which in turn seemed to improve their fortunes. This fits in with the type of narrative Gergen and Gergen (1983) have called “progressive” narratives, although the “progression” the women identified was more related to the way they saw the development of their agency rather than actual improvements. The tone of their narratives changed, and their method of handling abuse was to fight.

Fighting shifted them away from traditional gendered identities where they performed and behaved as society told them to (only to be victimized) to alternative femininities, or even masculinities as the literature has described (see Miller, 2002; Miller and Decker, 2001; Miller, 1998b; Messerschmidt, 1993) and for which they were officially penalized. The unexpected consequence of this newfound agency and empowerment,

of being like the men in their lives, however, was trouble with the police who did not see their fighting and violence as freeing as they did. By their late adolescences, they had been arrested by the police for violence on more than one occasion, and some had earned numerous cautions and convictions as well as restorative justice. Due to these frequent interactions, police came to represent the enemy, or authority figures who had disappointed them, having failed to protect them in their childhoods/youths only to unfairly penalize them for doing what the young women felt someone had to do—stand up for them.

At this stage of fighting and trouble with the police, most had left their childhood homes and were in the midst of constructing new lives. The settings they found themselves in, however, were not all that different from their first households in terms of difficulties. One had become involved with a series of controlling and violent men. Some had become mothers—one when she was little more than a child herself. Two women had left education in their early teens and were, therefore, limited in terms of employment and even literacy. One of these women, in looking for independence through employment was trafficked into factory work, which became hard to escape. Convictions for three of the women severely limited where they could gain employment and with what. Three struggled with serious depressions and anxieties. They described living dual lives—balancing nurturing and caretaking roles, being “soft” women at home, with being fierce on the streets. The uncomfortable balance brought out intense emotions and even shame over who they were and what they had done.

Their ability to transform themselves through agency, however, was not limited to an early adolescent shift. Again, they reached a point where they had had enough. Again they relied on themselves and with very little outside help, they managed to leave their male partners or unsafe situations. Some became single mothers—or just single. All but one became full-time workers—even in spite of criminal convictions and minimal education, although these positions tended to be poorly paid. They moved away from antisocial family and friends, building up new social networks through work or in their new communities. They avoided going out on the weekends where they might encounter characters from their old lives. They stopped offending, relying on agency to instead carve out a “normal” life for themselves. At the time of their narratives, some had had no interaction with the police for at least four to six months and up to four years. Their new lives, however, were to some degree lived in tightly controlled bubbles, in

part because of a lack of trust in others. One woman avoided making new friends, believing they would betray her, preferring to only move between work and home where she took care of her son. Another woman avoided new people, including other mothers on the school run, because she feared they might hear about what she was like in her past and reject her. A third, whose story is presented in detail below, carefully chose who to let into her home. These strategies protected them from certain antisocial elements and kept risks and temptations away. It, however, also restricted them from developing support networks and meant they were constantly trying to hide what they perceived to be a shameful version of themselves. The following participant whose life story will be presented in detail, for example, lived in the “now,” rejecting her previous associations and former identity in favour for the new prosocial self she was currently developing.

Eve: past and present selves

The first words Eve spoke were, “*Now, my life is good.*” The word ‘now’ appeared and reappeared throughout her narrative, making contrasts and highlighting accomplishments before she even mentioned any of her offending or other difficulties (“*So really I’m just relaxed now and just stay home or go to work. That’s all I do*”); (“*I’m completely different now but a year ago if I’d have met somebody like myself I wouldn’t have given them the time of day.*”) With this focus on ‘now,’ Eve not only contrasted the past to a much preferred present, but also spoke of her two selves as though they were entirely separate people.

The Eve of the past was the youngest child. Her earliest memories were of “*mum and dad fighting all the time and him trying to stab her and jumping out of bedroom windows running around crying wondering why everything was like this, why am I not safe, screaming help, help, help and nobody comes. It was always the same.*” Eve began her life as a victim in a world that acted beyond her control. In her childhood, her father left the house only to be replaced with an abusive stepfather who continued to terrorize them all; again, “*it was always the same.*”

With a mum who worked long shifts, older siblings who wanted little to do with her, and an abusive stepfather in the home, Eve looked outside for acceptance by peers. Her identity as a passive victim, continued outside the home, however, and her “friends” often made her an object of ridicule, which she put up with because of her fears of

loneliness, “*Not only would they gang up on me they’d get other people get involved and I had people shut my hands in gates and all sort of things.*”

Being picked on and bullied until high school, Eve continued to spend time with her tormenters, no matter how much they took advantage of or abused her in order to belong somewhere. After years of teasing and isolation, however, Eve described reaching a point where she *had* to fight back: “*I thought I can’t have that anymore. I can’t allow that.*” When it was time to go to high school, Eve became determined to change herself in order to stop being a victim. Eve’s transformation, however, extended beyond defending herself. She decided to become “*one of the top people:*”

if you don’t you’re going to get carry on being bullied because the same people you went to primary school with all got to the same high school and then they’ll start telling their new friends from other school about what a geek you are and they’ll start bullying you so the only way around is you have to become the bully and people have to be scared of you and then you don’t get any trouble.

By becoming a bully herself, Eve felt she could shed her former innocence so that others could not see it and exploit it. Eve’s life from that moment became about maintaining respect, “*You just have to fight. It’s just fighting people. It’s all about respect.*” Fighting created respect—not only from the “victims” at her mercy but also from the group she surrounded herself with, a concept which has recently emerged in the literature through the focus on young women’s decisions to engage in physical violence (see Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Henriksen and Miller, 2012; Burman, 2008; Batchelor, 2005; Miller, 2002; Miller, 1998b; Hudson, 1989).

Even though Eve presented herself as fully a fighter, however, she hinted at feeling an ambivalence about the role, “*It’s not necessarily that you want to do it or that you like hurting people or that you want to be in the situation you’re in but it’s you that’s in that situation or you’re going to be the person that’s getting hit. You need to make the choice.*” Her description of being in the situation where she has to hurt someone had an element of the surreal, “*but it’s you that’s in that situation,*” and distanced herself from having to take full responsibility for her actions.

Fighting outside the home, however, also prepared her for more personal battles. In a seeming inevitable episode, Eve came upon her stepfather about to hit her mother and intervened, “*unfortunately for him that was at an age where I was very much I am top dog and you’re not going to fuck with my mum... I grabbed a marble rolling pin from the side and smashed him straight over the head and cut his head open.*”

The moment appeared pre-destined and representative of a full realization of Eve’s fighting identity. The victim who used to jump out windows of her home, asking for someone to help her and her family, was replaced with a newly empowered version of herself, trained on the streets. Through hitting and overpowering the man who used to terrorize her and her mother, she could be the person who helped. By calling herself “top dog” Eve both adopted a masculine power (Miller, 2002) and hinted that she was simply sliding into the natural order of things—as someone young and strong it made sense that she should usurp his place.

Rather than the happy ending that Eve’s story built towards—getting rid of the abuser—Eve’s attempt to protect and earn respect failed. Her mother viewed Eve’s contribution as an unwelcome intervention in her relationship. It was contrary to everything Eve had learned about violence from her peers—where one fought to show loyalty and was rewarded for such loyalty, “*Because with the friends I had, if you protected them that was a great thing. If you beat somebody up it was a great thing but for her it wasn’t a great thing. And that really confused me. I didn’t get this.*” It was a pivotal moment in their relationship, and shortly after this incident, Eve left home.

On her own in the world, Eve battled with drugs and alcohol and continued her quest to belong by dating powerful men who made her the “*centre of (their) world.*” Rather than escaping the type of man she had attempted to overpower by becoming “*top dog,*” she found herself once again in a position without power. Inside the home she was abused by men, and outside the home she fought women who showed her the slightest amount of disrespect—becoming a complicated mixture of victim and abuser. In a moment reminiscent of her first breaking point as a child when she had had enough, a combination of a betrayal of her partner and the sudden death of a family member, hit her with a sudden realization, “*I sort of sat there and said hold on a minute.*” With the same sense of drama with which she described her first transformation, Eve announced, “*I just need to change my life.*”

“Changing” her life again involved a complete identity change. Eve moved, cut herself off from previous social circles and family, and was very much in the process of creating a new world for herself, as suggested in her use of the present tense and the word, “now.” Her new life, however, was a strictly controlled environment, *“people don’t come here unless they’re my very close friend or my family.”* She also constructed a social network of women like her. These women, like Eve, were all desisting, *“We’re all similar. Like we all used to do the same things and we all just work now and do the things the way you’re supposed to do them so you don’t get in trouble. You know. We don’t want. We sort of don’t want the attention from everyone else and questions all the time and drama.”* Unlike other social circles Eve had belonged to, there seemed to be no power differences among its members. The group functioned as a support group and helped replace the social scene they all sought to avoid.

Not everyone she knew approved of this process, claiming she had lost who she was. *“Certain people are just like ‘oh you’ve lost who you are blah blah blah’ and no I’m like ‘actually I’ve finally, just sort of recently, found who I am.’”* According to Eve, the self was something one had the power to deliberately construct and deconstruct, as seen in her first transformation from a “good” girl to a “bully.” Eve, however, also seemed to view “doing” and “being” as the same, as illustrated in this simulated defence to one of her critics, *“I’ve changed the way that I am and you think it’s not right but really when you look at what you do that’s not what’s right.”* This belief that what one does is who one *is* perhaps explained why Eve was unable to separate her behaviour from her notion of self (perhaps indicative of shame instead of guilt, as described by Leith and Baumeister, 1998). Shame might explain why she, in order to move on, had to create a new identity rather than simply change her behaviour. The concept is similar to a concept Maruna’s (2001: 87) calls ““knifing off” one’s troubled past,” which his mostly male desisters rejected in favour of a process, “involv[ing] more self-reconstruction than amputation.”

The restriction of movement across space she initially spoke about—going from work to home and nowhere else—signalled some of the active work she was undertaking in avoiding “trouble.” Living in the “now” was also a strategy that was equally restrictive, and, of course, difficult. In spite of the commitment to the “now,” for example, Eve struggled with letting go of the past—in particular her experiences as a victim. She had unanswered questions for her past abusers, and she did not feel as though she could

move forward before she had resolved and created a coherent story around her victimization. This concerned her far more than her history of offending.

One positive development, however, which was perhaps an avenue toward creating coherence, ironically came about through punishment for a previous offence. As part of her sentence, she received a referral to a counsellor. This was her first counselling appointment, and at the end of it, the counsellor offered her the opportunity to help other women who'd faced similar kinds of abuse.

After that session she asked me to come back and help other women, you know, that were in situations with domestic violence with drug abuse and all these sorts of things. And I just thought to myself there and then, you know, what if somebody's asking me to do that that must mean that you do speak some sense and you have got some life experiences and maybe you've actually dealt with them in an ok way. You know, so that for me was a really good thing as well to know that although I've been through so much and done so many bad things that it wasn't too late to still be a good person, you know, because all it takes is just one decision that you don't want to live like that.

This offer stayed with Eve and made her believe that her experiences were important, and it gave her hope that she could still be a “*good person*.” Through the process of what Maruna (2001:102) has called “making good” (through perhaps becoming, what Maruna has called a “wounded healer”), becoming a “*good person*” could occur through working with people like herself, “*honestly, I want to help people that are going through what I went through or starting to fall into those ways and try and help them and show them that there's a different way to do it and that I'll do whatever I can to help them get away from that and just be self-sufficient and live by themselves and be happy.*”

In spite of her commitment to living a prosocial life and her declaration that “*all it takes is just one decision*,” however, Eve could not say she would never fight again, “*I only fight if there's a real need to fight then I'm obviously going to fight*,” indicating that for her fighting was still a valid way of handling conflict in some circumstances, as other young women have expressed in the literature (Henriksen and Miller, 2012; Batchelor,

2005). Still, she insisted that she had undergone a change. She described her old self as someone who'd fight without provocation "*I don't just go out anymore and hitting people because I feel like it because I think they've looked at me the wrong way. That's what I used to do if I thought someone looked at me the wrong way, I'd be like 'what the fuck are you looking at?'*"

Ultimately, her commitment to a prosocial life rested on her ability to control "*the amount of anger I've got inside me.*" Just like her antisocial identity being part of and yet not part of her, her anger was described as simultaneously something inside Eve and something outside her control. This way of talking about offending has been recognized as common among offenders and has elsewhere been described as "*'otherness'*" (Presser, 2004: 87) or the "*it*" (Maruna, 2001: 93). Thus, her commitment to a prosocial life was perhaps best seen as an ongoing negotiation of how and when and what it means to be a "*fighter*," that is hanging onto the agency that lay behind the fighting, and trying to find different outlets for it. At the moment that negotiation meant she had become less eager to fight and less convinced that people meant her harm.

Survivors: "I'd like you to write about me like my story, my journey. I've come so far."

Four of the women presented themselves as *survivors*. Like the first group, these women experienced a change in their identities from early victimization. The change, however, was not the abrupt or dramatic transformation described—or prompted—by the first group of women, but rather a process involving less agency and forcefulness.

As the "*fighters*," the childhood scenes of the survivors were sometimes chaotic. Mothers sold drugs out of the household; mothers had complex mental health needs and attempted suicide. There were plenty of myths present; one young woman, for example, portrayed herself as a Cinderella-type character, spending her childhood helping around the house while her mother watched her work and treated the other sibling preferentially. There was, at least, some element of struggle with normalcy, even though these families attempted to fit in—one mother forgot to bring her daughter to school for nearly a year in primary school, until she "*sorted it out*."

In these stories, too, men were often abusers. Mothers were physically abused by their partners, or occasionally by a series of boyfriends. Before one father left home, he raped

the participant's sister. Another participant's earliest memory of her father was being sent upstairs to be punished with his belt. Two of the young women did not meet their biological fathers until they were in their late teens and sought them out for themselves—both meetings were disappointments. Compared to the “fighters,” however, the “survivors” had slightly more external support. When mothers were unable to handle the responsibilities of family life by themselves, for example, two sets of grandmothers stepped in or took over parenting altogether.

Despite the similarities in terms of backgrounds of the “fighters” and “survivors,” however, the young women made the transition from victims to survivors, rather than from victims to fighters. One of the reasons for this less agentic transformation may have had to do with further victimization during the survivors’ early adolescence. Three of the women were sexually assaulted in their teenage years by people who were known to them. The fourth woman hinted at a trauma in her past, which she did not want to disclose but which continued to affect her and her mental health.

For the survivors, victimization in their teens became a crucial downward turning point in their lives, forming a “regressive narrative”, as described by Gergen and Gergen (1983). Following these attacks, the young women’s lives spiralled out of control in multiple ways. They stopped going to school, and their mental health began to deteriorate, culminating in self-harm and suicide attempts. All four family units crumbled—either because family members were involved in the abuse, blamed the young women for the abuse, or because they could not help the young women. Two of the women then went on to form relationships with antisocial men who either controlled or abused them further.

Unlike the first group, these young women committed few offences, and their first encounters with the police tended to be as *victims* due to their abuse at the hands of men. Police investigated their cases and sometimes arrested the perpetrators, becoming heavily involved with the young women in the process. These “official” procedures became important in legitimizing the young women’s experiences and solidifying their identities as victims. However, around these experiences—sometimes before but usually after—some offending also took place.

One young woman shoplifted once; two of the women offended twice with several years in between each offence, and the fourth was arrested many times for a variety of

offences but had no convictions. Generally, when they did offend, they engaged in feminine types of offences (such as shoplifting), or took on feminine roles in offending (the fight scene to be explored in greater detail below). Thus, unlike the “fighters” who were “doing masculinity” (Miller, 2002; Miller, 1998a, 1998b; Messerschmidt, 2011: 359), the “survivors” “did” femininity (Miller, 2002; Miller and Decker, 2001; Miller and Decker, 1998b; Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996). The reason for their offending was not always strongly articulated. Shoplifting tended to occur when they wanted or needed something they could not afford—a winter coat, for example, or small items of jewellery to give them pleasure. They suggested they deliberately only stole cheap items or items from places that could afford it. Other types of offending they explained as being committed for a release of tension or to have a good time—drunk and disorderlies/possession of cannabis. The young women seemed to feel that someone—or something—owed them the things they did not have in life after the terrible time they had had.

They did not feel offending defined who they were; it was simply something they had done a few times. One participant described herself as “*not like a complete chav that gets in trouble all the time with the police*” but “*not a goody two shoes either who'll do everything and have all my qualifications and all that.*” This type of girl was someone who lived prosocially most of the time but who sometimes slipped, “*I try my hardest but some days things do slip, do you know what I mean?*”

Given their relative lack of offending, it would be tempting—but ultimately incorrect—to say that the survivors were less “troubled” than the fighters (see Hudson, 2008; Alder, 2000; Alder, 1997). While the fighters were more obviously in trouble with the law, which led to interpersonal ramifications such as being unable to take part in certain types of work, the survivors struggled with more serious mental health issues on the whole. All the young women had experienced depressive episodes or struggled with frequent changes in mood. Two of the young women had attempted suicide and had been institutionalized. Their on-going “troubles,” therefore, only became known publically through occasional brushes with the law. The rest of the time their difficulties might only be known to the medical community or their small social networks. Like certain narratives of illness such as Crossley’s (2000) work on the narratives of individuals living with HIV, the young women were navigating how to live with a trauma (for Crossley’s narrators—a diagnosis) and trying to determine who they were

afterwards. Like for Crossley's (2000:151) narrators, some of these young women had an "increased focus on the past, a futile desire to 'have things as they used to be.'" Sometimes, at their most pessimistic, their narratives drifted towards what Freeman (2000:83) has called a "narrative foreclosure—that is, the premature conviction that one's life story has effectively ended."

These were, therefore, *survivor* stories because they spoke about their victimization as being the most formative experience in their lives. The victim identity outweighed most of their other identities—including their occasional offending. There was some indication, however, that the "regressive narratives" (Gergen and Gergen, 1983) had hit a plateau, becoming *survival* narratives rather than the tragedy of victim narratives. The women continued to be affected by their pasts and had not yet successfully moved forward from their experiences. There were, however, increasingly positive influences in their lives. Two, for example, were in steady work—which helped them get out into the world and keep busy, which, in turn, was building up their mental health and separating them from antisocial friends. Although family relationships had been strained for years, the women were once again beginning to make connections with at least one person in their families whom they could turn to for help. After years of struggling alone, these were signs that things were moving forward.

Anna: No Justice

Anna said "*all the good memories I have is when I was younger.*" To some degree Anna was living in what Crossley (2000: 149), in her analysis of narratives of men living with HIV called "living in an empty present." Anna was dissatisfied with the type of work she did, "*You want to rip your hair out because people...are rude to you;*" she had mood swings, "*I'll be sitting there fine one minute and then I'll be like, ehhh;*" and she'd recently experienced the untimely death of a good friend.

Anna could identify the moment it all changed. In her teens, she was sexually assaulted, and "*it was just all downhill from there.*" In contrast to this moment, Anna described her childhood as idyllic—sometimes despite contrary evidence. For example, the shy girl who had no friends at school was at least someone who excelled in her studies, "*I was in first or middle school I didn't have many friends. I just knuckled down and got on with it.*" Anna idealised the past because whatever difficulties she encountered there were, at least, not as terrible as that which would affect it.

At the same time as she was nostalgic for an easier time, however, she in telling her narrative teased out events and occurrences which foreshadowed what was about to occur. The man who would harm her, for example, was already in her life, lurking in the background. He was a known threat, having assaulted two other young people before Anna was born but had not been prosecuted because of lack of evidence. “*Mum says he’s always been the same and always got away with everything,*” Anna said, depicting her abuser as a larger than life character who brought destruction wherever he went. Her abuse, therefore, seemed inevitable. The police became an active presence in Anna’s life after the assault as they investigated her case. Her attacker was arrested but the case did not go very far, fulfilling the promise that he “*always got away with everything.*”

For Anna, her attacker had grown into a figure who was not only undefeatable but represented a constant threat. She, for example, suggested that his drinking and driving was an accident waiting to happen, “*he’s never been caught for it and he could cause damage to someone and there’s people who are getting arrested for things that are pointless.*” She knew this even though she was no longer in contact with him because his routines never changed—he lived where he had always lived and did what he had always done. He was changeless—achieving a mythic quality. Over time he came to represent not only the wedge that put her life off course, but a symbol of everything that was wrong with the system. Since so many people seemed to know what he was like and what he was done, he should have been stopped. The fact that he was not meant that good did not conquer evil, and authority figures meant to protect and to guard—such as parents and the police—failed in their duties. True criminals were allowed to live freely in the community, while innocents (such as Anna) were repeatedly punished.

What came next for Anna was what she referred to as a period of madness/suffering. “*After that I just went mad a bit.*” The expected trajectory of her life, which had promised a bright direction with her success in school was cut off, and with it her previous identity. Things “regressed” (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). Her relationship with, and her position within, her family began to crumble, and Anna began to define herself as an outsider. Anna stopped all the activities she previously enjoyed and went from being in the top lessons to the bottom, choosing instead to surround herself with the “cool” crowd who drank, smoked, and cut school. Instead of fulfilling her destiny of

having a successful life and steadily moving upward as her life had suggested it would, it and she became someone else.

Shortly after her sexual assault, Anna was in trouble with the police for a fight at school. According to Anna, the girl approached her and asked to fight. Anna agreed, suggesting she was trying to take charge of her life, “*after the thing with [attacker] I thought I need to start sticking up for myself not going to just let people just. You can't, you don't get anywhere in life like that to be honest.*”

The way she began the story was similar to the transformations described by the “fighters” in the first section, “*I weren't going to let her just hit me and stand there and take it and not do anything back.*” However, rather than this being a transformative moment, which changed her identity and her approach to life, the fight was Anna’s only violent incident, “*That was the only fight to be honest. (laughs). That is the only time I've ever gotten into a fight. I don't like fights. (laughs).*”

Anna’s attempt to achieve agency through fighting back was punished by the police who met with her to warn her of the possible consequences. The “fighting back” did not stick, and within a year Anna described that she had once again become a victim, this time at the hands of a boyfriend.

Again, madness returned, “*That was horrible. I think I ended up going mad from all the stuff that I had to learn to deal with.*” Anna’s task as she saw it was to “learn” how to accept suffering as a permanent condition—rather than fight it. She “learn[ed]” to endure, to survive, to accept his apologies, blaming herself rather than him, “*it felt like it weren't his fault and I kept it to myself. I was sort of brainwashed.*” From the incident with her first attacker, she had learned that going to the police didn’t bring any kind of justice, “*You go to the police to help you but they don't. I don't personally think,*” and in fact might make it worse, “*he used to...think...made me think it was alright sort of thing and I knew if I called the police it would just be worse because it doesn't stop people doing it.*” For a long time, Anna hid the abuse from her friends and her family. In the end, a concerned family member contacted the police. Again, the police became involved, and once more Anna became an official victim in the police files.

Within a year, Anna was in trouble with the police, and this time she received a fine. Anna was troubled by this fine, believing her punishments were unfair and excessive,

compared to how lightly the men who abused her got off, “*There are really people out there doing real crime and they’re getting away with it.*” She could not understand the priorities of the justice system and as a result felt doubly victimized—by her abusers and by the system who did not do enough for victims. Her former boyfriend was still in the community just as her first attacker was—getting away with what they had done, while she was immediately punished for what she saw as minor in comparison to real offending.

Anna identified the first occasion where she’d become a victim as the great turning point in her life, which had changed her life course. It set in motion a series of breaks—in her mental health, within her family—and groomed her for further victimization.

Anna, however, was trying to make sense of her experiences in the present:

I think. I was saying to my mum the other day if the bad things that hadn’t happened to me hadn’t happened I don’t think I’d be who I am now. I can. I don’t know. I learned. From my ex-boyfriend and the violence and everything I learned to be more aware.... I think all the bad things that happened have helped me in a way because they’ve made me who I am. Made me. I think they made me more confident as well. You’d think it would have the opposite effect but it made me...I want to go to work and I’m alright when I go to job interviews and things like that.

Anna saw herself—her identity—as made through suffering, “*they’ve [‘the bad things’] made me who I am. Made me.*” She seemed to feel that in order to accept herself and be happy with herself in the present, she had to accept her experiences as something necessary, if not positive. Victimization, she said, had further opened her eyes to what the world was like. In Anna’s view this was a place of chaos and violence. She, for example, believed, “*the city is a bad place because it always ends up people getting arrested or getting into fights or something bad happens.*” For Anna, however, knowledge that the world was violent and destructive was a good thing. It made her more prepared and more aware of the dangers.

Having lived through terrible times also made other “normal” struggles less intimidating, and there was a real sense that although she was still struggling to come

to terms with her past negative experiences and lingering depression, she had lived through the worst. She had survived, and her continued engagement in work and in a new romantic relationship made her feel as though, *“I’m better now. I’m in a better place now.”* Anna’s narrative, therefore, was ultimately one that strove towards being focused on recovery, like in the “conversion/growth” stories of narrators living with a long-term illness (Crossley, 2000:143).

Good girls: “Great girl but it was literally just a bad area of judgement and it’s one of them things which you do in the heat of the moment and it’s silly.”

The third group of women depicted themselves as *good girls*. They described prosocial selves, which had remained intact from childhood through adulthood, and which contained only one isolated antisocial incident. This was a mistake, a temporary blip on their records, which did not count. The narratives related were firmly ones oriented around continuity—like Gergen and Gergen’s (1983) and Presser’s (2004, 2002) “stability narratives” where narrators’ perceptions of their lives moved along without a great deal of change.

The settings they described from their childhood identities contained none of the severe complications and violence, which had been a way of life for the young women in the first two groups. They spoke of families with close emotional bonds and, at times, nearly “perfect” childhoods like this young woman’s example, *“we’ve always been so close. Every single night at the dinner table we’ve always had dinner together as a family. Even growing up at school and stuff we’d always come home from school and have dinner together around the table, never watch TV and have it on your lap. We were always together. We were talking about our day. We were talking about new things that were doing on with us. Yeah, it was good.”*

Unlike a survivor’s narrative like Anna, who elevated her childhood in comparison to what came after, the young women in this group, for the most part, still described their current lives in this manner. As young adults, nearly all lived at home where they continued to be supported by their parents—emotionally and sometimes financially.

There were, of course, some lows in their stories—one young woman encountered severe bullying at school, but this was balanced out by a loving family and support through counselling to help her with the psychological impact. Another young woman’s parents had gone through a “*bit of a hard time but it wasn’t really anything to worry about like, oh they’re getting divorced,*” and were now “*so in love still.*” A third young woman’s mother had battled an illness. There were, therefore, troubles which had an impact, but there was none of the devastation encountered in the first two groups.

In general, peers dominated the young women’s discussions. School became a site where friendships were formed—and could be lost—if proper attention was not paid. Education, therefore, took a back seat because of fears the girls would be thought of as “geeks.” The young women presented selves who were a bit “lost” due to peer pressure, “*I used to have high grades and I went to a new school and you’re trying to make new friends and you don’t want to look like a geek....Obviously I could’ve done a lot better than I did but it’s influenced by people, like everything that you do really, isn’t it.*”

As has been found elsewhere, it was the relationship with other girls which emerged as important in their teenage years (Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2008). Boys and boyfriends were not extensively discussed—best friends were those the young women did everything with. All girls, however, were not as liked or trusted. Conflict and competitions frequently arose with other girls—about looks, popularity, gossip and boys. While most of the girls in this group were firmly part of a close-knit group of friends, this did not mean they always got along with other women. Many of the young women had, at least, had bad experiences with other girls and confessed to not only finding girls “*awful*” but occasionally having been “*awful*” themselves—just as in Batchelor et al’s (2001) and Henriksen and Miller’s (2012) findings of girls’ complicated relationships. Although only one girl had been the brunt of girls’ severe “*awfulness*” through extensive bullying, the others reporting knowing about and witnessing some of their friends or acquaintances use of facebook and twitter to humiliate other girls. Being—and remaining—popular also often involved alcohol, and drinking excessively wherever the young women were able to, most often through the help of older peers, fake IDs, or boys. Alcohol consumption was seen as a normal and a necessary way to have “fun,” and not drinking meant standing out. The power of the group became an important theme—it was important to go along with what friends wanted in order to remain popular and maintain friendships, whether that involved

taking sides in girls' fights, or going along with something the group wanted, "*a lot of girls are like, 'oh, ok, sorry!' and are kind of bullied into not liking someone because their friend doesn't like them, so it's very fickle and it's very like, 'oh, I should do what my friend does. A lot of the girls are sheep aren't they? and they just follow their friend and if their friend doesn't like someone, they don't like them.'*"

The combination of the sometimes difficult but close-knit relationships between girls with alcohol at times led to volatile situations and making "mistakes." Two of the young women participated in fights with other girls; one engaged in criminal damage with a female friend; and one used a fake ID to be able to go out with friends. This led to the young women's first and only interaction with the police and to shocked reactions from their families, "*as far as they were concerned I was a psychopath.*"

Depending on the severity of the "mistake," the young women employed various strategies to "neutralize" their actions as has been suggested by Sykes and Matza (1957). Most often they blamed alcohol, "*I think it was just the alcohol thing,*" their peers, "*It's influenced by people,*" or a combination of the two. Ultimately, their offences were normalized as being part of what young people did, "*I think it just happens to everybody.*" Being normal and doing what they were supposed to do was a core theme in these young women's narratives. They described themselves as good daughters, good friends, good mothers, and good workers. Their lives were spent between work, family, and a core group of close friends, leaving one young woman to describe herself to conclude, "*There's not a lot to me.*"

However, their narratives and the identities they presented offered some contradictions. They were good girls in the present who presented themselves as normal throughout their lives, which included a normal engagement in what any typical teenage girl would do during their teenage years: excessive drinking, having fun, and fighting with other girls. At the same time, however, they distanced themselves from—and criticised—the type of girl whose identity they claimed at other parts of the interview (reminiscent of offenders' techniques in Maruna's, 2001; Presser, 2002, 2004 as well as Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2008: 50), "*I think girls generally are just sort of. They care too much about what they look like and what people think of them whereas we don't really mind. We'll go out in our wellies and stuff and we don't really care. (Laughs).*" In this way, they were saying that they were *no longer* this girl, which, at least partially, hinted at an

“interest[] in repairing their own reputations” observed in RJ (Daly, 2002: 70), and which is likely the result of shame (Rodogno, 2008, Tangney, 1995, Leith and Baumeister, 1998).

Mia, the hard worker

Mia’s life story was framed around her identity as a “worker,” which she presented in her first description of herself, “*Basically yeah just went to school and then after that went straight to work. And I been at the same place nine and a half years and ehm. That’s basically all.*”

In summing herself up as a person, Mia focused on two locations—school and work—as housing her identity and life experience. Thus, her life story thus read this way: Mia was a student, and then Mia was a worker. Going to and being in two physical places as a reflection of her of identity seemed unusual. It was unusual because many young women went to school and went to work, and it has been frequently suggested that narratives are told about what is not normal (Bruner, 1990: 47).

Being normal, however, was at the heart of Mia’s narrative, and a crucial part of how she saw herself and wanted to be seen. She had had a normal upbringing. She had been part of a small but close group of female friends, which she had made since she was young and who, for the most part, remained as her social circle in the present. As teenagers, Mia suggested that she and her friends engaged in typical behaviour of ordinary teenagers, “*we used to go out. We used to go out together to these parties as you do.*”

Mia, however, was not ordinary, even though she was living a normal life. In expanding on details surrounding “work”—“*I been at the sample place nine and a half years,*” she demonstrated something uniquely personal, which she later articulated as, “*You know. I think. Well. I think I’ve done well to stick a job ten years. ‘Oh, you sound old,’ but yeah’ you know. Uhm. (Laughs).*”

Mia was, therefore, not only a “worker,” but one who had held down the same job since leaving school. According to Mia, although she was never particularly interested in school, she had always worked—part-time jobs when she was young and then moving on to the company where she still worked. She had, however, not only held onto the job; she had received recognitions from the company for her service. Mia felt that this

demonstrated something tangible about her character. She was dependable, a “*hard worker*,” and was willing to put in the hours and years in order to have a stable life. She had plans to enrol in a home study course so she could, “*better*” herself because she was “*hoping to get a better job*,” and she was currently in the process of deciding what new direction she would take. Whatever it was, she was willing to work for it. Working and working “hard” thus became the main metaphor for her character and was repeated through her narrative at steady intervals, even when she faced other commitments such as motherhood, “*Working. Having a baby. (Laughs). Then back at work.*”

Being a mother, for Mia, was another form of “hard work,” “*Yeah, yeah it’s good. (Laughs). Sometimes hard work, but it’s good. (Laughs)*,” which she dedicated herself to fully. The balance between being a good mother—achieved through working “hard” at it—and being a “hard worker” by putting in the hours and years was not always easy and left little time for anything else. In the present, her employers were allowing her to work part-time, which allowed her to dedicate more of her time to motherhood. The pressure to satisfy her employers, however, remained heavy on her mind, and she planned on increasing her hours when her child was a bit older, “*hopefully he’ll be going to pre-school so I’ll do more hours.*”

The “imago” (McAdams, 1993) of the worker was not only a normal woman but a “good” (prosocial) one. The presence of a constant character trait of working hard, which could be confirmed through commitment to one employer, demonstrated not only positive aspects of her personality, such as dedication, but showed that she was a valued and contributing member of her community. These qualities were crucial for Mia to establish because of the story contained within this larger narrative about Mia’s one-time deviation from this “good” life—which involved an assault on another young woman—had occurred a few years earlier, before motherhood, but in the middle of Mia’s commitment to work.

The vivid and detailed account of Mia’s narrative around offending came in contrast with some of her other more standard stories, fitting in with Bruner’s (1990:47) theory that narratives are a powerful way of explaining something unusual, “stories achieve their meanings by explicating deviations from the ordinary in a comprehensible form.” The episode stood out as a momentous occurrence in Mia’s life. Mia’s story concerned

a betrayal, which although several years in the past, continued to affect her in the present and had left lingering doubts about who she could trust.

According to Mia, when she and her boyfriend were in the middle of a “*bad patch*,” he cheated on Mia with a woman she knew. Shortly after her boyfriend’s confession, Mia bumped into the young woman at a party, “*On a night out I was drunk and I went up to her, got a bit angry, but ehm. Yeah. I don’t think I hurt. You know. I didn’t intent to hurt her you know, but because I was drunk, I had a few swings in there. But ehm. Yeah, she told the police, and, ehm, yeah.*”

Mia emphasised that she was drinking and that she did not intent to hurt her. She also specified the public nature of the location, highlighting that there were multiple witnesses to what occurred, “*There were lots of people around. It wasn’t a random thing me taking her off on her own and you know beating her on her own or anything like that you know. It was in [Xlocation] full of people. People were there so you know.*”

The presence of others and the public location were important facts to Mia because it provided evidence that what she had done was not planned, that she had not tried to hide it, and that anyone could have stopped it from going very far. Mia engaged in an imaginary scene demonstrating the conditions under which she would have been a true offender, “*it wasn’t a random thing me taking her off on her own and you know beating her on her own or anything like that you know.*” By describing a worse scenario, Mia put her offence into context.

Mia also emphasised the mutual nature of the fight, “*I don’t even know if I properly hit her. I know we fell to the floor and arms were swinging about and pulling hair or whatever. Petty little cat scrapping but you know that was it though.*” Her description of “*arms were swinging*” made it unclear who hit whom and suggested that both young women were “*cat scrapping*.” By feminising the fight, Mia suggested that it could not have been so serious if women were involved and also brought the discourse back to the complex relationship between women.

Mia held the woman responsible for the cheating—not her boyfriend, “*she was obviously a girl. She probably came on to him and he give in because me and him were going through a bad patch, he give in.*” Mia recounted the other woman’s sexual history which involved multiple indiscretions, “*She was. It sounds bad. She was always, you*

know, was a slag,” creating a moral story around her—she wreaked havoc wherever she went—but also showing that Mia was different from this. She was a “good” woman, “*I don’t agree with people like that.*”

In Mia’s world, men were passive characters who could not resist temptation. It was up to women to remain loyal to each other, “*although it takes two to tango you know I just sort of read because your friends don’t do that to you.*” The betrayal of a woman—one that she might even have considered to be a friend—was, therefore, what interrupted Mia’s continuity/ “stability narrative” (Gergen and Gergen, 1983) and brought about uncharacteristic behaviour.

Conclusion

A life history of the young women’s individual narratives and comparisons between them—in terms of high/low “agency” and high/low “communion” (McAdams, 1993), resulted in three identity types, or what McAdams (1993) would call “imagoes”: “fighters,” “survivors,” and “good girls.” Like McAdams’ imagoes, these identity types differed in how agentic they were, with the “fighters” having high agency but being poorly integrated in social networks; the “survivors” as lower on agency but slightly higher on communion than the “fighters,” and finally the “good girls” who presented themselves in ways that suggested they were balanced. Although McAdams’ specific “imago” types were not used other than the “survivor,” the ideas behind his classification of individuals’ “motivation,” and the idea of the “continuum,” were a useful entry point to the narratives.

The pathways—or the way they women came to these core “identities”—were surprisingly not that different for two of the identity groups. The “fighters” and the “survivors,” for example, had similar childhoods. Both groups contained women who had encountered multiple difficulties in their childhoods—such as growing up in households where there was domestic violence and sometimes experiencing physical abuse themselves. Both groups contained young women who had been bullied—and often these were the same young women who had lived in abusive households. Finally, both groups contained young women who then went on to have relationships with violent or controlling men, creating a replica of the households they had come from as children. There was, therefore, much similarity in the pathways of these groups. Women from both groups identified to some degree as victims, however, something

allowed half of the women to become “fierce,” and to begin fighting—often physically but also symbolically—against their position in the world and to search for change in themselves and their environments, while the other women worked on “surviving” the experience. In contrast, the “good girls” had no experiences of childhood victimization, fewer experiences of bullying, and no experiences of violent victimization as adolescents.

Although the sample of twelve women is too small to make solid claims for why some women shed their victim identities for fighting identities and the others shed their victim identities for survivor identities, the narratives from these women suggest this may have been due to the type of victimization they experienced and/or the official response to this victimization. The women in the survivor group had either been sexually assaulted in their teenage years/early twenties or hinted at such an experience. These specifically gendered violent experiences led to serious mental health problems and depressions and to self-harm or suicide attempts. It is possible that there is something about being sexually assaulted, which lowered the women’s agency, leading them toward survival rather than fighter pathways. Then again, it may be possible that the medical interventions some of the “survivors” received after self-harming or attempting suicide due to traumatic experiences linked their narratives to those of illness (Crossley, 2000). The “fighters” also experienced high levels of depression, anxiety, and shame, but many women in the fighter category had received little, if any, professional help with these mental health needs. Another possibility is that the “survivors” later victim experiences, which resulted in increased attention from the police and officials who treated them as *victims*, led to a deeper identification with being a victim.

And, yet, despite these different degrees of agency and for the “good girls,” a seemingly entirely different pathways through life, the type of offending all the women engaged with was remarkably similar. Violent offending was committed by women in all groups—as illustrated by the more detailed narratives by Eve, Anna, and Mia. Other types of against the person offending—such as harassment—was also committed by women across the groups, as was acquisitive offences such as shoplifting, or vandalism and criminal damage. This comes in contrast with some recent findings on young women’s violence in England and Scotland (Arnull and Eagle, 2009, Batchelor et al., 2001). Although Arnull and Eagle (2009: 69), for example, found that there “are two distinct groups of girls who commit violent offences,” (which this research also

suggests) one of which came from prosocial backgrounds and offended, in part, due to alcohol, and the other from a high-risk background, Arnall and Eagle distinguished these offenders from female shoplifters whom they found were from difficult backgrounds with more mental health needs (Arnall and Eagle, 2009). Batchelor et al (2001), in turn, suggested that violent young girls were unique from the rest of the young women they interviewed with more general violence in their lives (Batchelor et al., 2001). The “good girls” might well fit with Arnall and Eagle’s (2009) prosocial girls who offended due to alcohol, but the women’s narratives in this chapter suggest that one “type” of girl does not only commit one type of violence. Women in the “fighter” group, for example, had often engaged in violence to display their agency, but they also histories of shoplifting, harassment, and other acquisitive crimes. While alcohol was a frequent companion for “good girls” violence, good girls sometimes committed non-violent offences. A similarity between these findings and Arnall and Eagle’s (2009) work, however, is that one type of young female offender—the “good girls”—tended to have fewer mental health issues than girls in the other categories.

The amount of offending, of course, also differed between these groups of women. The “fighters” had, for the most part, engaged in more offending than the other groups of women, although one woman in the “survivor” group had been arrested more often than anyone else. For the “fighters,” fighting had become a way of responding to the world, and this, in turn, meant frequent interactions with the police. Surprisingly, however, all three groups of women’s narrated identities had crucial similarities with other narratives by offenders such as those by violent men in the US analysed by Presser (2002; 2004), desistance narratives by male and female offenders in the UK described by Maruna (2001), and desistance narratives by female offenders collected by Giordano et al (2002) in the US. The narratives by Presser and Maruna were ripe with victim narratives; that is being a victim was often described as a reason and excuse for later offending (Maruna, 2001, Presser, 2004, Presser, 2002, Presser, 2012), just as it was for women in all three groups here. While the victimization in the “fighters” and the “survivors” past emerged as a reason for their violence/offending in the present, the “good girls” sometimes claimed victimization at the hands of the girls they fought with like Mia’s narrative illustrated. While claiming a victim identity might make it easier to see oneself as a good person—which in turn might make it easier to successfully desist and move on from offending (Maruna, 2001)—the insistence that one is as victim more than an

offender complicates a process such as restorative justice which expects attendance by a victim and an offender—not two victims (Umbreit, 1998b, Daly, 2013, Shapland, 2013).

What this chapter called continuity in terms of how the “good girls” saw their identities and their fortunes in life feels identical to Presser’s (2002) “stability” narratives, in which violent men suggested they had always been good people. Some of Maruna’s (2001) sample of desisting men and women likewise often argued consistent morality throughout and in spite of their offending. While Presser and Maruna’s narrators who saw themselves this way argued this even though they had committed crimes/violence severe enough to have landed them in prison, the “good girls” had only offended once and sometimes non-violently. The “good girls’” prosocial backgrounds and prosocial present lives provided coherence with their stories, which the men and women in Presser’s stability category did not (Presser, 2002, 2004; Maruna, 2001).

Similarly, Presser’s (2002; 2004) “return” narratives, which she suggested were similar to Maruna’s (2001) desistance narratives shared characteristics with the narratives of the “fighters.” The fighters did not tell “return” narratives the same way as Presser’s narrators did—that is that they had been good, became “bad” through offending, only to become good again—even though their behaviour followed a similar arc. The “fighters” chose to hold on to some of the qualities developed during their offending period, the most important being agency as well as the ability to stand up for themselves, attempting to now use those qualities in more prosocial ways. This follows how Maruna’s (2001) desisters made up of their experiences, through a process he called “making good.” Maruna’s desisters, like Eve in the “fighters” group, wanted to turn their negative experiences and bad deeds into something useful for others through helping young versions of themselves in trouble. Also like Eve and the fighters, Maruna’s desisters viewed their future prospects optimistically—despite all the evidence, criminal records, and experiences that might make one think otherwise. These traits—an element of wanting to “make good”—combined with high levels of agency, which Giordano et al (2002) also found to be crucial in women’s desistance in the US, bodes well for the “fighters” in this research. Some of the “fighters” such as Eve were still actively making changes to their lives in order to live more “normally” and had only remained offence free for a few months. The work women like Eve were doing,

however, and the commitment to the process, have led others to successful desistance, suggesting the same might be true for her and the women in the group.

Beyond offending, the life histories the women presented fell neatly into Gergen and Gergen's (1983) "progressive," "regressive," and "stability" narratives with the caveats suggested by Gergen and Gergen—ie narratives rarely follow these 'perfect' forms but rather move around them. The "fighters," for example, due to high levels of agency were more likely to view their lives in progressive terms because they felt they could take charge of their lives and react to their victimization, ultimately stopping it. Their pathways, however, in terms of their "lived life" (Wengraf, 2001, Wengraf, 2006) suggested an origin at a low point, followed by a stable, low state where victimization was piled on. Although a turning point came next, which temporary changed their narratives into something like progression, criminalization, further victimization, or poor mental health produced regression, which was then, due to agency, followed by progression again. The "survivors" perceived their lives to follow a more tragic rhythm, where their circumstances in life—sometimes beginning at a high, sometimes a low—had taken a turn for the worse after gendered victimization in their teens (fitting in with Gergen and Gergen's 1983 description of "realistic" and "simplified" narrative pathways). These "regressive" narratives, however, had reached a plateau for most, and begun to turn towards something more positive, an upswing. These pathways might not look so different to a reader, but the way they were perceived by the narrators was very different. Both rhythms were more troubling than those of the "stability" or continuity narratives told by the good girls whose highs and lows balanced each other. Lows, for example, were responded to with interventions that brought the young women back to highs, producing an overall fairly stable line, positive narrative (see Gergen and Gergen, 1983).

All the women—"fighters," "survivors," and "good girls"—were trying in some way to create positive lives for themselves while making sense of their previous experiences (as Maruna, 2001 found). They demonstrated new identities—those of workers and mothers predominantly—as proof that this was happening, if it had not already happened, just as Giordano et al (2002) and Opsal (2012) have found in their samples of desisting women. For some, however, this process was more difficult than for others—as the complex narrative lines suggested. The "good girls" had moved on from offending; their "work" concerned itself with "*repairing their own reputations*" (Daly,

2002: 70) carefully providing evidence that they were who they said they were. The “fighters,” however, despite agency sometimes had criminal convictions which prevented them from moving forward. They realistically feared that the mistakes they had made in their youths would always follow them. Equally problematic as these official records of their wrongdoing, were their own judgements of what they had done. One woman in the “fighter” group felt so much shame about her past actions that she avoided getting to know prosocial people. Eve, in becoming prosocial, felt there was very little beyond agency, which she should keep about herself, attempting to construct a new identity rather than “mending” the one she already had, which Maruna’s (2001) findings suggested). The “fighters” along with the “survivors” because of their past victimization and repeat offending experienced high levels of shame, guilt, anger, and depression towards themselves and their abusers. It seems likely that most, if not all the women would be able to desist from offending. They still, however, had work to do with their mental health in order to lead meaningful lives. To borrow the illness terminology expressed by the “survivors”—there was a need to “get better.”

Chapter 7: Morality Tales

Introduction

The previous chapter, through a literary analysis (Freeman, 2006, 2004, 2000) of young women's life histories, described three main identity types—"fighters," "survivors," and "good girls." These identities represented how the young women saw themselves and how they had made sense of their experiences. Stories about offending were incorporated into these identity narratives but seldom dominated. Instead, many of the young women saw themselves as victims—often stemming from childhood or adolescent trauma.

This chapter, Morality Tales, examines the discourse related to specific stories about offending. Instead of an exploration of identity, it focuses on the language young women use to explain and justify what they have done. In doing so, the analysis pays careful attention to "the contexts in which narratives take place, what they consist of, their performances, and 'small story research'" (Bamberg, 2006: 139). While the first chapter examined life histories as "*meaning-making*, an act of *poiesis*" (Freeman, 2006:133), here, my contributions as an interviewer are sometimes presented alongside interviewee's text in order to explore "smaller co-occurring language structures, the co-construction of narratives between speakers and hearers, and the limits of such co-construction" (Squire, 2013: 66).

The title comes from frequent commentary in the literature that the subject of morality should be at the heart of storytelling (Sarbin, 2004, Benjamin, 1999, Squire, 2013, Presser, 2009). Additionally, both Squire (2013:50) and Presser (2009: 185) use the term "morality tale" in their writing, with Squire suggesting, "all stories are...to some extent morality tales" and Presser (2002, 2004, 2009) analysing the interview as a place where her male participants tried to weave such tales about their 'good' characteristics (Presser, 2002, Presser, 2004, Presser, 2009). This chapter carries some of those traditions forward in presenting these stories as narratives that showcase a positive side of the narrator's moral character, which fits with a plethora of literature demonstrating that offenders often describe themselves as good people (Maruna, 2001, Presser, 2002, Presser, 2004, Sandberg, 2013).

Alongside other discursive strategies, the young women relied on several of Sykes and Matza's (1957) proposed "neutralisations" through which young offenders are thought to explain their crimes as understandable and acceptable. These will be analysed more closely as they emerge within the young women's discourses and will be complemented by other, perhaps more female specific explanations and excuses.

The morality tales analysed in this chapter are not all the stories about criminal behaviour told. They were chosen because they showcased various techniques and ways of talking about offending that sometimes questioned ideas about women and antisocial behaviour as presented in the literature. The first section, for example, deals with explanations of offences that take place in a group setting. That section, "Group Offending: A Discourse of Play," relies on Sykes and Matza's (1957) "denial of injury" in suggesting offending is only meant as play and Sykes and Matza's "condemnation of the condemnors" in carefully showing other players involved who go unpunished. The section also, however, makes the case that some of the offences the young women were caught for might have been examples of net-widening, as has been suggested occurs in other police-facilitated restorative justice schemes in the UK (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004). It also closely examines young women's portrayal of group dynamics and youth culture—what it means to be a young woman at play in the modern age.

The second set of morality tales narrows the focus from youth group/youth culture to justifications of offending involving family. The young woman whose story is the focus in this category presents offending as the conflict between two prosocial roles—that of a good neighbour and that of a good mother. While Lexie's discourse uses Sykes and Matza's (1957) "appeal to higher loyalties" in arguing the necessity of protecting her son, it also adds complexity to a fairly commonly accepted theory in criminology—that motherhood leads to desistance (Kraeger et al., 2010, Michalsen, 2011, Graham and Bowling, 1995). Lexie's narrative also demonstrates how an interviewer may be used in creative ways by an interviewee and how a dialogue between them about expectations for women might lead to unexpected contradictions.

Finally, the third section deals with an individual's reasoning about her behaviour and demonstrates the difficult work that is involved in talking about an offence as acceptable when no one "neutralisation" seems to fit. Harley's hesitant talk also shows how an interviewee's reluctance to approach a subject directly affects the interviewer's questions, leading to a type of narrative dance around a subject they both know will eventually emerge.

Like Presser's (2002, 2004) narrators and Maruna's (2001) desisters, all these women here present themselves as prosocial individuals whose offending days are behind them. These stories, however, are not only attempts to show themselves as good people. Packed within these discourses are larger narratives about the rights of youth; conflicts over space; authority and control; and finally what it means to be a young woman.

Group: Offending as play

This section of morality tales describing offending as play is composed of three parts. In the first part, "Play and Players," the discourse of play is traced through three seemingly divergent offences—ASB, criminal damage, and racial harassment—and is described by women belonging to each of the identity groups, "fighters," "survivors," and "good girls," described in the previous chapter. The second section, "Interruption of Play," discusses the police's conflicting roles of parenting and punishing unsupervised youth. The third part, "Play and Space," examines both the city centre as a playground for adolescents and the conflicts this causes, as well as young women's attempts to access spaces intended for adult play.

Play and Players

Ciara, Laura, and Michelle all used a discourse of play to describe and explain their offending in the interview. Although they differed in how much offending they had been involved in—one told me she had been arrested around a hundred times but never convicted; the other had been arrested and convicted of several offences, and the third woman had only been in trouble with the police once—they each used this type of discourse to describe their *first* offence. Within these offences there were major differences. The offence types, for example, were ASB, criminal damage, and harassment, indicating varying levels of effect on communities and victims. The girls

themselves also ranged in ages at the time they had committed these offences—from just above the age of criminal responsibility to their early 20s. And yet, their morality tales had some remarkable linguistic similarities, from the type of language used to describe what had occurred, to their reliance of the first person plural to relinquish ownership and control of their actions—all serving to “neutralise” and downplay their actions in ways that have been suggested by “narrative criminologists” (Sykes and Matza, 1957, Maruna, 2001, Presser, 2002, Presser, 2004, Presser, 2009).

According to Ciara, her offending started innocently in her late teens, “*I suppose some of it was staying at friends' and we'd have quite a lot to drink and stumbling home and on the way home we'd pick up a police cone or and a police car drive past and they give you a bollocking for picking up a police cone.*”

For Laura, offending was a game played over an extended period of time in her mid teens, “*Me and my friend, it happened over a few periods of time. We went out drinking at the pubs and on our way home we did it around 3 weeks, take a sign off the local [Xbusiness]. They had these letters for [Xbusiness] and sort of now and then because we were drunk and thought it would be funny, we'd take the signs off. We'd take them home and I'd gathered in the end about 6 letters I had. And my friend had a couple of letters.*”

Michelle’s first offence involved “play” with a male victim in her neighbourhood before her teens, “*We used to find it funny to upset a man on our road because we. He used to chase after us and we found that great. We thought that was so much fun and so we used to call him names and he was a [x ethnic minority] man and he used to run after us and then I got caught by the police.*”

As can be seen in these three accounts, youth and naiveté are used as important themes in depicting antisocial activity as “play.” Michelle’s depiction of “*he used to chase after us and we found that great,*” gives an almost childish innocence to her activities and shows that she perceived that the man they “upset” would, in turn, play back. The sense of “fun” in having the man chase them becomes desired to the point that the children escalate their behaviour in order for him to keep playing, “*we used to call him names and he was a [x ethnic minority] man and he used to run after us*” The man’s

feelings and the collective responsibility is swept away at the joy in having an adult engage back with the children playing on the streets of the estate. Laura's story, similarly, focuses on the harmless "fun" behind removing letters off a store's sign. Her narrative is peppered with repetitions and variations of "fun," "*we just thought it was funny*," appealing to the listener's sense of humour as well as emphasising the ridiculous nature of their behaviour, "*it was silly*"/ '*oh it was silly*.' By emphasising the lack of harm involved, "*We didn't hurt anybody*," Laura, like Ciara, depict their acts as something unplanned and committed in the spirit of fun. Ciara further relies on words that emphasise her lack of control of her actions due to a physical lack of coordination, "*stumbling*." All of this suggests an innocent ramble on their home turf, or while heading home—the location again suggesting they are in some sense doing what they are supposed to be doing (not straying too far from home). It is not until outsiders—such as the police—enter the scene that their actions are misconstrued and interpreted as offending.

All three narrators also position their "play"/offending as part of peer interactions, just as the literature has suggested (Arnall and Eagle, 2009, Rutter et al., 1998, Garnier and Stein, 2002, Haynie and Osgood, 2005, McCord and Conway, December 2005) . This occurs immediately, within their opening breath, "*some of it was staying at friends' and we'd have quite a lot to drink*," as Ciara puts it, or "*Me and my friend*," as Laura begins, or the simple, "*We*" that characterises Michelle's account. By using the first person plural, and associating themselves with it so quickly, the narrators both suggest the offences were collective acts and argue that in such collective circumstances individual responsibility cannot be determined, even though the police might try. There is, for example, no differentiation between Ciara's role in picking up police cones and her friends' roles. Likewise, Michelle thinks of their "fun" as an equally involved game.

This linguistic device, crucial since it establishes a sense of collective identity and downplays their own role, has been identified as a common strategy in other offender narratives (see, especially, Maruna, 2001: 94). It also, however, helps create a dramatic sense of unfairness when the police arrive at the scene and "misread" the situation. This is especially evident in Michelle's morality tale, which begins with "we" and continues in this first person plural until her sudden arrest, "*and then I got caught by the police.*"

The unexpected change in pronouns mirrors the unexpected turn of events in having Michelle blamed for what she has presented as a group activity.

This “miscalculation” by the police has further linguistic consequences as can be seen in Michelle’s continued explanation, “*There were a lot of us. In [xlocation] there are a lot of groups and at the time all these groups were doing this to this one person and but my group got caught and they put me down as a ringleader for all the groups but I weren’t a ring leader.*” The “they”/ “them” (authority figures) becomes similar to the “us” (peer group) in that both become part of faceless collectives—types rather than individuals. This helps build a sense of antagonism between “youth” and “authority.” Through the continued focus on the groups’ roles—and the error in singling out one group, only to then capture one individual—Michelle suggest simplistic police practices and a lack of awareness of what was actually going on. The police, according to Michelle, don’t understand much about young people. It also, however, shifts the focus onto her pain and suffering—through being unfairly punished for everyone’s offences—and completely dismisses the victim’s experiences. The victim loses his gender and ethnicity, becoming simply, “*this one person*,” and Michelle becomes increasingly visible “*me*”/“*I*.”

What is unique about these three morality tales, however, in comparison to similar arguments by adult offenders (see Maruna, 2001, Presser, 2002, Presser, 2004), the young women do not suggest they were *less* involved than the others, which offenders often do (see particularly Maruna, 2001: 136 and Presser, 2002: 134). Instead, Michele, for example, repeatedly suggests the other are *just as* involved, “*They seemed to think I was the one who was getting all these people together to upset this man but little did they know that half the people who upset this man I didn’t get along with anyway. I was never a ringleader. Not saying I wasn’t trouble myself because I was.*” Michelle makes motions to separate herself from the group—“*half the people...I didn’t get along with anyway,*” but instead of using this opportunity to suggest she is somehow better like Presser’s (2002: 134) and Maruna’s (2001) narrators, Michelle concludes with an evaluation of her character and actions in a negative way. The honesty is similar to Laura’s confession that Laura took more letters from the shop than her friend did. While coming forward as equally—or even more responsible—seems strange, it ultimately supports the women’s argument that they were not *only* responsible and demonstrates

the “essential goodness” of Presser’s (2002: 103) narrators or the “positive attributes” Maruna’s (2001: 89, 91) desisters suggested they had. These narrators, despite their flaws, declared themselves to be “truthful” over and over again: “*I’m quite a truthful person anyway.*”

Interruption of play

In all three morality tales, the young women are able to “play” in antisocial ways because of there being no parents around (see Kolvin et al, 1998; Farrington et al, 2009, etc). Parents are absent for a variety of reasons explained elsewhere as being due to addiction, neglect or illness. Instead of parents stepping in to monitor teenage drinking, or as in the case of Michelle, the whereabouts of children, it is the police who appear, taking on roles that alternate between the parental and the punitive—a combination that does not always mix well.

Ciara and her friends who pick up a police cone are met with a ‘*bollocking*’ because they ‘*shouldn’t have moved it.*’ In Ciara’s narratives, the police are sticklers for rules, monitoring her behaviour and scolding her when she is engaged in something they feel is inappropriate. They are, therefore, in her account, concerned with behaviour that does not rise to the level of offending, or in her words, are always “*taking things too seriously.*” For Ciara, this meddling, means not only interrupting her and her friends’ physical journeys home at the end of the night, but also Ciara’s metaphoric journey. According to Ciara, her “play” is a deliberate attempt to live out the teenage years she never had due to her unusual family circumstances:

I’d never had time to go out into the streets and play with my friends like other people did. I was the one at work. And even at school I was the one who couldn’t go out and play with my friends because I had to go do a shift somewhere. So when I hit 19, 20 I was like, well what happened to being a teenager? I want to be a teenager (laughs). [yeah] I want to go out and socialize and hang out with my friends.

Ciara’s description of her childhood suggests that she lived childhood and adulthood simultaneously, taking on adult responsibilities of work alongside school, which made

her different from her schoolmates. When “normal” children play in the streets, she, the odd one out, walked off to work. This account is intensified through focus on the “I,” which builds in momentum as Ciara describes one unfair circumstance after the other, “*never had time*,” “*the one at work*,” “*couldn’t go out*,” “*had to go do a shift*.” The phrases suggest obligation, drudgery, and entrapment, as there is no difference in the states of “going” and “being.” Ciara’s sense of never going anywhere—and of running out of time to do so—hits her at the end of her teenage years, making her decide to take matters into her own hands in order to “*go out and socialize and hang out with my friends*.” The focus is on decreasing isolation—of “being” part of a group—rather than participating in any specific kind of rebellious activity.

The tale contains a noticeable absence of parents or guardians present to keep track of Ciara—in terms of keeping her out of trouble but also to ensure she has a proper childhood. Instead, the first adults to appear in the narrative are the police who step in to regulate and control her. Like other adults, the police in doing this thwart her attempts to “socialize” and form a community. They, presumably like her absentee parents who demand she work, collude to oppose what she sees as a “right” to have a carefree youth. The way Ciara speaks of the police and parents is similar overall. How she responds to her “*trouble...with the law*,” for example, is like that of a child negotiating the unfair punishment at the hands of her parents, “*The police took things too seriously in some contexts. And in other context it was like well have I really done anything? Did I do something that badly?*” Legal consequences, therefore, are not interpreted seriously or understood to be permanent in this type of discourse, which presents her, the “I,” as the victim to whom things are always being done.

Michelle, in being pulled out of the group, and made to face the consequences of the group likewise becomes increasingly victimized through the increase of police involvement. Michelle notes, that “*they put me in the paper*” and “*they did do me for harassment*.” The agencies behind the actions—police/courts/reporters—are not specified, implying a lack of understanding of what is happening as well as an interpretation of authority as one big machine. Michelle is the subject who is suddenly being manipulated, or as Watchel (1999: 2) writes, “done things to,” by being put on display for a wide audience after having been singled out. Because she is a minor, it

also has the added consequences that her father is pulled into the situation, resulting in further “doing to” (Wachtel, 1999:2):

my dad came to the police station and smacked me in front of the police officer. Because then smacking was fine. He smacked me across the face and the police officer said, ‘that’s enough of that’ and he sat with me in the interview because I was underage and when I got home I got severely, severely told off and beaten for it

The result of police intervention is a seemingly never ending series of punishments, both official and familial. Official systems punish her for harassment, while her father punishes her for getting into trouble. The police not only appear in this account to set these things in motion but only half-heartedly curb her father’s reaction, “‘*that’s enough of that*,’” which later continues at home through additional verbal and physical discipline, confirming the dangers Alder (2000) has warned about interventions involving offending girls and their potentially abusive parents. The police become a figure that always sides with adults—adult victims, adult parents—against youth, and like in Ciara’s tale, there is a lack of protection from any authority figure or adult.

Finally, in Laura’s narrative, the police arrive at the scene of “play” to ruffle feathers:

We’d been told off by a lot by other police. They’d come and warn us or they’d take us home if we were out. Or if we had alcohol on us on they’d take it off us. But the thing is they wound us up because even if you were sitting around the town clock as a group at half 5 in the evening, just chatting, no alcohol, nothing, they’d still stop and start intimidating us all by asking us what we were doing, why we were out, what our plan was for the evening, and that would make us angry. The thing is they wound us up.”

With the “*t[elling] off*,” “*warn][ing]*” and “*tak[ing] home/off*,” there is an ambiguity whether the police arrive on the scene to protect or punish. As in Ciara’s account, Laura makes the case that she and her friends are “*just chatting*” and that the only thing they do wrong is simply being young and in the proximity of other young people. Even

though the police are not dealing with these actions through arrests, but are instead diverting and managing it in alternative ways, the youth see these actions as overstepping the bounds of what the police are supposed to do and see police interaction as criminalizing in itself.

The questions the police ask are not interpreted as signs of concern but rather as interrogation. The police in Laura's account emerge as over vigilant, demanding “*what...when...why*” in a seemingly deliberate attempt to “*intimidate*” and “*w[ind] us up*.” Official power, therefore, in this account is described as something that becomes wielded just because it can be, leading to an increasing sense of “them” versus “we/us” (or “me/I”) just as it was in others’ accounts. Laura, unlike Ciara and Michelle, never breaks from the first person plural, associating completely with the group identity. The result is a kind of a symbolic standoff between the youth and the police. The youth in feeling their “rights” are being violated and that they are being criminalized simply for being young, become, “*angry*,” and mobilized as a “*we/us*.” The “*we/us*”, in turn, increases in its sense of righteousness, leading to an urgency of doing something about it, backed by the power of the group, “*We'd say there's nowhere around here, we're just meeting up, not doing anything wrong and that would make us want to rebel again them for a bit because they were so in our space. They'd sit there and say oh what's your name and ask us questions and we didn't like that.*” The group want to “*rebel*” as a result, and the police, in turn, attempt to disarm the collective by identifying individual voices, “*They'd sit there and say oh what's your name and ask us questions and we didn't like that.*”

Play and space

What these morality tales all have in common is that the struggle between police and youth plays out in public spaces and ultimately has something to do with who has the rights to that public space. For Michelle and her peers, the estate on which they live is their playground as well as their home. In their view, there is no difference between “public” and “private” space—it is all part of their backyard, and since it is *theirs*, the people and places in it become objects of play. In the morality tale involving Laura and her peers, the young people argue against the police officers who approach them in “*our space*.” Being too old for the playground and too young for the pubs and clubs, youths suggest they have to congregate in areas not designated for that use because “*there's*

nowhere around here,” which is considered appropriate. For Laura and her group, part of their anger at the police is due to the ease with which they “*sit there,*” uninvited, violating their rights at privacy in their own space.

Simultaneously, the police’s work in walking across and monitoring public space make them both guardians of that space and the people in it. Their confrontation with youth who also claim ownership becomes complex because in one sense the police must guard the public—and potentially victimized citizens—from the youth and they must guard the youths—whose parents are absent—from harm. This negotiation between parenting and penalizing in these accounts does not go well and the young women end up feeling singled out, misunderstood, excessively penalized and protected by no one, leading to distrust of the police and a feeling of victimization.

Noticeably absent from these accounts, however, is gender. These are young women at play in the streets—drinking, “playing” with public as well as private property, and taunting individuals in that space. They, therefore, “play” in ways that go against gender roles. However, their own gender is rarely mentioned and neither is the gender of their playmates, nor the gender of the responding officers. It is only Laura who makes it clear that she offends with another young woman, despite the literature’s suggestion that early/first female offending tends to be through the influence of boys (Miller et al., 2008, Caspi et al., 1993). When the narrators suggest police overreacted to what they did—failing to see the playful intention of it—because the police were unfair to youth. Nowhere do they offer their genders as a reason they might be singled out and penalized, for “largely trivial misconduct” as Chesney-Lind (1989: 6) has suggested. These morality tales, therefore, not only offer insight into how young people play and how they perceive police interference of that play, but also how *young women* perceive their actions and arrests as being unaffected by gender in a variety of offences ranging from ASB and criminal damage to harassment.

These genderless stories come into contrast with a morality tale told by Becky—also having to do with play but with a strong gendered theme. Becky, a young woman who offended in her teens by using a fake ID, began with a discussion of whether or not a crime had actually been committed, and if so, how serious it really was—a combination of Sykes and Matza’s “the denial of injury” and “the denial of the victim.” This was

similar to Ciara, Laura, and Michelle's argument. Becky, however, rather than congregating in public spaces with her friends because of a lack of private spaces, illegally carved out access to "proper" places to play. Rather than relying on a discourse of naiveté and youth as a reason for/style of play, rendering their actions harmless, in the spirit of 'fun,' however, Becky suggest *maturity* as giving her and her friends a legitimate access to that space.

Becky begins by appealing to me, as a female researcher, saying that since girls are more mature than boys, it is natural that they would be eager to leave childhood games behind, "*Because like girls are much more mature than boys aren't they? They always say that girls are two years older than boys, don't they, in maturity?*" In trying to create agreement over young women's maturity as two years more advanced, Becky suggests that while she was 16 in physical years, emotionally she was 18, rendering her use of clubs legal. Through a mutual understanding about gender—between women—Becky moves on to trying to establish the normality of girls going out to the clubs, while boys are stuck at home in childhood games, "*We always went out in the city when the boys in our years were going out to the parks still. That was our thing. We loved getting dressed up. We loved wearing our heels, going out. And obviously the men we met would be like really old, and we'd have to say, 'yeah we're 18.' We weren't. Of course we weren't but that's what we did.*"

Despite the maturity she has worked to develop, however, Becky, by focusing on the clothes, "*dressed up*"/"*our heels*," invokes a typical game of dress up played by girls. This sense of immaturity beneath claims of maturity continues in Becky's description of who they meet while out playing: men who were "*like really old*." The contrast between the playing girls and the "*really old*" men begins to suggest that Becky and her friends are not as in control as they initially believe, as is confirmed in Becky's repeat reminder they were not as old as they said, "*we weren't... we weren't.*" Becky also, while indicating the girls willingly get dressed and go out, suggest that lying about it does not come as easily, "*we'd have to say, yeah.*"

In this manner, Becky builds the picture of other characters who play alongside the girls and who perhaps have more power and authority than they do. Becky, for example,

explains that she and her friends for a long time had unlimited entrance to the clubs without fake IDs. The only identification they needed was their gender and their youth.

But for so long to be honest with you, we went out without any ID and got into the clubs and it was literally like when we were 16. We never even dreamed of going out with ID and we, we went into loads of clubs and they were fine with us. They never asked us for ID. We'd get in. [yeah] They were like, "Oh hello girls. Come in." We always thought if you were a pretty girl, [yeah] there's a group of pretty girls and they'd want you in the clubs [yeah] because they want the men to come in, see pretty girls and they'd buy you drinks, more money.

Becky depicts young women as valuable to the nightclub business—not as individuals but as *types* whose presence clubs and bars depend on for increased business. In order to have “*pretty girls*” around, clubs are willing to overlook age requirements and the law. By speaking in the first person plural, however, Becky makes it clear that she, too, acknowledges the existence of this identity—of pretty girls as a group. While the nightclubs’ identification of girls as a group may be read as making young women into commodities, Becky’s use of a collective identify emphasises the widespread nature of the practice and begins to argue a diminished guilt. If the goal is to have a *group* of girls in a club and the girls always go out as a group, then it makes less sense that an individual is punished for an offence everyone else—clubs, owners, bouncers, male patrons, and girls—are actively participating in.

In Becky’s morality tale, the girls begin as innocents, “*we never even dreamed of going out with ID.*” Instead, it is the people at the door who demonstrate they are aware of the girls’ ages by addressing them as girls, “*Oh, hello girls.*” Becky emphasises the existence of two valid systems of access that have worked—proper identification *and* being a pretty girl. In a way she has made a contradictory move from claims of maturity (and therefore a right to be there) to claims of naiveté for the rules (“*we always thought if you were a pretty girl.*”). The naiveté Becky displays here, however, is a naiveté that is encouraged and demanded by the clubs that rely on the presence of young girls in order to turn a profit. By displaying a naïve way of thinking without attention to

consequences, Becky shows she is who she says—a pretty girl who is ultimately taken advantage of.

According to Becky, it is the adults in the narrative who are meant to safeguard and uphold the law, but in reality, they fail to protect the girls in their care by deliberately ignoring blatant signs that they're under age. When Becky finally begins to use a fake ID, she uses an expired passport from a friend, which depicts a child rather than a young woman, “*The girl must have literally been about ten in the picture. She was so young in the picture and the passport itself was expired but I'd still get in with it because the bouncers just wouldn't say anything to me. Obviously they probably weren't allowed to accept that but they just did.*” By focusing in on the youth of the girl in the passport and its expiration, Becky begins to shift the blame from herself to those who were supposed to be doing their job. Although she has stopped using the first person plural as part of a group of girls, the emphasis of the youth of the girl, “*literally been about ten*” / “*she was so young*”, brings out new themes of vulnerability. By suggesting Becky is this girl, she is once again aligning herself with someone else but this time an innocent child.

In contrast, “*they*” continue to hide behind a shared identity. Bouncers, night club managers and owners are all part of the same system whose only goals are to turn a profit and take advantage of people—“*pretty girls*” and “*really old*” men in the process. When Becky is finally caught—for an offence, which she has argued is committed by multiple players—it is because she is even more directly victimized. One evening when she's in a nightclub, one of the “*really old*” men who is drawn to the club because of “*pretty girls*” spikes her drink. Becky's illegal play is forced to the attention of the police when she becomes ill enough for both the paramedics and the police to rush to her assistance. In attempting to determine her identity and to help her, the police come across her fake ID and therefore must do something about it, “*The police were like who is this girl and my friends said, it's _____, it's _____ here's her name and they went into my bag and brought my ID out and they said, why does her ID say, whatever the name was.*” While the police first attend in order to protect young women out at play, like in the other morality tales, their attempts at parenting quickly turn to more punitive strategies.

Legally, her offence is not only about accessing spaces she should not be in because of her age but also because she is pretending to be someone else. Becky, however, has presented the idea of being someone other than who she says she is as more complex than this. Without proper identification in her earliest visits to the club, Becky is a type—“a pretty girl.” For the clubs, this is exactly the person they are looking for. In their eyes, her identity, therefore, is legitimate and no additional supporting documents are needed. Once she begins to use another girl’s ID, Becky may be presenting herself as someone she is not. In the eyes of the clubs, however, her dominant identity—that of a pretty girl—is still valid, and since this “other” girl also loosely fits that description, the identity, Becky has argued, is not necessarily false—as they still belong to the same collective identity, “pretty girls.”

Becky has, however, also provided a larger discourse of the widespread and acceptable victimization of women who, whatever their maturity, are in some senses still children at play. This fits certain feminist discourses about “women as victims” as discussed in the first chapter of the literature review by Javdani et al (2011), the unnecessary criminalization of young women for low-level/status offences as described by Chesney-Lind (1989) and, especially, the widespread masculine control over some female crimes such as sex work described by Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) and Maher and Curtis (1998). To some extent, Steffensmeier and Allan’s (1996) argument about prostitution works here. The type of offending Becky describes is actively encouraged and rewarded by industries objectify women for their looks in order to attract more paying customers. Far from being a mutually beneficial relationship, as it first appears, the young women are the ones who are sacrificed when someone must be punished. Fitting with the “women as victims” discourse, it is literally when Becky is victimized by one of its patrons that she is caught for her role in the offending. Everyone else escapes—partially because they, as adults, are more aware of how to bend the rules without breaking them.

Part of the punishment involves breaking Becky away from her group identity—which to some degree has been encouraged by the clubs for maximum profit—and singling her out as the sole offender. Becky, like the other women who have used narrative of offending as play, argues this act is a misinterpretation of what youth culture is actually like. Ciara, Laura, and Michelle, like Becky, have all argued that the group identity is real and that individual responsibility while acting as a group is nearly impossible to

tease out. Attempting to do so is both a sign that authority figures do not understand/care about youth and ultimately that authority (not only parents but also the police) fail to care and protect. Rather than locating the ‘true’ criminals Becky presents as invisible but powerful agents pulling the strings behind her morality tale, or taking time to understand the motivation of youth (the right to play/have a childhood; the right to socialize/congregate somewhere), the police sit back as one young person is symbolically punished to show something is done about youth crime, no matter the consequences to that youth (which was poignantly illustrated by Michelle as her father hits her in front of the police).

Family: “I start to respect myself”

The second morality tale moves from a discourse about groups and youth struggles to a slightly narrower focus of family—specifically motherhood. Using family as a reason to fight is a familiar theme among offender narratives, where ideas of needing to stand up for a loved one is frequently called upon such as in Sykes and Matza’s (1957) “appeal to higher loyalties”, or Maruna’s (2001:90) analysis of the “heroic underdog who only did what needed to be done to help family and friends,” or Presser’s (2004: 89) men who stood by the statement, “he did what he had to do.” Motherhood as a reason to fight is less expected, however, since the literature has presented motherhood as something that produces desistance rather than crime (Graham and Bowling, 1995, Michalsen, 2011, Kraeger et al., 2010). Lexie’s morality tale, which will be presented below, therefore, gives a unique and perhaps crucial take on what it means to be a good mother through the presentation of a fight with a neighbour as a necessary way to maintain a prosocial life in an antisocial neighbourhood, which as Anderson (1999: 36) has described in his work on urban lifestyles in inner city Philadelphia, as “code-switching”; which Murray (2009: 122) has also found to be important for her “streetwise resisters”; and which feminist criminology has highlighted to be true for young women who fight (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Henriksen and Miller, 2012; Batchelor, 2005; Burman, 2008; Batchelor et al, 2001, etc). In Lexie’s fighting story, she positions her decision to fight as a conflict between two prosocial roles—being a “good neighbour” and being a “good mother” (see Giordano et al, 2002). Fighting, ironically, is, therefore, presented as a necessary tool for staying “good.”

Lexie, the mother of a young son, was interviewed in her flat in the middle of a city centre. Upon my entrance, I was offered a cup of tea. The front room, where the interview took place, was tidy and clean, with bright, white curtains separating the domestic space from the street outside. The front door opened up onto the road with broken glass and bottles. Lexie quickly brought up the contrast between these two environments—and the different *people* within them as she began talking about the fight she had recently experienced with her neighbour, which had resulted in her being eligible as an “offender” for the interview. Her neighbours, she said, were “*a druggy people. They use a lot of drugs and she’s always screaming.*” She further developed this sense of difference by comparing their daily schedules. Lexie was tied to a tight routine. As a single mother and a worker, Lexie put her son to bed early so that she could wake him up before dawn to bring him to his child minder. After this trip, Lexie travelled some distance to work a long shift. There was little room for flexibility in this schedule if she wanted to get paid. Her female neighbour on the other hand, she suggested lived her life the wrong way around, doing what she wanted whenever she wanted to, “*I don’t know. Maybe she gets some drugs and cannot sleep at night. Because she starts hovering. Cleaning. Cooking at night time. (Laughs.) It’s crazy. Insane.*”

In describing her female neighbour’s housekeeping routines, Lexie presents her neighbour as “abnormal” even while she is engaged in something supposedly “good”—maintaining a nice household, just as Lexie does. The situation, while offering a real frustrating dilemma—interrupting the sleep of a woman who is living a “good” life—is presented as comedic irony. The neighbour might play at normalcy and at keeping her house in shape, but she gets it (literally) laughably wrong, and her misinterpretation at doing what *seems* right reveals the farce for what it is.

More than just a comparison between the “good” and the “bad” neighbour, based on their lifestyles, however, Lexie’s narrative quickly develops into a larger discourse concerning the ownership of space:

When they move in. Maybe 2 years ago. Maybe they already lived in there or only was in the prison because I didn’t see. In that house I already four years. Something like that. So they move later than me.

And it started in the beginning I start to be nice and then she asked me for couple quids or something. I give her. She sometimes came sit or ask for cigarette. I don't care. I can give you know but after when I reject her she start to be mad.

Although Lexie cannot say for certain when her neighbours moved in, she knows that she was living there first. Thus, Lexie establishes legitimacy and presents herself as the “original” resident. In trying to remember how long her neighbours have lived there, however, Lexie drops the word prison into the conversation—again reminding me about the social as well as moral status of the people in question. According to Lexie, their rights to live there are not only being called to question by her but has also been by the authorities who were forced to house them for some time away from ‘decent’ people.

Lexie’s story thus begins to fall into a kind of narrative repetition in which she establishes herself as a generally better woman through descriptions of her neighbours’ failings, a strategy also recognized by Sykes and Matza (1957), Maruna (2001), and Presser (2002). Once this has been established, however, Lexie, goes beyond this and presents herself as a good person in her own right through telling a good neighbour story.

In the good neighbour story, Lexie has gone out of her way to help and welcome her neighbours, “*I start to be nice.*” Being nice involves helping out—occasionally lending money or a cigarette, and in allowing the boundaries between Lexie’s space and her neighbour’s space to be fluid, “*she sometime came sit.*” All of this is possible due to Lexie’s generous nature—giving freely of her own stretched resources, “*I don't care. I can give you know.*”

Being generous, however, from its kind hearted origin evolves into a double function: helping a woman who is in bad shape and keeping a disturbed neighbour with possible mental health problems on Lexie’s good side. As Lexie explains, one of the main reasons Lexie “*used to be like a friendly with her*” was because Lexie was avoiding trouble from a woman who wandered around her home “*like a crazy,*”

She go and talking alone. She like a crazy. And. Once she bang on windows. Saying like [unintelligible] or something like that. Because I used to be like a friendly with her cuz I don't want to argue or anything. She came to mine. Maybe you have one pound or two pound or three pound and I always give because she needs for the beer

In Lexie being friendly and generous, however, the neighbour becomes encouraged and begins to ask for more and more. The money Lexie earns legitimately, therefore, becomes used for the neighbour's addictions, which, in turn, feeds the behaviour that interrupts Lexie's routine. Lexie, however, keeps giving in a process she increasingly seems tangled up in rather than acting as a willing participant. The way Lexie presents the neighbour's escalating demands, "*maybe you have one pound or two pound or three pound*" and the 'need' Lexie's generosity is targeting "*for the beer*" suggests Lexie's growing frustration and disapproval of where her money is going.

The neighbour, however, interprets these gifts as an indication of their growing friendship, "*She said I don't have any friends. You my only friends. I didn't say anything but I think oh you're really not my friend. I'm not what you think.*" Lexie's narrative, of course, has demonstrated that her and her neighbour's arrangement has been without reciprocation. Lexie has literally been trying to buy herself peace, "*I don't want to argue or anything,*" but the neighbour in seeing this as a legitimate friendship has once again demonstrated that she fails to act like normal, 'decent' women should. Just as she performs the role of a respectable homemaker at the wrong hours—cooking and cleaning when real respectable women sleep, she does not know how to act out friendship correctly and she does not know how to read obvious signs.

Lexie, however, in not revealing the truth, "*I'm not what you think*" is strategically managing a difficult situation, relying on the "social intelligence" women often rely on according to the literature (Björkqvist et al., 1992, Björkqvist, 1994) and which has been described as a "more refined aggressive strateg[y]" (Bjorkqvist et al, 1992: 118). In order to keep trouble away, Lexie is a good neighbour and pretends to be a friend. Although this involves some deception—which compromises Lexie's presentation of herself as a good neighbour because it suggests that her motivation might have an

element of calculation to it—it also speaks to the complex relationship between women, as it comes to friendship and violent offending, as seen in the literature (Batchelor et al., 2001, Alder, 2000, Daly, 2008, Sondheimer, 2001, Björkqvist et al., 1992, Björkqvist, 1994, Crick and Grotpeter, 1995). It is, after all, when the neighbour finally understands Lexie's true feelings that she reacts with violence, "*when I reject her she starts to be mad.*" More importantly to Lexie, however, in avoiding trouble with her neighbour through regular maintenance, Lexie is claiming to be a "good mother," a role which has normally been claimed by desisting mothers (see Giordano et al, 2002: 1042) but here is claimed in order to justify offending.

At first the good neighbour and good mother roles seem to be a comfortable fit—as though they are naturally part of the same character. As Lexie illustrates, however, these roles comes to a head one night when her neighbour crosses over into Lexie's personal space uninvited and Lexie perceives a threat to her son's sleep.

One Sunday. I get up 5 o'clock in the morning. My son need to get up 5:30 because I need to bring him to child minders and she start to scream. By the windows. She go and talking alone. She like a crazy. And. Once she bang on windows. Saying like (quiet) or something like that.... that night 2 o'clock or 1:30 at night when I called to police I just went out and said I don't want to you wake up my son because he need to get up 5:30 in the morning. And you was at night time so I went. I didn't mean that she pushed me. She just ran to me. I want to stop her. She just run to me and pushed me. I bang my head on the floor so I start to respect myself. Of course. I no going to stand and not going to wait until she's going to kill me, (laughs), or something.

After Lexie's neighbour knocks her over, Lexie fights—which she describes as a natural and necessary response given the situation, "*of course.*" Lexie, however, actively avoids labelling her actions as 'fighting,' choosing instead to say, "*respect myself.*" When I ask her to clarify what that means to her, she responds with an elaboration of what could have happened instead of discussing what she did.

Birgit: Can you tell me what that means to you, 'respect yourself.?

Lexie: Respect myself. I don't want to. She maybe comes to the house and starts to kick punch everything. I kicked her as well.

Birgit: Yeah. So do you think that's pretty common or...?

Lexie: It's not nice but you know. If my son sleeping at house then I go to hospital it's nothing good. (Laughs.)

Respecting herself, therefore, becomes about protecting herself and her space. Through this process, she indirectly protects her son by imagining that a decision not to fight might have left her son alone and vulnerable. Lexie, however, becomes defensive at my line of questioning, believing that I am critical of the behaviour she has engaged in even though she “*don't want to*.” She reacts to my clumsy phrasing, “*So you do think that's pretty common?*” by demonstrating that she knows what a woman is supposed to be like. She, however, contrasts this concept with a possible dire outcome and suggests that being ‘nice’ is a naïve and potentially dangerous strategy.

I, therefore, emerge as someone who doesn't understand the reality of the situation—which Lexie points out to me by painting a picture of what might have happened, “*I go to hospital*,” had she not fought. I attempt to backtrack and rephrase my question, only to encounter another tense moment.

Birgit: No, I'm not commenting on it. I'm just interested in what sort of situations women think it's necessary to fight for example, and when they don't. That's why I'm interested in what. What do you think about young women and fighting?

Lexie: For women fight. It's not for women.

Birgit: You don't think it's what women do.

Lexie: No women should be soft.

Lexie has, throughout the story, presented herself as a good neighbour and a good mother. ‘Respecting herself’ has been framed as part of this discourse—she fights when necessary, and in this case, *in order to* be a good mother. She has, however, further suggested that that fighting is not something that ‘nice’ women do—because she suggests she was reluctant to “*I don't want to*” and because she assumes this is what I feel and mean. Part of this defensiveness seems to stem not only from my probing but

also from her own contradictory feelings about her behaviour. She has, for example, chosen to avoid the word ‘fighting’ throughout, choosing instead to label her actions as ‘*respecting myself*’ while her neighbour “*kick(s)*” and “*punch(es)*.” She does not want to be seen as the same sort of woman as her neighbour because she suggests she believes that “*women should be soft*.”

On some level, Lexie seems to buy into the idea that in order to be a respectable woman, one has to be feminine, which means being ‘soft’ and ‘nice’ and not fighting. Lexie, however, makes it clear in this example as well as in the rest of her interview that fighting is a strategy she sometimes engages in to show that she is strong. As one of the ‘fighters’ in the previous chapter, fighting has been a response to life, which has often worked in her favour. My ill phrased questions as well as my position as a researcher—perhaps even as an example of a different type of woman—however, have exposed complex emotions about this strategy and perhaps shaken the idea that she and I were aligned in ways that she and her neighbour were not. Such attempts by participants of finding similarities with interviewers have been described elsewhere in the literature (Phoenix, 2013). Presumably my coming to interview Lexie rather than her neighbour has been “proof” that she is a good person, just as Presser (2002, 2004) found with her violent men.

Lexie, for example, confesses at one point in the interview that I, in coming to interview her, have become part of the ongoing fight with her neighbour.

Lexie: I told her already there coming journalist from New York and she want do some writings in newspapers and magazine and she scared.

Birgit: Oh about me.

Lexie: (Laughs.)

Birgit: Oh, I'm a Ph.D. student so I don't

Lexie: No no. I told her like this so she scared.

Just as Phoenix (2013), Bamberg (2006) and Presser (2002; 2004) have described, Lexie uses the interview in a way that best suits her. Her method, however, is more strategic and perhaps sophisticated than Presser’s (2002; 2004) violent offenders’

approaches. My presence goes beyond confirming what she believes about herself. Lexie also uses my presence to manage her neighbour. By using me as an example of Lexie's connections, Lexie shows her neighbour that she has access to people other than the police. Her neighbour is therefore not only threatened with possible punitive measures but also public shaming where she might appear in 'newspapers'—fitting with socially aggressive techniques that have been described as 'female' (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995, Björkqvist, 1994, Björkqvist et al., 1992, Xie et al., 2002a, Xie et al., 2002b).

Lexie has demonstrated through her good neighbour/good mother story that she can manage aggressive behaviour in different ways depending on what the situation seems to demand, and that she is made up of a multiplicity of identities including good neighbour, good mother, worker, and fighter. Becoming a 'good mother' and a 'good neighbour,' means using "care" (Gilligan, 1982) to her advantage and being 'nice' as often as she can, does not mean she can afford to be seen as easily victimized, which within an antisocial environment she lives in could mean everything, "*I not going to stand and not going to wait until she kills me.*" To survive on the street and remain "decent" (Anderson, 1999: 37), Lexie suggests, means having to know how to flip between prosocial and antisocial roles in order to ensure the safety of her home and her son (Anderson, 1999: 36).

Individual: "I carried on"

The chapter's final morality tale departs from discussions involving non-violent (but potentially threatening) behaviour of a group and the power struggle between "us" versus "them" as well as fighting to ensure the wellbeing of the family unit through the cultivation of 'respect', and focuses on how an individual makes sense of offending alone.

Haley's morality tale concerned her fight with a female classmate. Unlike Lexie's account, which involved two fighters, one of whom was framed as the aggressor against whom Lexie had to defend herself and her home, Haley's fight was unprovoked and resulted in injuries. Throughout the fight, Haley's classmate did not fight back.

Haley's initial account of who she was and what she had done with her time, her family, her work, her friends, and adolescent drinking, however, did not contain a spontaneous story about her offence—even though she and I both knew that her participation in restorative justice was what had made her eligible for the interview. Instead of a complete story, offending emerged as an occasional hint or snippet in her account. When discussing her and her siblings' teenage years, for example, she mentioned, "*We haven't had any like serious people who are bad apart from me maybe once.*"

Instead of talking about offending, Haley talked about alcohol. Whatever the topic, whether about her life in the present or about her adolescence, Haley's account came back to going out and drinking. When summarizing what she liked to do with her time (now) she said, "*I just go out (laughs) and drink. (Laughs).*" In part this was a joke since Haley cared about her job, her friends, and her family, but recreationally, as a young woman in her early 20s, this is what she liked to do. She spoke about the drinking culture of the local youths in her area, and of similarly struggling to find a place to drink in her teens, "*I think it's probably still quite rough for people who are young and still at school and can't go to the pubs. They drink on the streets because I used to do it.*" She quickly followed this up with, "*I drink a lot more responsibly.*" Alcohol even came up as a topic in the middle of other discussions that did not have to do with drinking, such as when she told me about her former boyfriend, and I asked her how long they had been together, "*Two and a half years, but I never used to drink then either. Only occasionally, then I started to drink quite a lot.*"

No matter what the subject, alcohol emerged as a significant and almost purposeful theme that Haley turned the conversation back to. The discourse in general—as part of this theme—was that drinking was pursued excessively, followed by abstinence, followed once again by excess. Of periods of excess, Haley said, "*I remember I. I used to never have any ideas of limits as to how I could drink but now I'm good. I know when to stop.*" In this sentence, Haley confesses to excess but quickly makes it clear that although her drinking had been out of control, this was something in the past, and that she, in the present, knew better, "*now I'm good.*"

As offending still had not come up, I brought it up. Since I did not know what type of offending she had been involved in, and because there had been a careful narrative

pattern about talking around offending—through hints and perhaps a focus on alcohol and its *excessive* consumption—I followed suit and tried to introduce the topic in a neutral way by asking her what she thought about young women and offending.

Birgit: Um, so part of what I'm researching is that there's a lot more about young girls getting into small amounts of trouble or bigger amounts of trouble and people are curious about why that's happening generally because it seems to be recent in the last few years. Why do you think that is? Or do you not agree with that?

Haley: I don't know. I don't really. I've never really been like. It's very out of character for me to do something like that. I don't really know. I think it's like sort of scandals between young people. Like you see it a lot on facebook like recently I've had—"oh you're my best friend and you're sleeping with my boyfriend" and this is how it all starts. Um but it's just. I don't really know.

Her repeated “*I don't know(s)*” immediately make it clear that she doesn't want to be seen as someone who knows a lot about girls' offending. She begins to defend herself, “*I've never really been like*” and “*it's very out of character for me.*” Neither of these thoughts is concluded, however. She begins and then stops, engaging in the same speaking around the subject as she previously did. Instead, she becomes more general—as I was in my questioning—and talks about “young” people and how they behave, from a distance. She gives an example about something she has seen recently on facebook as a voyeur rather than a participant—a very public display of private matters between girls. She describes it as “scandals,” the plot of boyfriend stealing similar to something one might voyeuristically see on other screens such as TV. By dramatizing the sample story, and linking it to fiction, Haley gives the impression she finds it silly even as she hints that such online discussions are perhaps only the beginning, “*this is how it all starts.*” However, after these knowledgeable remarks, Haley quickly returns to the position of not knowing, “*I don't know really.*”

After a pause, I echo that I have heard other girls mention facebook.

Birgit: Other people mention that facebook connection too about sort of rumours...

Haley: Well, facebook wasn't really about...Like it wasn't as big as it is now but you do you see it a lot on facebook and you know when something's going to happen. And I think that when people have an argument, the people know they're going to be out. They'll egg people on to start a fight with the other person, which I don't like either because then you're getting all this peer pressure to do something. Otherwise you'll be the wimp or you're not hard enough to do anything.

Through the explanation of how facebook allows an escalation of a conflict by involving other people, Haley places part of the blame on the audience who encourage people to fight and “*egg them on*.” The ‘people’ or audience who have followed the escalation of a private matter on facebook continue to treat the matter as though it were fiction. As though the audience is playing a computer game, they attempt to influence and encourage certain outcomes without thinking of the consequences. For the fighters, having an audience watching makes the issue not only about a personal incident but escalates it to something also having to do with one’s reputation. Fighting, according to Haley, becomes about performing in front of an audience of one’s peers and making sure that one’s public persona/reputation remains intact. For young women being seen as “*hard enough*” is crucial, just as it was for some of Batchelor’s (2001) and Batchelor’s (2005) participants in Scotland who engaged in violence as well as young female fighters in Denmark (Henriksen and Miller, 2012).

With this entry into girls and fighting, I asked Haley directly how *she* ended up in restorative justice (why I used the word ‘mediation’ will be described in the next chapter).

Birgit: Yeah. Do you mind if I ask you how you ended up in mediation? Because basically I'm not given a lot of information so it could be lots of different things.

Haley: (Laughs). Eh. I had a fight with this girl from school. It was. I'd had quite a lot to drink and I don't really know how it started. I can't remember now

Haley begins with embarrassed laughter and then says, “*I had a fight with this girl from school*,” implying that both people participated. She again hesitates and then changes her mind about what she’s about to say—moving from something general, “*it was*” to something personal, “*I'd had quite a lot to drink and I don't really know how it started*.” By combining the ideas of alcohol consumption and a loss of memory—perhaps due to alcohol consumption or the passage of time—Haley distances herself from the event and rejects it as something important to the present, “*I can't remember now*.”

Haley, thus, continues to engage in a type of narrative dance where she begins to speak and to confront the story only to change her mind and claim to not know. I acknowledge the passage of time.

Birgit: Yeah it's been a few years...

After this acknowledgement, which perhaps speaks to my potential sympathy of her circumstances, Haley begins to describe the series of events leading up to the ‘fight,’ *“I’d fallen out with this girl and she was sort of the girl at school that nobody really liked (laughs) cuz she sort of used to sleep with everybody (laughs). People didn’t used to do that when we were fifteen years old.”* Instead of describing the reason she and her classmate fell out, however, she focuses on her classmate’s questionable morals, depicting her as unpopular because of her sexual reputation. After this preamble, Haley launches into her morality tale.

The fight begins with an unidentified instigator, “*somebody*” who comes to tell Haley that her classmate is also out. This instigator interrupts what Haley is doing—innocently getting food—and deliberately puts the victim in Haley’s path. The story has familiar echoes with the ‘general’ story about facebook Haley told in an earlier part of her interview about how girls offend, with an emphasis on the crowd’s ability to cause and shape conflicts for its own amusement. It also connects to the first series of morality tales discussing the importance of the crowd. Rather than Haley identifying with the “we,” however, as many of the narrators in the first half of the chapter did, the crowd in Haley’s story tests Haley and demands that Haley act in ways that suggest she truly belongs to the collective.

Haley, perhaps in an attempt to seem “*hard enough*,” confronts her classmate in front of this audience. When she receives a verbal instigation from her classmate in front of their peers, Haley decides to protect her reputation, “*no I’m not having that.*” Haley suggests she starts an “*argument,*” which infers a verbal rather than a physical confrontation and downplays Haley’s actions. Haley, in fact, interrupts her story at this point, in order to evaluate her own actions and to remind me of her prosocial nature with the same phrase used in an earlier part of the narrative, “*It’s really out of character for me because I’m not a violent person and I half expected her to hit me but she didn’t so I did.*” With what Haley knows about her classmate, her dubious morals according to rumours of her sexual history, Haley suggests the natural expectation was that she

would strike first. With this expectation thwarted, Haley, the “(*non-*) violent person,” becomes violent.

The rest of the fight is glossed over—‘*And I think she broke her nose or something*’. Haley distances herself from the responsibility through diverting the blame from herself, “*she broke her nose*.” The girl runs off, and Haley walks away. Haley emphasises this choice, “*I, I walked away*.” However, the crowd once again appears to divert her path by asking “*why are you walking away for are you being a pussy? Come back and finish what you've stared*.” With a threat to her “hard” reputation, Haley goes back and “*things got out of hand*.” Haley is reluctant to address details too closely but gradually works her way up to accept responsibility for her actions, from ‘*it was mainly me and this other girl*’ to ‘*this other girl didn't fight back*’ to the crucial use of the first person, “*I just carried on*.”

In addressing what caused this switch, Haley returns to the discourse she began immediately in the interview—alcohol.

Birgit: You said it was quite out of character for you. What do you think kind of pushed you to it?

Haley: Ehm. I really don't know. I think it was just the alcohol thing but I don't get violent at all now when I drink. But I didn't drink for a long time after that so I don't know whether it's just...

Although Haley has laid the grounds for this theme of excessive drinking throughout the interview, she hesitates to use it as a reason. She returns to the cautious way of speaking that she first used when offending was introduced, repeating, “*I don't know*.” Beyond hesitation, however, there seems to be a kind of fear related to not knowing where that violence came from, even though she tried various preventative strategies aimed at the ‘cause’ in order to not have it happen again.

Haley, is therefore, caught in a dual role. On the one hand, she cannot quite face what she did. For that reason she distances herself from her actions through a variety of techniques, including comparing her moral self with that of her victim’s (as previously discussed in this chapter and compared with the same strategy used by Maruna’s (2001) and Presser’s (2002; 2004) participants); situating her offence in a larger world of

instigators and agents who purposefully orchestrate the violence (perhaps Sykes and Matza's (1957) "denial of responsibility"); and promoting the theme of excessive alcohol consumption as a reason for a 'change' in character (see Maruna, 2001). Her roundabout, careful way of describing offending—of telling me the story about how she was violent through a series of general comments and narratives about young people and facebook—before she tells me the specific story, makes her offence part of a pattern of youth culture and reduces some of the shock of her offence. On the other hand, she admits to what she did, concluding her morality tale with something very difficult—that despite her views of herself as a non-violent person and despite her classmates' failure to fight back that she "*carried on.*"

This pointing to something that is outside the narrator as being responsible for offending is yet another common technique used by offenders (Maruna, 2001: 92; Presser, 2004: 87). As Maruna (2001: 92) has explained, "even though the person appears to *do* some behaviours intentionally, the behaviour is experienced as something that happens *to* them." Perhaps in order to continue living a prosocial life—and to feel that one is worthy of one—individuals like Haley must find a reason for their offending that does not have to do with them in order to "protect themselves from the internalization of blame and shame" just as Maruna (2001: 95) has suggested. By identifying that reason and rejecting that object (alcohol) or person (peer group), the individual might really believe she is a prosocial woman, which makes presenting herself that way in front of her family, work, and an interviewer possible, and as Maruna (2001) and Giordano et al (2002) have showed, believing in this prosocial identity is an important step toward desistance. The movements back and forth between acceptance that she has done something and blaming others for it, however, while seemingly 'normal' for offenders (Maruna, 2001) signals that coming to terms with a violent act is not an easy process—even if it happened just once. Rather than this process suggesting a lack of shame, as Maruna (2001) suggests, it may indicate lingering guilt/shame. Certainly, the lack of a coherent narrative about violent offending as displayed by Haley—even though she accepts responsibility for it—may have profound implications for restorative justice.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed morality tales told by young women about their offending by closely examining how offending was described through the narrators' discourse. It grouped that talk in terms of whether the young women identified their actions as occurring *with* others (group); *for* others (family); or alone.

Young women who situated their offending in a group questioned whether or not what occurred was an offence—given the lack of intent, the unplanned nature, and the spirit of ‘fun’ behind it (Sykes and Matza’s (1957) “denial of responsibility” and “the denial of injury.”) Instead, they portrayed their behaviour as *play*. In the discourse of offending as play, the group was crucial because multiple players were needed in order for play to occur. Because play took place alongside others, the narrators argued for *equal* responsibility when that play went wrong and the police became involved. This ‘equal’ responsibility among a group differs slightly from what has been a predominantly male offender’s justifications in the literature of being ‘less responsible’ than others (Presser, 2002: 134, Maruna, (2001: 136). Part of the struggle these young women described having with the police not only had to do with the idea that they did not feel their behaviour was serious enough to be considered offending but also that the police did not understand the importance of the group. Efforts to individualize people from the group were especially seen as threatening and when only one person was arrested—as occurred for many of the young women who told these narratives—it led to feelings of being victimized and misunderstood by the system, which in turn solidified the idea that it was a question of ‘us’ (youths) against ‘them’ (the police). Such a “condemnation of the condemners” (Sykes and Matza, 1957) had the potential to lead to increasingly negative feelings toward the police.

The second type of morality tale had to do with offending due to family relationships, similar to Sykes and Matza’s (1957) “appeal to higher loyalties.” The narrator in this section, Lexie, argued the importance of what Anderson (1999:36) has referred to as “code-switching” when living in the centre of an area with fairly high crime levels. Lexie’s narrative made the point that living as a prosocial family in an antisocial environment meant having to rely on various strategies in order to control and manage antisocial neighbours. One of these strategies was being a good neighbour, helping out

whenever possible, and occasionally maintaining the semblance of a friendship with persons one would otherwise not want to socialize with—getting them on one's side. When antisocial neighbours' activities interfered excessively with one's family life, however, it was important to "respect oneself," which usually meant fighting to demonstrate that being a good neighbour did not mean one was a pushover. Lexie argued that 'respecting oneself'/fighting still meant she was a prosocial person because it meant doing what good mothers do—protect one's children.

Finally, the third section dealt with individual offending and illustrated Haley's reluctance to see herself as capable of harming another person, which made her reach for many possible excuses. Like in the first set of morality tales, the influence of the group was emphasised. The group, however, was not equally responsible as it was for Ciara, Laura, and Michele. Haley described the group attempting to push her to offend, but in the end, she was the one who physically took action. The group, therefore, as an entity, had the ability to influence an individual's actions, and it did this by threatening that individual's membership in the group—but its influence did not mean the individual was still not responsible. The presence of alcohol was also raised and promoted throughout the interview as a suggested reason for the violence, but in the end, Haley also rejected this as entirely responsible. What she was left with were unanswered questions, a list of excuses, embarrassment, as well as a willingness to declare herself as responsible, even if not entirely.

Gender was present in crucial ways in all the morality tales. The first set explored how young women played, presenting games which perhaps defied traditional gender roles in its focus on running wild in the streets and in violating Gilligan's (1982) suggested "ethic of care" by mocking and taunting a neighbour. Despite these unexpected games, the young women never brought up gender. They, for example, did not talk about whether their groups were mixed gender or single-sex, or why they believed they had been seen to be mostly responsible for the offence, and whether or not this had anything to do with their genders. These morality tales might, to an outsider, suggest the young women were, in part, penalized for playing in masculine ways, as has been raised in the literature (Himmelstein and Brucker, 2011; Worrall, 2008; Hudson, 2008; Chesney-Lind and Pasko, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989) has suggested, but the young women themselves did not appear to see it this way. In contrast, the morality tale told by Becky

presented a very specific gendered play and her interpretation of her punishment had to do with a more responsible system of (male) players failing to protect and then scapegoating young women, fitting a more “structural inequalities” feminist approach (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988:511).

The family morality tale presented fighting as something some good mothers do. Although Lexie’s morality tale was the only one presented here, it was not the only one in the interviews, which framed fighting as sometimes necessary for mothers. While this seems to contradict literature that suggests that having children leads to desistance (Michalsen, 2011, Kraeger et al, 2010, Graham and Bowling, 1995), Giordano et al (2002) make the case that the relationship between motherhood and desistance is more complicated. Giordano et al’s (2002: 1043) interviews with mothers who had desisted led them to conclude “some indicate that this happened with the birth of their first child...while others named a specific later child they associated with a transformation.” Although based on a very small sample, these morality tales suggest that mothers who identify as prosocial people/desisters do not consider occasional fighting offending, thus complicating ideas of the caring that goes on in motherhood.

Finally, Haley spoke of the importance for a young person—not a young woman—to be “*hard enough*” in order to fit into the group. Again, like in the first set of playful morality tales, this declaration was done without specific mentions of gender. All these various games played by women, motherhood, and the need to be seen as tough and ‘hard’ rather than ‘nice’ raise important questions of how and when gender matters to women and how gendered they identify their own behaviours to be. It is, of course, also possible that given our shared gender, gender was not something many participants felt was important to be talked about.

This was not the only way my presence shaped interviews or that the interviews shaped me. Lexie used my presence to influence the conflict I had come to interview her about, which was still on-going. She explained my visit to her neighbour as a demonstration that she had connections who could build a case against her. Haley’s reluctance to speak directly about her offending made me, in turn, reluctant to ask, perhaps co-creating the pattern of embarrassment and shame I read in her text. In Lexie’s interview, my line of questioning threatened her well-argued excuse that fighting was necessary for prosocial

mothers in asking her about women and offending by exposing some contradictions in her story. This might have been especially disconcerting since I seemed to represent a prosocial person whom she wanted to align herself with. Phoenix's (2013) analysis of an interview with a white mother of mixed-race children, for example, found that the interviewee assumed a degree of similarity between herself and the interviewer when talking about race. Naturally, this will not always happen, and sometimes participants will actively and repeatedly define themselves as different as Presser's (2012) interview with a male murderer with specific conservative ideas demonstrated. These examples, however, not only show how themes might change and emerge because of the interview setting but also through interviewer and interviewee dynamics and the similarities and differences between them.

Finally, these morality tales have implications for RJ. These young women had already experienced RJ where they might have told a version of these stories. One of the ideas behind this study was to examine young female offenders' stories after restorative justice to see whether they would contain remorse or acknowledgement of wrongdoing after going through the process of restorative justice—but not in front of a facilitator or their victims. While most of the young women admitted to have broken the law, they suggested various other people as also being responsible or suggested that the police overreacted to their offences. Acknowledgement of guilt, therefore, came with caveats. This may have to do with a failure of the process of restorative justice, or it may have had to do with the type of offence they committed and a lack of fit between their acts and their punishment. It was also have to do with net-widening.

The contradictions within their discourses presented during the morality tales, however, also show the potential to disrupt some of the more established identities, which are difficult to get away from (Gergen, 2004) and which were discussed in the previous chapter. Even though a woman presented herself as a 'fighter' throughout her interview, such as Lexie did, and her morality tale at first glance was about the necessity of fighting in order to maintain a prosocial lifestyle, her own discourse questioned and threatened this idea. Paying attention to such naturally occurring contradictions represent opportunities to "confront" (Bradshaw, 1998:19) the main identity narrative presented by an offender as should occur in restorative justice. Since this does not seem

to have occurred in the restorative justice experienced by the young women in this sample, we now turn to their talk about restorative justice.

Chapter 8: Police and Restorative Justice

Introduction

The first chapter chronicled young women's pathways and identities while the second chapter took a closer look at the discursive strategies young women used to contextualize their offences. At the end of that chapter, I suggested that the lack of willingness to take full responsibility for their actions perhaps either reflected their experiences in restorative justice (RJ) or at least had implications for restorative justice. This third chapter takes a more thematic approach to describe the young women's experiences with the police in general and with police-facilitated RJ.

As discussed in the literature review, RJ is a process that is repeatedly said to be about "storytelling" (Umbreit, 1998b: 26, Gaarder and Presser, 2006, Van Wormer, 2009, Koss and Achilles, 2008, Verrecchia, 2009). As previously discussed, however, there has been criticism regarding the ability of young offenders, who might have social cognition difficulties, to participate well in situations that demand use of skills they might be deficient in (Snow, 2009, Snow and Sanger, 2011, Hoyle et al., 2002, Daly, 2002). Although an interview setting is different from restorative justice, the previous two chapters demonstrated that the young women interviewed were certainly capable of telling complex stories. This chapter will contain their perceptions of what it was like to do that in police-facilitated RJ. Previous studies have raised two additional points, however, which are also of interest to this research. The first has to do with the potentially greater effectiveness of RJ in lowering recidivism for young women than for young men which has been found in studies in the UK, the US, and Australia/New Zealand (Sherman and Strang, 2007, Rodriguez, 2007, Hayes, 2005, Hayes and Daly, 2004, Maxwell et al., 2004). The second has to do with young women actively disliking RJ (Maxwell et al., 2004, Daly, 2008).

Although the administrative data did not contain outcomes on recidivism, the young women all suggested in their interviews that they were no longer in trouble with the police and that that sort of behaviour was behind them. Whether this had anything to do with RJ will be discussed in this chapter. This chapter will also explore a number of other issues such as young women's views on the police and how these views have

emerged; what their understanding of RJ is; who was there and what happened; to what extent the young women felt their stories were listened to during restorative justice, how successful they felt the fit was between how they saw themselves and the interventions they experienced, and so on.

The chapter will contain five parts. It will begin with a discussion of young women's experiences with the police as victims and observers prior to experiencing restorative justice, titled, "All police are pigs aren't they?" The second part, "Restorative Justice: 'What the hell's that?'" covers participants' various understandings of restorative justice processes. The chapter will then explore RJ conferences, which eight participants experienced, and Street Restorative Justice, which four participants experienced separately. The section titled, "Conferences," will address who attended the meetings; the young offender's impressions of the police in those meetings; the apology; and agreements and outcomes. "Street Restorative Justice" will include discussion of participants present and their feelings, views on the police, the apology, and making amends to the community. The fifth part, "Appropriateness," discusses whom the participants felt restorative justice was most suited for, while part six, "Improvements," addresses the young women's suggestions on how RJ could be made better.

Police: "All police are pigs aren't they?"

When asked about their experiences with the police, the participants were usually dismissive. One participant, for example, said, "*Eh. All police are pigs aren't they? When you're young you don't really want to see the police. The pigs are coming and all that.*" This type of negative response, however, did not turn out to be a fixed view of the police but rather served as an opening to a more complicated discourse about authority, justice, and victimization. As the previous chapters demonstrated, before becoming known to the police as offenders, whether in restorative justice or other criminal justice proceedings, some of the women had interacted with the police as victims. This is, therefore, where we will begin, with the young women's interactions and observations of the police as victims and as citizens, before we move on to their experiences in restorative justice.

The victim experience: "You can't call the police and be like I'm scared help me."

As described in the first chapter, “Pathways and Identities,” many young women had experienced traumatic experiences during childhood and adolescence. Many had witnessed domestic violence in the home, experienced bullying, been sexually assaulted, or had an intimate partner be violent toward them. The most vulnerable women had experienced multiple such abuses throughout their young lives. They arrived at the interview with the message that authority figures—parents, school officials, and the police—could not protect them. As children, they had felt that their victimization was not a police matter. One young woman suggested that the fear and emotional harm she experienced as a girl was of no interest to the police. She explained that harm had to be inflicted on a physical level in order for a situation to be worthy of notice, “*You can't call the police and be like I'm scared help me.*” While some of the young women had experienced physical abuse as well as witnessing it as children, social services had not been involved in their lives. With no one to turn to for help, the women had had to deal with violence and abuse by themselves.

Some young women did not come to the attention of the police as victims at all, despite their abusive childhoods, and only came to be known after a first assault as an offender. Others became ‘official’ victims after being sexually assaulted or having experienced intimate partner relationships. While the police were involved in their cases, some doubted that the police could protect them from their offenders, and others felt that justice, despite police intervention, had not been carried out. The perpetrators of the offences against them often received light sentences, or sometimes none at all.

Not all the young women turned to the police for help with gendered abuses, however, and the ones who did usually did so upon the insistence of their mothers or close female friends. A participant who had dated several abusive partners, explained not seeking help because of the fear of repercussions from the offender, “*I refused to make statements because it causes more trouble.*” While the police arrested, questioned, then released the perpetrator, the perpetrator often did not pay attention to restraining orders and would come “*looking for you because you made a statement against them.*”

One young woman who had been sexually assaulted had prolonged interactions with the police and support workers. While she spoke highly of the police who worked with

her, “*they were really good to help me and help the case and got it to court*,” she saw them as ultimately failing her when her abuser served no prison time. For the young woman, the police and the justice system were the same entity, and when ‘justice’ was not accomplished for a victim, the police were blamed, “*You go to the police when they’re there to help you but they don’t.*”

Retrospectively, some victims questioned whether their report to the police did them more harm than good. A young woman who had been “*nearly raped*” by a family member felt let down when, “*Nothing progressed from it.*” Instead of the abuser being punished, the participant was thrown out of her home. For another victim of sexual assault, it was the police who made a negative impact by sending male officers to interview her, “*The thing that makes me the most angry is that when the police came by my house, they sent two men.*” She wanted to speak to a woman.

The observer experience: “They just push hands and leave”

Beside victim narratives, the women told multiple stories from the point of view of observers. They described how the police interacted with their family, friends and community members. By adopting an observer perspective, they sought to tell stories about the police that tapped into larger narratives about unfair uses of power. The purpose of these narratives was often to match their personal experiences; that is, they provided ‘evidence’ that their interactions with the police fit into larger narratives. Such observer narratives included ones describing preferential treatment of white, English people; police brutality; and police disrespect towards community members when carrying out their work.

The minority ethnic participant and the foreign participant believed that certain police officers showed preferential treatment towards white, English people. They had both experienced and witnessed such differential treatment and blamed it on a lack of diversity in the local police force. The immigrant woman perceived some officers to be dismissive of immigrants who sought their help.

Interviewee: They’re doing their jobs. I don’t know. But they just push hands and leave.

Birgit: O.K., so they push.

Interviewee: Even if immigrant. If they English people, oh they come first. But if immigrants, they just, 'Pst, whatever,' something like that. I think like this.

Another participant told a story about how after one of her flatmates had been arrested, the arresting police officer told her, “*That’s what you get from living with two black people.*” The participant remarked that the officer would not have said this if she had been living with two white people, but she did not address what it meant for a white, male police officer to be saying it to a minority ethnic woman. Instead, she began the narrative with, “*I don’t want no pity or I’m not being funny but I do genuinely think that some of the police are racist.*” Her aim was to act as an observer to a racist view expressed by a police officer, and while that dialogue was addressed to her, a mixed-race woman, she wanted attention paid to the message, “*some of the police are racist,*” rather than to the recipient.

A young woman who had first-hand experience with the police as a victim of sexual assault, witnessed police officers ‘beat up a friend,’ “*Like my friend was beaten up by the police and he was genuinely beaten up by the police.... he stuck his finger up at the police, which fair enough, he shouldn’t have done and they got out of their car and I watched them beat him up.*” Such a police reaction to what the participant saw as a relatively minor act of provocation added to the participant’s collection of stories regarding disappointing police behaviour. The combination of these experiences made her conclude, “*I don’t like the police personally.*”

Within the stories of interactions with police as victims and as observers, three major themes emerged concerning the relationship between police and young women who offended. These were: the police as helpers, ‘nice’ police women, and girls who offend as ‘mad.’

Police as ‘helpers’: “I think when you don’t want to help people it’s the wrong job role you should have taken because you’re meant to help people do you know what I mean?”

Most of the young women interviewed described the figure (or “imago”) of the police as that of a ‘helper’ (McAdams, 1993). In their minds, the main role of a police officer on duty was to ensure that the powerless were assisted. This meant being aware of households where there was domestic violence; being present after school to keep a

watch on drugs and fights; and by generally using their resources to protect the most vulnerable people in society. ‘Help’ from the police, according to the women was meant to be available to people such as themselves. This theme was a surprise, especially given precisely the opposite findings by the Police Foundation (Graham and Karn, February 2013). However, this might have had to do with how the young women perceived themselves. Although they had aged out of their most vulnerable years, the young women—as the first and second chapter illustrated—did not see themselves as offenders, but as victims. When these women were treated as offenders, they felt victimized by the system for not recognising both their early victimization and the complex relationship between the victim and the offender, which in their minds often caused them to offend. As vulnerable people/victims, they expected help from the police, and were surprised and angry when they did not receive it. One participant, for example, frequently reached out to the police when a conflict she was involved in escalated to the point where violence was a possibility, “*I don’t think they’ve helped me like when I’ve asked for help because I don’t want get myself in trouble.*” She took the police not being interested in such information as a personal insult. She felt that help was being deliberately withheld from her.

Many of the main criticisms about the police—both as victims and as offenders—concerned themselves with the idea that the police had not helped, “*They never really helped me.*” They had personally let them down as children when they were not interested in their violent homes, as victims of sexual assault or domestic violence when they could not protect them from their perpetrator or provide them with ‘justice,’ and as young offenders by not looking for the root of their problems. One young woman, for example, felt that had the police should have paid attention to her ‘background’ when she began offending. Had they done so and provided, ‘help,’ she might not have continued to offend:

I think if I’d have had that at an earlier age when I first got into trouble I might have not have reoffended so many times, you know, and you know if they obviously know that you’ve got all that background that I think that they should give you more to help just someone to talk to.

Most of all, the police had let them down by treating them as types, such as an ‘offender,’ rather than recognizing that their ‘victim’ and ‘offender’ roles were often intertwined. This has emerged in the literature both in feminist criminology, which often emphasises that offending and victimization are co-occurring for women (Miller and Brunson, 2000; Miller, 1998; Maher and Curtis, 1998; Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1998; Gilfus, 1992, Chesney-Lind, 1989, Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996) as well as in other literature on girls, both offenders and non-offenders (Henriksen and Miller, 2012; Batchelor et al., 2001, Daly, 2008, Alder, 2000, Sondheimer, 2001). As offenders, their past victimhood seemed all but forgotten. As a result of being let down by the ‘helper,’ some young women had decided to turn their back on the police, “*I wouldn’t help them whatsoever. I’ve told police officers to leave it because they’re being rude and they’re meant to help you. Well they don’t help.*” Another participant suggested that young people, especially young women, were so disillusioned by the police that ‘help’ for issues such as violence and abuse needed to come from another source, “*I just think there needs to be more help for people. It’s alright saying you can go to the police but people don’t want to go to the police.*” Generally, the participants were losing faith in the metaphor of police as helpers of the community but had found no one to turn to instead, “*If something happened I am going to go to police. I don’t know if they can help.*”

In a similar vein, positive views of the police came from narratives where an individual police officer had helped, “*There are a few police officers that really really helped me.*” One young woman who had had interactions with the police as a victim of sexual assault as well as when she offended, and who had had negative things to say about police behaviour in both those interactions, reported a very positive meeting with a police officer who came to her school. She wanted to speak to him about her sexual assault case, and he let her do so, even checking in about what sort of physical distance she was comfortable with during their talk. “*As soon as I started talking he listened to me. We had full on eye contact. I explained the situation. I said, ‘I need to talk to you about this.’ And I’d not been around a guy on my own for a long time, even a professional man. He stepped back and said, ‘is this place alright? Am I allowed?’ I really appreciated that.*”

By acknowledging her identity as a victim and making accommodations for that identity during their meeting, he won her trust, demonstrating that even a participant who had formed an overall negative impression of the police, could connect to individual police officers, which in turn allowed for opportunities to change her opinion.

“Nice” female officers: “Female officers tend to be a lot nicer than the males. A lot nicer”

Another theme in the young women’s narratives concerned that of “nice” female police officer, echoing findings in the literature (Graham and Karn, February 2013; see review of the literature by Silvestri, 2007). Most of the participants felt more comfortable in a police woman’s presence and believed they used a gentler approach in speaking with them and took time to understand them whereas male police officers did not, “*the guys wind me up they really do.*” When the young women talked about a particular officer they liked, they tended to speak about a female officer. One favourite police officer was described as having “*time*” for the young people she approached; she would, “*sit there and listen.*” Anxiety toward men by young women who had experienced multiple types of abuse was common and did not mesh well with some police officers’ attitudes. In particular, any type of aggression displayed by male police officers was sometimes a reminder of previous forms of violence the young women had experienced from men.

One young woman suggested there should be more mixed-sex combinations of officers on patrol since her perception was that girls preferred speaking to female officers and boys preferred speaking to male officers, “*Ehm. I always find the female ones more friendly. I think it’s when you’re female, females are friendly but if you’re a guy then you prefer the guy because you can chat with them, but I think having a guy and a police woman together, one of each, makes everyone feel a bit more comfortable.*”

“Mad” women: “females they go a bit mad don’t they start screaming and that”

If female officers were seen to be “nice,” then female offenders were often seen by the participants to be hysterical and difficult, or ‘mad,’ especially when arrested. The women interviewed suggested that police were ‘brutal’ with women because women

were uncontrollable. All this talk served to distance themselves, as low-level offenders, from “real” female offenders (a common approach by offender discussed by both Presser (2002, 2004) and Maruna (2001)).

The participants suggested that ‘mad’ women required a gentler approach, “*I've seen police be quite like brutal with females that kind of thing, like not really giving them much of a chance because females they go a bit mad don't they? Start screaming and that. They could just sit them down and say, 'Look calm down. It's your last chance. You've got five minutes to calm down. Tell me what's going on, or you're going to get arrested.'*” Although some of their depictions that women should be treated more gently, like “children,” were jokes, “*maybe being a bit more passive and speak to them a bit more and take them away from the situation rather than speak to them in the situation I think would be a good idea. Like children. (Laughs),*” many of the participants viewed ‘real’ women offenders as going against their nature and avoided social interactions with that ‘type’ of woman, “*I'm, eh, more friendly with males than females in like that like, you know, males who are involved with the police you can just take them at face value. Whereas females. I don't really like violent females, you know. I know a lot of females who maybe have been involved with the police, but I don't get involved with them.*”

Even though they felt very different from typical female offenders, some complained that they, too, were treated more harshly by the police because of their gender. This tended not to be because police officers treated them as though they were ‘mad’ but because they felt officers, in particular male officers, believed they were trying to take advantage of the system and escape repercussions because they were women, “*Some of them will have the attitude of, 'Just because you're female don't think you can get away with it'.*”

For other participants, it was the approach of the police and the expectation that young people were usually doing something wrong that created a troubled dynamic between the police and young women, regardless of the police officer’s gender. One young woman said she wanted the opportunity to inform the officers who she was beyond a young person. Posturing and becoming defensive towards police officers was described as common strategies to subvert authority as well to defend the self when threatened.

“You go in there saying you’ve done this, you’re in trouble, you’re going to get attitude. You’re going to get defence come up. The participant wanted police to “*Show respect and be friendly*,” which meant approaching each young person as though they had not yet done anything wrong, instead of approaching them as though they had.

Restorative Justice: “what the hell’s that?”

The second part of the chapter addresses young women’s understandings and definitions of restorative justice. Despite letters and phone calls to the participants describing an interest in interviewing them because of their participation in restorative justice, few of the young women had heard the term. Some recognized their experiences as “mediation,” while one participant had no memory of ever having participated in mediation, restorative justice, or a meeting with the police. The other women eventually remembered that they had been “let off” by the police after committing an offence such as shoplifting or having a fight but did not fully understand why. Two participants’ stories about why they were referred to ‘restorative justice’ did not match the police records about their offences. These various discrepancies could have been due to memory, but they also seemed to be due to the process of RJ not being clear to participants, which has been found in evaluations of other police-facilitated RJ schemes (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004).

Regardless of what they believed they had experienced, however, most felt pleased they had not received a further conviction, or in the case of first-time offenders, a criminal record. Since nearly all of them were full-time employed or actively seeking employment, the women without criminal convictions believed a criminal record from their teenage years would have affected their chances for such self-improvement. This was especially true for the women who identified as ‘workers’ or had specific goals of working with children or other vulnerable population, for which they needed a clean CRB check. Opinions about “*get[ting] away*,” therefore, verged from gratitude towards the system for giving them a second chance to a (perhaps dangerous) willingness to do anything in order to escape a criminal record. One participant, for example, said, “*I literally would have done anything to not get a criminal record*” while another said, “*I was like, ‘Please I don’t...I’ll do anything. I’ll do anything, please’.*”

Some participants, however, saw being diverted from the criminal justice system as indicative that the police did not see the conflict as important or serious enough. One participant said she and her neighbours had been referred to restorative justice because the police were ‘tired’ of both sides complaining.

Birgit: So you said the police brought the families together?

Interviewee: Yeah, they'd had enough I think of all the phone calls.

Restorative justice seemed to be what happened after the police gave up on solving a situation, which as the example above illustrated could be seen negatively. A positive interpretation of the police ‘giving up,’ however, was made by a participant who saw restorative justice as a sign that the police were finally ready to dismiss the victim’s complaints.

It went on so long that I think the police eventually realized that we weren't actually doing anything...And they said about the restorical justice meeting.

For that particular offender, RJ was seen as making less of the participant’s offence. The participant believed the diversion occurred after the police obtained CCTV evidence that she had not done what the victim said she had done.

Definitions

Definitions of restorative justice matched the range of imagined purposes. While most of participants who attended conferences described it as a ‘meeting’ they had to attend, others were less sure what had happened to them. Some participants understood RJ as an ‘action’ which they had had to perform in order to satisfy the police; while young women who experienced street restorative justice sometimes saw it as a ‘confession’ made to the police, or a more ‘passive’ experience where participants listened to the police inform them of the inappropriateness of their actions. The following section describes these definitions in greater detail.

A Chat

The most common form of restorative justice that participants experienced was a ‘chat,’ supervised by police officers.

They explained you get together with a person and you sit in a room with two police officers and basically chat about what's going on. I was like, 'Right fair enough, ok then,' and that's all I got told, really, and I just went along on the day that got provided and the time...

An Action

Another group of participants said RJ had been described to them as an ‘action’ to be performed. One such description was restorative justice as a ‘step’ in the criminal justice process rather than a means to an end of its own.

uh, it was a crime prevention step and that if things carried on afterwards then that could be used as evidence.

Another young woman was told restorative justice was something she could ‘do.’

she said, 'Ok, well, how do you feel about restorative justice?' And I was like, 'What the hell's that?' I didn't even know what it is. And I said, 'Can you explain it to me?' And she said, 'Ok, what you need to do is a little bit of community service. '

A Confession

Some participants did not recognize the term mediation or restorative justice. After having been offered several examples of what restorative justice could be, one participant decided it was probably what happened after she had been caught shoplifting, which had been her only run-in with the police in the past six years. Her interpretation of what ‘restorative justice’ involved was the day she told the ‘truth’ to the police about her past behaviours and as a result was ‘helped’ out.

they were like, 'If you tell us the truth and tell us you've done this before as opposed to lying to us and saying you've never done it. Then we'll let you get away.'

A Talking to

A third group of participants described restorative justice as a passive experience where they had to listen to the police tell them they had done something wrong.

What you wrote. Restorative justice. I had...I got into a fight when I was about fourteen, fifteen with some girl, I think after school, and we got one of those for it....They come by my house, I think, and they did it. They basically did that instead of arrest and said that we shouldn't have done it and explained why I got that and that it's not going to go into my files.

For this participant, police officers came to her home and did ‘it.’ The participant struggled with what ‘it’ was, continuing to describe it in vague terms, ‘one of those,’ and ‘that.’ In her example, it was the police who ‘did’ restorative justice by telling her what she should not have done. After listening to ‘that,’ her offence was not made public.

The variety of ‘definitions’ used by the participants above illustrate the confusion they felt about what they had experienced. Participants often did not understand the purpose of restorative justice, or even recognize that they had experienced a specific alternative to the criminal justice system, rather than just kindness from an individual police officer. While having a diversion become ‘natural’ and simply another disposition for offenders could be seen as positive, having participants unsure about what they were about to experience, sometimes caused negative reactions to the process and complicated informed consent.

One such story about being pressured into restorative justice came from a young woman who had had a fight with a former friend. Many years after the conference, the participant reflected on the experience as one of the worst and most humiliating moments in her life, “*I haven’t had many bad moments in my life. That would’ve been one of them.*”

The participant felt that she had neither attended willingly nor been informed what the process would be like prior to attending. Having no prior arrests and being frightened

at the prospect of official police proceedings, she agreed to come along to the police station to do something else—which, as seen above two other participants felt desperate enough to do ‘anything.’ Her narrative about restorative justice, therefore, concerned itself with a discourse about rights—her legal rights (i.e. what would have happened if she hadn’t turned up?); and, to a greater extent, what right authority had to put her in a position which made her feel uncomfortable and humiliated, which fits findings from New Zealand on girls’ negative experiences (Maxwell et al., 2004) and with findings from Northern Ireland about young offenders’ lack of understanding about legal implications (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004).

I didn’t like the way the police went about it because I felt pressured into going to this thing. They said to me, ‘If you don’t turn up we’re going to come to arrest you.’.... Didn’t know my rights, so I just turned up just for the sake of not being arrested.... they don’t really give you enough information about what’s going to happen. All you know is you have to go to the police station or you’re going to get picked up and arrested, and I felt forced to go.

Restorative Justice Conferences and Street RJ

While being asked to come to a ‘meeting’ made some sense to participants since they could envision what that meant, being asked to participate in street restorative justice was more baffling. Beyond definitions, the young women who experienced conferences spoke about the experiences very differently from those who experienced street restorative justice. For that reason, the remainder of the chapter will discuss these approaches separately, beginning with an in-depth analysis of participants’ perception of conferences. The discussion will first cover various issues related to who attended restorative justice; the role of the police in RJ; apologies; and, finally, agreements and outcomes.

Conferences

The most “fully restorative” form of restorative justice has been described as involving a victim, offender, mutual support persons, and a facilitator (McCold and Wachtel, 2003:3). The idea behind involving so many people is not only to bring together all the

people impacted by the offence but also to create a team, a “community of care” around the offender who can help her deal with any issues or troubles she may have that have brought about the offence (McCold and Wachtel, 2003: 1, Marshall, 1999). As the literature review described, the ability of a community to do this has been questioned (Gaarder and Presser, 2006) and it has been suggested that if anyone is to pick up the pieces it will be the offender’s mother (Braithwaite, 1999). The conferencing the young women described, however, did not fit this “fully restorative” model. Instead a number of issues involving the participants emerged. This included victims and/or offenders who were not present but should have been (also seen in Hoyle et al, 2002) as well as the absence of support people, which will be described in further detail below.

Missing participants

One young woman said she felt the real person she had a conflict with had not attended the conference. Instead, his wife was there. Although this confused her, she speculated that it may have been due to her taking some of her anger out on his wife because doing so felt less risky. Still, she did not know where the man and she stood now.

Other participants said there were others who had been invited to attend, but declined for various reasons. Variations on, “*her mum should’ve been there, but her mum didn’t turn up,*” were common. This sometimes meant that participants from the beginning doubted the conflict could be resolved, or it meant that one “side” in the conference contained fewer people.

The biggest absence in conferences, however, seemed to be support people for the young women themselves. According to the young women interviewed, support people usually came with the victim, but the interviewees were alone. A common statement was, “*it was only actually me. I went on my own [ok] to this meeting.*” As was illustrated in the first findings chapter, “Pathways and Identities,” it is possible that given the histories of the women’s absent, abusive, or abused parents, that many of the women had few supportive adults they could bring. Rather than have the absence of support make them feel vulnerable, however, the participants reframed the idea of bringing support as a sign of weakness. They suggested that being on their own was a more appropriate way of presenting the self as strong in front of authorities and their opponent—and of being “big.”

Big girls: "as I'm concerned I don't need anybody with me"

For some women, coming alone was synonymous with being a tough woman. It embodied empowerment and allowed the participants to perform strength in front of the police, the victim, and the victim's peers. Conferences, therefore acted as crucial moments in the overall "war," with victim supporters being seen as a personal challenge to the offender. It made them gear up to battle, "*I thought, no, just because I'm on my own, you think you're going to intimidate me. Well, no, you're not.*"

Victims who brought support people were, in contrast, infantilized, as can be seen in the following example where the victim's mother is called "mummy:"

Birgit: So who was there? You and your friend and her...

Interviewee: Me and my friend, her and her mum because she had to have mummy with her.

If not infantilized, victims were sometimes portrayed as disrespectful for airing private business in front of an audience of "others."

Yeah, they said I could bring someone with me, but as far as I'm concerned I don't need anybody with me. At the end of the day she's the one who caused this. She's the one who wanted me there. I don't need to embarrass her by taking anybody else there who's going to hear everything that's going to be said. I'm a big girl. I don't need somebody else to come with me and hold my hand. I'm quite capable of doing it.

By coming alone, the young woman above positioned herself as not only stronger, "*I don't need anybody with me,*" but also as someone who could take the moral high ground, "*I don't need to embarrass her.*"

One participant who said she and her co-offender laughed throughout the conference to demonstrate how ridiculous it was, later admitted that having two police officers and the victim's mother in the room made her feel like there was no one on her side. Her

performance of being tough, therefore, served to combat this power inequality, “*I mean we were teenagers, you know, pretty much kids any and it felt like we had no support and yet she was sitting with her mum and two coppers on her side.*”

Good girls: “I wouldn’t tell my parents some things”

However, it was not only a lack of support people which created problems in conferences. Young women who had to bring parents with them because they were minors sometimes reported problems with having too many people in the room. While women without support felt the need to compensate in front of the victim and the police—by being “big”—participants who were surrounded by both sets of parents, felt unable to express themselves freely.

Interviewee: I think I would have preferred me, the girl and the police officers and not the parents. Even now I wouldn’t tell my parents some things, so it’s just. I do think it would’ve been better without parents ...

Birgit: Did you feel like you could say what you wanted to at the meeting?

Interviewee: Em, not really. Not really. I think it’s because you’ve got your parents there and you don’t want to in front of your parents.

The participant suggested there was one type of talk she used in front of parents/authorities and another in front of her peers. To some degree, discomfort with parents in the room may have had to do with the lack of “fit” between identities such as lawbreaker and the “good” daughter, for example, especially when she was asked to admit wrongdoing. Such conflicting notions of self and the need to save face inhibited this young person from saying what she wanted to say. As others, such as Hoyle et al (2002) and Alder (2000), have expressed, only having parents act as the support might not in actuality provide young women with the support they needed.

In sum, having appropriate support people in the conference was crucial to feeling like the meeting was worthwhile and like the conflict had a chance of being solved, as has been found in other studies (Maxwell et al., 2004, Hoyle et al., 2002). Not having the right dynamic between participants led to difficulties taking part in an honest and open way. A common way of covering up the vulnerabilities associated with having to come alone was to diminish the victim for having brought support, or by becoming defensive

during the process and make oneself “big.” Defensive tactics such as remaining silent, however, also emerged when the participant felt there were too many audience members—especially ones with divergent expectations of the participant’s identity. As a result, the young women might not have appeared the way they felt to the facilitators and the victims—(see Roche, 2003 and Miers, 2001 about how the “work” that goes into such evaluations and chapter 3 about how participants often get it wrong). From their own descriptions of themselves, their “tough” girl attitudes might have felt as negative as the types of behaviours displayed by young women in other conferencing schemes (Maxwell et al., 2004, Daly, 2008), only here, some of them presented their attitude as a defence strategy rather than callousness, as has been suggested (see Daly, 2008).

Police: whose side are they on anyway?

While the presence or absence of certain people had a significant effect on participants’ feelings about restorative justice, ironically, no individual in the room was as crucial to the participants as the police. Perhaps in part due to the lack of awareness of what restorative justice was as well as the nature of women’s conflicts with other women (Bjorkqvist et al, 1994, 1994; Crick and Grotpeter, 1995; Sondheimer, 2001, etc), most of the young women who attended a RJ conference did not seem to fully understand—or at least agree—that they were the offenders in a victim-oriented process, which, of course, caused complications (see Daly, 2013; Shapland, 2013 on this).

Because they, as other women in conflict, tended to see themselves as mutually culpable (Daly, 2008; Batchelor et al, 2001), the participants saw restorative justice as an opportunity to present themselves in a positive light so that the police would take their side. They believed that if they were convincing enough, the police’s pre-existing notions of them (based on their written “records” or the victim’s complaints) could be negated. For this reason, participants paid close attention to how the police viewed and treated them, much more so than they paid attention to their interactions with the victim, which, in turn, had consequences on their feelings about the police and the victim. The following section provides one example of a participant who tried to get the police on her side, “*They knew what they were like*” and one where the participant felt the police were against her from the beginning, “*We went in there and laughed.*”

“They knew what they were like”

Only one of the participants interviewed was involved in an official cross-complaint, which meant that the police classified her as a victim *and* as an offender. This classification likely made it seem as though getting the police on her “side” was possible. Her narrative about the conference, therefore, contained various attempts to lose the “offender” label and to be seen as a victim only, beginning with an analysis of the type of background knowledge the police had on both participants:

Yeah, she was in there, and there was another lady as well, but she didn't know the families. That other family. Whereas this other lady she knew the whole family record, like, they've all been in trouble. They're all just grief all the time, so that was quite good, and she obviously knew what I was like because she stopped me a couple of times, well once, because I was on my moped and someone was on the back of my moped, and they didn't have a helmet on, so I shouldn't have done that anyway. But that was when I was young, so she knew what I was like anyway, but she said that 'Obviously when yous younger, how you was and now,' obviously, because the police never hear my name anymore. Because I don't get in trouble.

As can be seen in the quotation above, the participant’s narrative about the conference was mostly about the police. She began by immediately dismissing the unknown police facilitator and focused on the officer with prior knowledge of the participants as the most important person in the room—the “judge” who had to be convinced. Especially helpful was that the officer knew the extent of her neighbours’ offending. “*The whole family record/all grief all the time*” implied a pervasive environmental as well as genetic effect. Comparatively, the officer’s official knowledge of the participant involved knowledge of past offending but also a transformation in her character, which the police woman acknowledged, ““*Obviously when yous younger, how you was and now.*”” While the participant had become a good girl, her neighbour came from bad people.

Alongside evaluations such as this about who was “good” and who was not, which all served to establish that the speaker was the “preferred” participant when the conference

began, the participant recounted how she carefully worked on her reaction in the meeting in order to continue to emphasise the difference between her and “them.”

I weren't screaming. That was them. I thought, no, I'm going to be quiet, and you scream and shout and just show the police what you're really like, and obviously they knew what they were like anyway.

The participant believed their behaviour in restorative justice confirmed the police officer's official knowledge of “them,” while her presentation of the best version of herself confirmed her transformed identity. Increasingly, the participant felt that this work paid off. When the police stepped in to direct the process, she felt they did so on her behalf. When the neighbours tried to leave, the police told them they “*had to stay.*” When the neighbours interrupted the participant, the police came to her rescue, “*they was told off a couple of times because they wouldn't let me talk.*” By the end of the meeting, the participant felt that she had gained the police's support, and had gotten the better of her neighbours.

“We went in and we sat there and laughed.”

In contrast, some participants felt that the police were against them from the start. In such instances, participants used defensive strategies such as appearing dismissive of the process. In the following example, Hollie and her friend were accused of harassing a young woman named Alexis, from their neighbourhood. Upon entering the meeting, Hollie described the feeling that the “coppers” were against them.

So, I don't know, but the coppers weren't going to.... to start with they were on her side. It felt like they were on her side. Everything that she said to them was real and they were trying to catch us out on stuff.

Hollie found herself in a process where guilt and innocence had already been decided (see Shapland, 2013: 67 for a discussion) even though she said that the process had initially been sold to her as being about “*getting...together to discuss the issues.*” For

her, attending restorative justice was, therefore, a criminalizing affair, which seemed to offer little opportunity other than to sit there and accept it:

there was no clear reason to us why or what was going to happen in that meeting. [yeah] It was, 'We're getting you together to discuss the issues and that's how it is.' ...And I suppose even in the meeting we sat there feeling like criminals. That's how it felt. Yeah, we felt funny, but we felt like criminals sitting in there.

Hollie described trying to get out of the position she was in by explaining herself but found that any such attempt was shut down:

We don't really get a chance to say much. [yeah] There wasn't any, 'What's your side of the story?' Anything like that. It was, 'Do you agree to leave her alone?' Which we have anyway, so we weren't really listened to.... Yeah, it felt like no matter what she said, that's how it was, and if we tried to argue different, we weren't believed, and the criminals, and well, actually, we didn't do anything, and we thought the meeting would be like: 'This is the issue. This is how it started. This is what's happened. We want to get her to leave us alone. We don't want nothing to do with her. She probably don't want nothing to do with us.' End of kind of thing, but it wasn't like that.

In Hollie's ideal view of what the meeting would have been like, she and her friend would have taken centre stage, telling the police "*this is how*" it is, and even talking for Alexis, "*she probably don't want nothing to do with us.*" While this imaginary situation cast Hollie and her friend as the victims, or at least placed them in a position where they had equal ownership over the conflict, it also demonstrated that talk was only directed at the police, rather than at Alexis, who was not heard from at all in Hollie's account. However, as the meeting was not like this, Hollie felt her only choice was to protest and save her reputation by appearing tough:

we sat there and laughed. We were laughing because it was that stupid. It was like, 'Do you agree what you've done was wrong?' Like, 'Yeah we had a go at her. And, yeah, we're not friends, but we've not done nothing to her since.' You know? [yeah] We had a go at her. We fell out, but we hadn't bothered with her since. We've seen her out on the street, and we are, 'look at that,' shout one or two things. We wouldn't do anything wrong.

From this account it seemed Hollie began a process of negotiation with the police where she was willing to admit to partial responsibility but not complete responsibility. When this defence was not heard, however, Hollie and her friend made comedy out of the proceeding.

These two brief examples demonstrated how young offenders in conferences focused on the police rather than their interaction with the victim, which goes against best practices of restorative justice which suggest that facilitators should fade into the background (Maxwell et al., 2004, Shapland, 2013, Ashworth, 2002) but which, nonetheless, seems to commonly occur in police-facilitated RJ (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004, McCold, 2003, Maxwell et al., 2004, Hoyle et al., 2002). How the police viewed them and whether or not they believed their side of the story impacted greatly on how they viewed the conference and the police. Believing the police had a positive impression of them led to positive feelings toward the police, while believing the police viewed them as criminals, led to a worse view of the police. Unfortunately, however, neither perspective led to improvement in the victim and the offender's "relationship," which has been described as the point of restorative justice (Zehr, 1990: 185).

Apologies

Once conferences such as the ones described above were nearly over, the police, according to the participants, "demanded" that they apologize to the victim. Braithwaite (2002: 571) has described apologies as "gifts" in restorative justice, and there is general agreement among theorists that apologies have to be genuine in RJ if they are made at all (Shapland, 2013, Umbreit, 1998a, McCold, 1999). However, as the literature review showed, in the UK, this "best practice" has been ignored in favour of promises that apologies take place in RJ ("No More Excuses," 1997: 33). Not surprisingly, the

demand to apologize was met with negative reactions and resulted in multiple angry narratives by the young women about forced apologies, “*they knew I didn’t want to say sorry.*” Given how some offending women view their own and the victim’s culpability (see also Daly, 2008), which is dependent upon the previous, complex interactions between participants (Batchelor et al., 2001, Daly, 2008, Alder, 2000, Sondheimer, 2001), it seems likely that forcing apologies between female victims and female offenders may be especially inappropriate. In some cases forced apologies led to long lasting negative feelings about the police, RJ, the victims, and even the participants themselves for having given in and apologised, “*You know, it makes you feel stupid.*” The apology narrative presented below, however, is unusual because the participant refused to apologize, leading to interesting reactions by the police.

Refusing to apologize

Yvonne was referred to restorative justice after hitting Aimee over a man they were both involved with. Like the participant above who reacted to being labelled an offender in RJ by laughing, Yvonne suggested that the conference had been presented to her as an opportunity to talk about their issues, “*Once I’d spoke to the police officer and told her what’s been going on she said the best way to deal with this is for you two to have a meeting.*” At the meeting, however, Yvonne, like the other women, felt that it was less about talking and more about “*grovel[ing]*” to the victim. Unlike the other women, however, Yvonne challenged the idea that she owed Aimee an apology openly in the meeting:

Yvonne: Even when we had this mediation meeting, I said to her, she said, ‘You haven’t said you’re sorry.’ I said, ‘I’m not sorry.’ I said, ‘And I’ll do it again. You know. I’ve got no reason to be sorry to accidentally hitting you because he decided to duck. I have, at the end of the day, the times that you’ve come to me screaming at me for no reason. I’m not sorry, you know, and if you keep continuously coming up to me when I’m out then I will just do it again,’ because she just annoys me.

Birgit: And that’s what you said to her that meeting?

Interviewee: Yeah, I told her, and the police were telling me they could still arrest me, and I said cool.

Yvonne insisted on using the meeting to clarify her position and her view of what happened—which other women had found to be problematic. Instead of quickly giving

up and dismissing the process as Hollie did above, however, she explained that Aimee was not the intended target and referred to their ongoing history of negative interaction, which placed Yvonne as a victim (Aimee continuously provoked Yvonne). Aimee's continual demand of an apology, which was backed up by the police, in spite of Yvonne's arguments against her guilt, however, eventually resulted in rage: "*you just want to sit there and have me grovel to you. I'm not doing it. Simple.*"

Yvonne's rage, in turn, led to a threat to deliberately hit Aimee (echoing findings by Sanger et al, 2003 about the inability of some young female offenders to control their emotions in tense settings), which in turn lead to more trouble with the police, "*the police were telling me they could still arrest me,*" and to the same sort of defiance exhibited by Hollie, "*and I said cool.*" Despite this unfortunate and escalating turn of events, the demand for an apology continued, "*The police said, 'You have to apologize.'* *And I said, 'No, I don't need to apologize because I'm not sorry, and what part about every time it happens she provokes me. I don't hear her saying I'm sorry.'*" Without room in the meeting to address the hurt that Yvonne felt, "*what about what I've been through,*" which Daly (2013), after her own research with violent women (Daly, 2008) suggests might be necessary in certain cases, Yvonne's interest in the process was lost. She concluded her narrative by taking the moral high ground and questioning what kind of apology the police were trying to force, "*I'm not going to sit there and lie.*" Thus, Yvonne established herself as honest, and the police, with their empty threats, as useless professionals who were happy with lies.

Agreement and outcomes

The literature has suggested that young offenders and young victims should participate significantly in not only the meeting but in the construction of the agreement (Maxwell et al., 2004, Shapland, 2013, Hayes and Daly, 2003). Again, contrary to such recommendations, the agreements in this RJ scheme—as described by a number of the participants—were either formal or informal stay-away agreements, created at the suggestion of the police, "*they basically said to us, 'Do you agree to leave each other alone?'*" While the majority of the women were dismissive that such an agreement would work, most reported that their conflicts had improved since restorative justice, although they did not credit restorative justice for making this happen. This seems to fit with Maxwell et al's (2004) findings that although young women felt badly about

RJ, recidivism decreased. How agreements related to semi-successful outcomes as well as what changed the conflict will be discussed below through the continued story of Yvonne and Aimee and Hollie and Alexis.

Stay-away orders and semi-success: Yvonne and Aimee

After Yvonne's meeting with Aimee spiralled out of control, the police had Yvonne and Aimee agree to stay-away orders. According to Yvonne,

we're not allowed within 100 feet of each other, and if we're in the same club one of us needs to go elsewhere. That was the end of it. Nobody got charged. But that's never going to solve the situation that we have.

The terms, which the police dictated concerning their conduct around each other, was similar to a restraining order; however, the way Yvonne described them was that both women were responsible for staying away. Yvonne focused on this fact to remind me about the mutual culpability of both participants, and went on to reframe the conflict and the purpose of the meeting to one more in line with how she would have liked to perceive the conclusion of the events, “*nobody got charged*” (instead of I didn’t get charged).

Although Yvonne suggested that such an agreement would never work between her and Aimee, she noted that the last time she saw Aimee at a club, Aimee disappeared shortly thereafter. This allowed her to suggest that the agreement was something that really only Aimee should adhere to, “*I think she must've listened...when she saw me out she had to go somewhere else because at the end of the day, as far as I'm concerned, I didn't do anything wrong.*” By consistently maintaining her innocence, and by having the situation improve despite her not changing her behaviour, Yvonne ultimately was able to reframe herself as the true victim, and therefore the victor.

Stay-away orders and semi-success: Hollie and Alexis

After Hollie and her friend were made to feel like “*criminals*” in a process where they refused to acknowledge they were offenders, a less formal stay-away agreement was articulated by the police through some concluding thoughts:

It's obvious you're not going to agree and that you're not going to get along. Keep distance between yourselves and both be on your merry way' kind of thing. That's what we were trying to do anyway.

Rather than leave it at that, Hollie continued to be angered at the police's remarks. For her, the police requested something that she and her friend felt they were already doing. This echoed Hollie's beliefs that she had not been listened to during the meeting, and reinforced the feeling that the meeting had been criminalizing.

With nothing resolved in the meeting, not surprisingly, the stay-away order quickly fell apart. According to Hollie, Alexis continued to report her to the police, and Hollie kept on insisting she had done nothing wrong.

We left her well alone. But she was still ringing them up. [Yeah] We could drive past her on the street, and apparently we were following her. [Hm] And you know ringing them up, 'They're sitting outside my house.' And, yet, we'd been in the city, and she was still doing it. That meeting done nothing.

Although this continuation of the saga suggested the possibility of a negative ending with additional criminalization, Hollie was surprised by the efforts of a police woman she knew who stepped in and rescued her from what she saw as a cycle of madness.

There's one copper I get on quite well with, ____ and she turn around and said to her, 'Stop calling us. Unless you have an emergency, or you have a specific reason, stop calling us because we proved them innocent so many times that you become unbelievable.' You know, 'We're not believing you anymore. Stop calling us.' And after that she did stop calling them unless it was something serious, I guess. But she didn't really call them much anymore, and it's like, well, why should it take a copper to say, 'Stop calling us,' when we turn around and said so many times, 'We've done nothing wrong.' Surely it should have been said at the time,

'We've proved them innocent. Unless you've got hard evidence, don't call us,' but it took two years.

Although this resulted in something positive for Hollie (being left alone), it also reinforced her belief that her voice in restorative justice did not count. Although the conference had been presented as a chance for participants to speak, it was ultimately the police officers who dealt with the situation, as usual, and it came down to evidence and proof rather than feelings and relationships. Like for Yvonne, however, the way it all ended was with Hollie as the victor. Through gaining the sympathy of a female police officer (who potentially could understand the conflicts between young women better than male police facilitators could), Hollie was shown as the 'true' innocent, repeatedly victimized by Alexis' lies and by a police system not quick enough to see through them.

In both these narratives, participants felt as though the police did not take them seriously and judged them to be 'bad' girls. This meant that they believed, leaving the conference, that the conflicts they had with the other women would only get worse. However, it turned out that if at least one person listened to the agreement, no matter how it was worded or by whom it was produced, it worked to some degree. For other young women, conflicts died down for other reasons, as Maxwell et al (2004) and Hoyle et al (2002) have noted. Sometimes these were negative occurrences, which removed the participants from all social interactions such as one participant's deteriorating mental health, which made contact with her victim naturally rarer. Other times, young women decided to remove themselves from the conflict because they felt abandoned by the police because of how badly RJ had gone, and they felt no more help would be offered them. It is possible victims felt the same way, given that according to Hollie's account above, a police officer personally demanded that Alexis stop calling the police, but, of course, we only have Hollie's interpretation of a phone call she was likely not present for. Thus, these narratives from conferences produce similar findings by those of Maxwell (2004): young women felt badly about their experiences in conferences, formulated worse opinions about the police, and stopped engaging with the victim, thus giving the impression of desistance after RJ.

Street Restorative Justice

The four young women who experienced street RJ tended to have very different feelings toward the process than young women who attended conferences. In part this was due to the type of offences for which they were referred, which included all of the shoplifting offences. Since these offences were victimless and since the participants were usually caught while committing the offence, or through CCTV, there was “evidence” of their offending. Because there was concrete evidence, the participants spent less time in the interview negotiating their guilt.

Street RJ also differed from conferences in having fewer participants present. The young women mostly attended on their own and were spoken to by one or two police officers. While this eliminated the vulnerability of not having support in a conference while the victim did, it still left young women unsupported during the interventions.

This section, however, will focus on two aspects of the street RJ—young women’s thoughts of the police and apologies—which also occurred in conferences but which had some different outcomes. The section will then conclude with a discussion of community service, which was in lieu of agreements between victims and offenders.

Police in street RJ: “they wanted to make me sweat”

Participants of street RJ were similar to participants in conferences in that they closely observed and thought about police’s feelings towards them. One participant who received RJ after committing fraud was given an appointment a week after her initial phone conversation with the police. She believed this delay was in order to make her ‘sweat.’

I do actually think they probably did it on purpose. Like they said to me, ‘Oh your interview’s a week away.’ To make me worry, and to make me sweat, and to make me really upset. Because that’s what they wanted. As much as that sounds horrible, they want you to realize what you’ve done.

Two of the participants reported very positive experiences with how the police treated them during street RJ. One young woman who spoke to a female officer felt she was especially “nice” and suggested that because the police officer and she shared the same gender, the police officer was more likely to understand the participant:

She was so nice about it. She was calm. She said, ‘I know you’re upset.’ It was a lady. That worked in my favour cuz if it was a man it would have been more intimidating. A bit more scary. She was really understanding. She said, ‘I know you mean it. You done wrong’ and so obviously you need to be punished for it.’ And that was totally understandable.

Another participant, however, reported very negative experiences with street RJ. Her experience was that the intervention only involved officers yelling at her:

I got taken to the police station at Xstreet and they were shouting at me. And they were really, really ripping into me and I was a flood of tears.

Although she was relieved not to get a record due to the offence, she remained upset about how her offence had been handled.

I can’t stand anyone shouting. I can’t stand violence. They make me cry like a little kid. I go and hide under the...but I don’t think a full grown man should shout at a...when I was only seventeen. You don’t ever shout at someone like that.

The only young woman who participated in a fight and received street RJ in this sample, did not understand why a ‘scrap’ between two girls at school became elevated to a police matter. She believed the school should have sat the two girls down, rather than have the police come to each girl separately in their homes.

Interviewee: I think the school should have dealt with it and got us together. They knew us. Both of us. If the police were involved maybe just one of them come to the

school and say, you know, ‘This is what could’ve happened. You could get arrested, or this could happen. Do you really need to fight?’ Whatever. And maybe the school could deal with it as well.

Birgit: So rather than the police coming to your home...

Interviewee: For a little scrap. Like it was really stupid.

Despite these mixed reactions to how police behaved in victim-less restorative justice, some left feeling that they had been given a second chance and were left feeling more positive towards the justice system,

I felt really appreciative about that. It made me feel really like. I put them a, what’s the word I’m looking for? I can’t think. Put me. Put a bit of something within the justice system. You know. Put a bit more. I had a bit more respect for the justice system, I suppose really.

For others, the gratefulness was associated with a specific police officer who made the decision to divert them to restorative justice, “*That was quite a kind thing for her to do. She didn’t have to do that for me.*”

One participant felt that being diverted to restorative justice meant something about her instead of something about the police. She felt it meant that the system did not consider her a “true” offender and that she was different from “them” (as also found in Maruna, 2001, Presser, 2002, Presser, 2004). She left restorative justice believing the police had a better, more accurate view of her.

I think she knew my dad was a good person. We come from a good school. And we were a good family, and I wasn’t like a [unclear], and I wasn’t from a bad area of town or anything. I was a fine person. Like, really great school. Great girl but it was literally just a bad area of judgement.

Apology

Unlike young women in restorative justice conferences, none of the participants in street RJ spoke about difficult apologies. None of the women had face-to-face meetings with their corporate victims or representatives from the store. Two of the young women, however, said they spontaneously apologized to the police for breaking the law, “*I was like, ‘I can’t have a caution. I want to work with children. It’ll go on my CRB. Honestly, I really don’t want any of this to happen. Please. I’m so sorry.’*” One of the participants believed it was her apology which made her eligible for a diversion: “*I said to her, ‘You know, I regret it so much. I’m so sorry.’ [yeah] And she said, ‘Ok, well, how do you feel about restorative justice?’*” RJ, for two of the participants, seemed to be a reward for feeling sorry, and while the act and the threat of punishment created feelings of guilt and shame, the apology did not.

Making amends to the community

Street RJ usually involved having to “do” something else other than meeting with a police officer. Two participants did community service for their offences, while the other two had no further punishment. Community service “*wasn’t very good,*” according to one participant, and the other suggested community service was a punishment tailor-made for young women, “*they knew how to get to young girls. Cuz it wasn’t like, oh, having to do this painting. It was having all the people walking past me, and I know some of them.*” For the young woman, participating in community service not only meant her appearance was made to look less attractive, “*in blue overalls,*” but also suggested to the public that she was being punished. Particularly humiliating was when people she knew and saw her as one type of person came into contact with this “other,” offending, identity. Both young women saw it as punishment that was meant to embarrass and humiliate them.

Community service, at least in theory, is not meant to be humiliating. Theorists have sometimes suggested that community service may be used to satisfy the “community” aspect of restorative justice (Pepi, 1998), which although critical in some people’s ideas of good RJ (see, for example, Braithwaite, 2002:567) has been thought to have been “neglected” (McEvoy et al, 2002: 469). Ashworth (2002: 583), however, has suggested that involving the community in this way “is largely a symbolic form of restoration,” which the young women’s experiences with community service above seems to suggest

as well. Nowhere in their description was the sense that they were doing something important to make up for what they had done.

For some, street RJ was described as a relief. These were the participants who agreed they committed a crime and received street RJ on the same day or soon thereafter, and, therefore, quickly knew what their dispositions were. If the police officer was kind to them and took the time to listen, the young women expressed gratitude toward the police for not prosecuting them and sometimes spontaneously apologized to the police. At the time of the interview, these young women continued to think more highly of the police and also believed that the police felt more highly of them. Those dissatisfied with street RJ included young women who felt they received street RJ for something “silly,” which, they felt should have been handled by others than the police. These cases might have been indicative of ‘net-widening’ which has been found in some RJ schemes for young offenders (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004) although not in all (Prichard, 2010). Other dissatisfied young women were those who felt they were yelled at and treated unkindly. Over all, how police officers acted toward the participants was the most important factor in determining what they thought of street restorative justice. As Hoyle et al (2002) have found, outcomes in RJ are often highly dependent upon how well police facilitators do their jobs.

Appropriateness

The next section discusses young women’s thoughts about for whom they felt restorative justice was most appropriate. The women were split between those who felt restorative justice was meant for offences such as theirs and those who felt restorative justice was meant for someone else entirely, and in explaining why they outlined what could have been made better to make the intervention more appropriate.

For offences such as mine

In describing what type of cases the participants felt restorative justice was appropriate for, many women named situations or offences that precisely mimicked their own actions, “*teenagers that get arrested when they’ve been drinking out in town,*” (suggested by a young woman who offended while intoxicated), or “*something quite small like stealing a few bits of jewellery*” (suggested by a young woman who shoplifted

jewellery). By using their cases as a benchmark for types of situations eligible for restorative justice, they simultaneously reassured themselves and informed me that their offences had not been serious enough to warrant criminal prosecution.

Some of the participants, for example, felt singled out in a positive way for having been selected for diversion into restorative justice. They ultimately felt that the system recognized on some level that they were not offenders. They therefore felt that restorative justice was meant for someone like *them*, rather than it being about the type of offence. Being referred to restorative justice meant the police, on some level, knew that: “*Yeah, say, for example, shoplifting. I think it depends more on the kind of person. Like. I mean for me. I’m not a sweet, innocent girl. I mean, I am cheeky, but I am. I was sort of forced into that situation, and I think if the police had spoke to my family and friends they would’ve known it wasn’t me that was doing that.*”

Having officials deem their cases as “*not that really serious*,” was especially helpful to participants who had to come to terms with a violent episode in their past and integrated this into their life story. A participant who had broken a girl’s nose in a fight, for example, stated that offences involving “*people getting their jaws broken*” should not be eligible for restorative justice. By placing the threshold of restorative justice eligibility as beyond the harm caused by her own actions, she ensured that her own eligibility was well within the parameters, allowing her to conclude that prosecuting a case such as hers would be “*for nothing really*.” Believing this helped her to move on from the episode as Maruna (2001) has also discussed.

For other people’s offences

Other women felt restorative justice was not appropriate for cases such as theirs. One young woman who had felt humiliated for having to apologise to her “victim,” for example, imagined that restorative justice might only have utility for minor offences such as shoplifting where the offender could sit in front of the shop owner and apologize. Even though the apology was what caused such humiliation and discontent in her meeting, she felt an apology could play a positive role in situations where there was not significant emotional hurt and where things were not personal so that offenders did not have to “*say things you don’t want to say*.” As she described herself as a prosocial woman who had been pushed to committing assault, her behaviour was not

minor or insignificant. The implications of what it meant for someone like her to engage in fighting were profound, and for her, attending a meeting, which made less of that experience was both demeaning of that experience and the complexity of that situation.

Another woman who had a fight suggested that complex relationships where there was not a clear victim or offender were not appropriate for restorative justice. She made the case that empathy was easier and an apology was more genuine with someone with whom there was no history of previous discord, “*if you don’t know them, you’d be like, ‘I’m really sorry. I was drunk.’ And, fair enough, I would have been sorry.*” Although this participant refused to apologise in restorative justice, she made sure I knew that she was not against acknowledging responsibility when she believed she had done something wrong. The participant made it clear she did not deliberately harm, “*I wouldn’t ever want to hurt anybody that hasn’t actually done anything to me, you know.*” For her own situation, however, where she believed herself to be repeatedly victimized by the victim, the proposed apology only fuelled her anger, not only towards the victim but also towards the police, “*but in the situation I was in, it didn’t help whatsoever. It just made me angry. It was like the police was telling me I had to. They even said to me, ‘Just apologize.’*”

Other participants used the opportunity to maintain their innocence by suggesting restorative justice was appropriate for a case like theirs, had they done what they were accused of, “*I suppose if it’s something serious. A whole list of harassment and there is actually a proper issue there, then it could work.*” The participant did not find the fit between her suggested offence and RJ inappropriate, but she disagreed that she had committed an offence in the first place. Entering a process as an offender regarding a situation where she did not agree she had committed a crime, meant her focus became about defending her innocence.

Conclusion

The young women in this RJ scheme were not thrilled with their experience of restorative justice. By analysing participants’ talk about each stage of restorative justice from definitions to the status of their conflicts after restorative justice, the chapter revealed several insights into why these young women might have felt that way. The

views and opinions of these young women, in turn, might shed some light on why young women in other studies have been found to be “impossible” participants (Daly, 2008, Maxwell et al., 2004) and why some young people might be seen as being mostly concerned with “repairing their own reputations” in restorative justice as Daly (2002: 70) has suggested.

The first issue revealed by the chapter had to with a lack of understanding about what RJ was. According to most of the participants, there was no effort made to prepare them for their conferences, which has been established as one of the more important stages of restorative justice (Maxwell et al., 2004, Hoyle et al., 2002, Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012). This lack of preparation might have been the reason why participants, even after participating, were unclear what had happened to them and why.

The second issue had to do with who participated in RJ. For various reasons, participants sometimes felt a person was missing—either on the offender or on the victim’s side—and this impacted their experience of restorative justice especially in relation to ideas about fairness (as Hoyle et al, 2002 also found in an evaluation of a RJ scheme in the UK). The absence of support people made a particular difference to how the young people felt about the conference and how they conducted themselves in it. As described in the chapter, it also made young women defend themselves and push back at the conferences as a show of being “big.” This masked feelings of insecurity, anger at not being listened to, and probably fear and shame. As many of the young women had few supportive people in their lives, particularly adults, conferences where they were asked to bring a support person served to highlight this, especially when the victim brought a parent. Even one-time offenders with prosocial parents, struggled with supporters. They sometimes found it difficult to be open and honest in a meeting which cast them as the offenders. For them the image of the “good” girl they were supposed to be at home clashed with the identity of an offender they were now and shut down conversation.

Another major theme in this chapter dealt with participants views of the police. Opinions of the police varied, but as illustrated in several sections, a negative view of the police could be changed through a positive relationship with one police officer. Restorative justice provided a direct opportunity for such a personal relationship to

occur since restorative justice was sometimes the longest time the participants had been in the presence of police. Several participants felt that an individual officer, and thus the justice system, saw something in them, and such a belief led to feelings of gratitude and at times a desire to live up to this view of them. Thus some police officers, notably female ones could act as “agents of change” in how and what young people thought of the police (Silvestri, 2007:39). However, negative experiences with police in restorative justice, of course, did the opposite: proved to the young women that police were “pigs” and led to long-term feelings of distrust. Negative and positive experiences to a large extent had to do with how the restorative intervention was delivered (as was also found by Hoyle et al, 2002) and sometimes with the gender of the police officer (see Silvestri, 2007: 43 on review of the literature on female police officers).

The chapter also illustrated that young women misunderstood restorative justice as an informal court of law and paid far more attention to the judgement of the police facilitators than they did to their interactions with the victim. Apologies were difficult for participants, especially if they also felt victimized, and agreements, often stay-away orders, crafted by the police felt unrealistic and unlikely to last.

Several participants also raised important issues about the right of the police to demand insincere apologies from participants and what exactly such apologies would achieve other than to make the participant “lie.” Such forced apologies often led to lingering feelings of resentment toward the victim and the police. For most of the participants, after these apologies, the final agreements were stay-away orders, which the young women predicted would not work and were surprised when they “sort of” did. They did not credit the lessening of the conflict to restorative justice, however, but felt that they either had to continue to handle the conflict outside the police because the police could not help them, or that the victim stayed away from them, which made them feel like they had ultimately “won” in spite of being unfairly labelled offenders. This lessening of the conflict, while beneficial for the participants, again left them feeling abandoned by the police who provided no follow-up.

Lessons learned from street restorative justice demonstrated that if the young women were paired with a sympathetic officer, it felt like an “easier” process for young women in terms of guilt, apologies, and outcomes. For the women paired with officers who

yelled at them or for offences, which the young women felt were better handled by another organization such as a school, RJ seemed to be unnecessarily harsh, or and police-intervention seemed unnecessary. Finally, the chapter demonstrated that community service was sometimes an additional component of street RJ. While community service may theoretically involve the community in a young offender's punishment, the type of service the women described raised questions regarding how the particular 'service' is connected to the offence (Tifft and Sullivan, 2001). As Tifft and Sullivan (2001: 197) have suggested, punishment works best when it work with the "nature of the harm" or the offenders' "specific motivations."

Some of the young women interviewed had mental health issues, and others had experienced trauma during their childhoods and adolescents. Some began with a lack of trust for the police whom they believed had let them down at times when they needed protection and help. This might have contributed to young women being more 'difficult' in restorative justice. However, the problems they had in restorative justice could also be traced back to a failure on behalf of the police to follow best-practices.

Even though restorative justice was not always to the participants' liking, however, some young women felt the process had made some kind of impact on their lives. Many cited that being given just "one chance" at this sort of disposition, with the threat of greater punishment should they reoffend, made the biggest difference, "*they sort of say that now that we know you've done this if you do something else then you're going to have like more consequences, you're going to have to go to court.*" While none of the participants said they planned to offend again, being told they had no more chances made them exercise extra caution when in some situations such as drinking with their friends. Many felt grateful that they had escaped a conviction and therefore had the opportunity to work and advance their lives, rather than be punished for a mistake committed in their youth. Although some women did not feel restorative justice was appropriate for a situation like theirs, others felt it was easier to move on and forgive themselves for what they had done because the police had.

Conclusion

This conclusion begins with a reminder of the qualitative and quantitative research questions, which were created after reading various literatures in criminology and restorative justice. Next, the chapter addresses the findings in relation to the research questions and the literature review, before concluding with implications for practice and recommendations for police-facilitated restorative justice involving young women.

As described in the methodology chapter, the qualitative research questions probed a number of themes and experiences from young women's lives prior to offending and the way they made sense of themselves after and during offending—especially in relation to their gender. The research questions also queried their feelings about the intervention itself and what the young women believed it accomplished, if anything.

These questions included:

1. What do young women describe as major influences or turning points to offending?
2. How are offending identities described alongside other gendered identities?
3. What are young women's experiences of restorative justice conferences?
4. How do young women see themselves in relation to their communities after restorative justice, and to what community, if any, do they belong?

While the literature also inspired the quantitative questions, they were specifically tailored for the type of data contained within the administrative police database, which did not include outcomes but instead provided a wealth of information about 17,000 offenders, victims, and support people involved in RJ, the types of offences committed by offenders with accompanying notes, and what form of RJ had been assigned to the various offences and offenders. Since much of the focus of the research was on gender, the research questions explored specific enquiries about women in restorative justice as well as gendered differences between male and female offenders. They included:

1. What are women's roles in restorative justice? That is, what role do women play in restorative justice conferences, not only as offenders but also as victims, support persons, and professionals?
2. How do women's roles in restorative justice compare to men's participation?
3. What kinds of crimes committed by women are associated with referrals to RJ?
4. What are the gender differences between female and male offending in restorative justice?

5. Is there a gendered difference between female offenders' relationship to victims and male offenders' relationships?

Aside from producing these questions, the three chapters of literature review also revealed complex information about backgrounds and experiences of women who engaged in crime, strategies for desisting from crime, and perplexing experiences in restorative justice. The highlights of the literature review will be discussed alongside findings from the quantitative and qualitative studies of this thesis in a five-part structure. The first part, "Identities and Pathways," will, from the risk factors presented in young women's accounts, develop a framework for understanding young women's pathways to offending. The second part, "Offending," will cover both quantitative and qualitative findings to what kind of offences the women in this research committed, with whom, and under what circumstances. The third part, "Restorative Justice," again relies on both the quantitative and qualitative data collected to discuss how RJ was used in this police authority and for whom. The fourth part, "Desistance," explores women's thoughts about no longer offending, and three models of desistance are presented to show how they perceived they got there. The fifth part, "Recommendations for practice," presents the young women's and the researcher's thoughts on how RJ could be improved within this police authority. Finally, the conclusion discusses next steps.

Identities and pathways

Although women are supposed to be "good" and are supposed to not engage in violent or antisocial behaviour because they "care" too much about others and their standing in the community (Gilligan, 1982, Heimer and De Coster, 1999), women *do* offend and *do* harm others. In the UK, arrests for violent offences rank as the most typical reason adult and young women are pulled into the CJS (ONS, February 2013; Ministry of Justice, 2012; Arnall and Eagle, 2009). In response to similar statistics around the world, the literature sometimes emphasises the difficult circumstances under which young female offenders have grown up. They include home lives headed by antisocial parents (Farrington, 1995, Farrington et al., 2009, Kolvin et al., 1988), the presence of violence and mental health issues in the home (Lansford et al., 2007, Davies and Windle, 1997) not to mention the even more influential physical and sexual abuse which they are subjected to (Williams et al., March 2012, Hubbard and Pratt, 2002, Siegel and Williams, 2003) to the degree that many young women have had to be taken from their

homes for a period of time (Arnall and Eagle, 2009, Williams et al., March 2012, Murray et al., 2012, Tye, 2009). Feminist criminological literature, not surprisingly, points to the victimization many female offenders have experienced and suggest that, especially for women, victimization leads toward offending (Javdani et al, 2011; Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1998; Maher and Curtis, 1998; Gilfus, 1992; Chesney-Lind, 1989).

Analysis of the life history interviews with twelve young women who offended in one county in the UK revealed many fits with the literature presenting female offenders as “victims,” described in depth in the first literature review chapter. Nearly every young woman interviewed spoke about victim experiences, either in their background and childhoods, which involved family and peer abuse; their adolescence which often involved sexual assaults or intimate partner violence; or through victimization by other women. One woman, for example, described years of dating antisocial men who brought their drugs and stolen goods into the home, encouraging her silence and, at times, her participation, all the while keeping her in line with brutal violence. Such stories are deeply reminiscent of DeHart et al’s (2014) and Gilfus’ (1992) work, both which presented women being forced into various kinds of offending, including prostitution, by violent partners. Other women who had encountered victimization in their adolescence, usually through sexual assaults, described shoplifting, drinking underage, or doing drugs in order to interrupt their depression and anxiety as described in particular by DeHart et al (2014) but also by DeHart and Moran (2015); Finn et al (2015); and Yule et al (2015). Finally, women who engaged in violence sometimes spoke about changing from “soft” to “strong” as a response to being bullied by peers or abused at home. The strategy of fighting when threatened may have curtailed some of the victimization in their lives but had the additional consequence of bringing the police into their lives who arrested them as perpetrators, even though the women themselves saw their fighting as necessary (see also Finn et al, 2015; DeHart and Moran, 2015 and discussions by Heidensoh and Silvestri, 2012). Maher and Curtis (1998: 128) and others have similarly described women’s violence as constituting “survival strategies” (Henriksen and Miller, 2012; Burman and Batchelor, 2009; Burman, 2008; Batchelor, 2005).

One of the qualitative research questions, which emerged from a social constructivist perspective, however, involved how young women identified themselves and how an offending identity fit with these other identities since I, like Gergen (2004: 274)

believed “people do not just have one major role to play, nor one narrative to tell.” I found that while victim experiences were strong and some women connected these experiences with their offending, most of the women did not want to see themselves as victims, even though they might have seen themselves in this way in the *past*, just as Burman (2008) and Batchelor (2005) have emphasised. Instead, other “*imagoes*,” to borrow McAdams’ (1988, 1993) phrasing, emerged as more dominant. These included *fighters, survivors, and good girls*.

Fighters were women who saw themselves taking control of their lives through the transformation of victim to fighter. They literally began fighting back against bullies, neighbours, step-fathers, and women they knew through various social circles whom they felt wished them harm or who had threatened them in some way. In doing so, they adopted “masculine” attitudes or personas with their talk about “respect” which resonates with findings by Miller (2002:443) who wrote about women’s abilities to engage in “gender crossing” when there was a need for it as well as findings by Henriksen and Miller (2012); Batchelor (2005, 2001) and discussions by Heidensoh and Silvestri (2012). Like the young women in Batchelor and colleagues’ (2001) study, these young women were sometimes taught such approaches by their fathers who were tired of watching them being bullied. Other times, they learned such approaches by watching the men in their lives—fathers and stepfathers—abuse and terrorise their mothers. Not wanting to be like their mothers and seeing the control violence could have over others, encouraged them to be violent, as one participant suggested herself.

Being “masculine,” however, was not something they pursued in everyday life. The fighters usually alternated between being “soft,” as they described women should be, spending their time looking after their children or their partners, with the occasional foray into fighting. Lexie’s narrative in the “Morality Tales” chapter, for example, spoke to the difficulty of achieving the right balance between being “soft” and “hard.” Miller (2002, 1998) and Miller and Decker (2001) described “doing” gender in exactly this way: alternating between femininity and masculinity depending on what the situation required. The fighters did not back down from fights when they were provoked or when they believed they were defending themselves or their families because as literature from Denmark and Scotland has demonstrated, not engaging in violence when disrespected cross-culturally signals weakness (Henriksen and Miller, 2012; Burman, 2008; Batchelor, 2005).

It was, however, the active decision the women made to fight and the decision of what sides of themselves to display, which highlighted the role of agency for the fighters in this study just as described by Henriksen and Miller (2012); Miller and Decker (2001), Burman (2008); Batchelor (2005), and Miller (1998). Regardless of the fighters' backgrounds of victimization, they saw themselves as women who could stand up for themselves when they needed to (see Batchelor, 2005; Burman, 2003). The same was true of the good girls who engaged in violence even though they had had many fewer occasions to do so. These were women who, at times under the influence of alcohol, made decisions in the heat of the moment, which they thought were appropriate responses to the situation. Agency, therefore, emerged as the strongest theme for these women, and the discussion of the various ways they used agency will be continued in the section on desistance.

However, while the women in this sample shared similarities between deliberately adopting "masculine" traits and in describing that their own decision-making was behind their offending, meaning that on the surface they might *look* similar, the women interviewed did not share the same pathway toward offending. Instead, pathways seemed to revolve around an abundance or an absence of risk factors, as Moffitt (1993) has suggested. In order to illustrate the paths the young women took, two figures have been created. A common pathway for women with high risk factors is shown in figure 1, and a pathway with low risk factors is shown in figure 2.

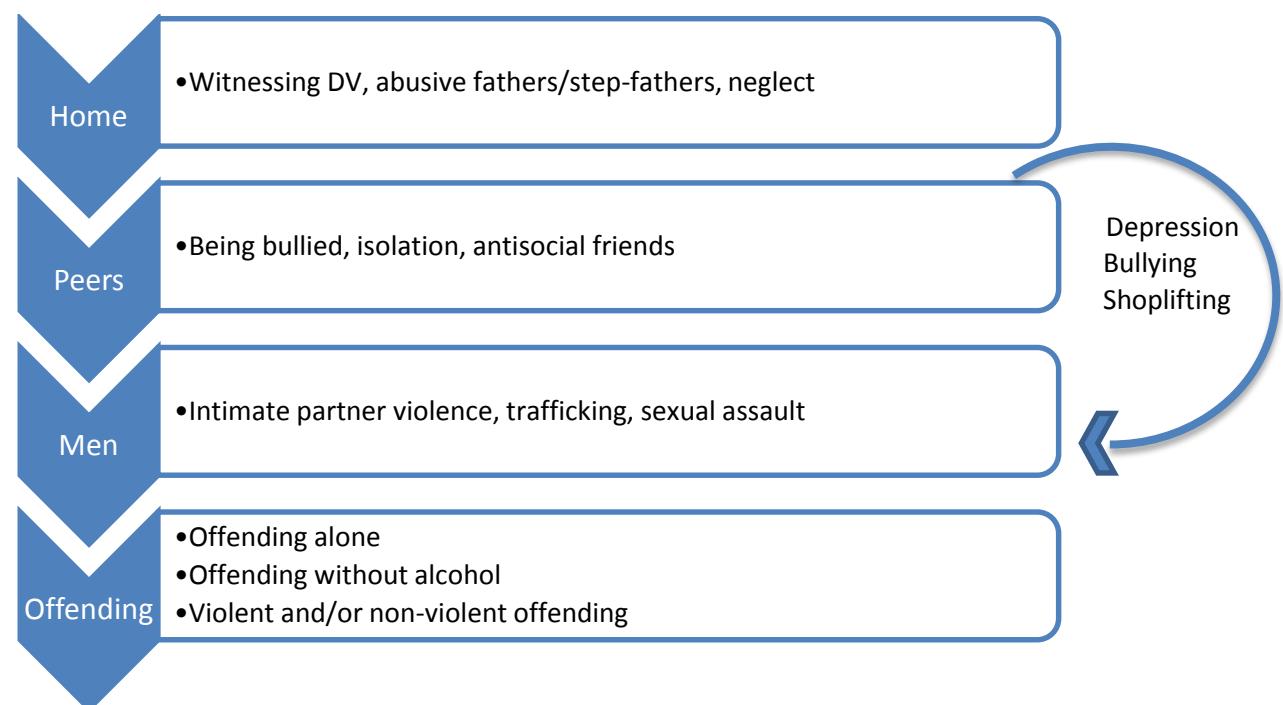
Figure 1 shows that risk factors for young women began in childhood through physical abuse and witnessing domestic violence, as the literature has suggested (Lansford et al., 2007, Gilfus, 1992, Chesney-Lind, 1989, Arnall and Eagle, 2009, Williams et al., March 2012) and continued through being bullied by peers (Turner, August 1, 2013). While many of the young women described themselves as naturally meek in their childhoods, they also suggested that in order to escape victimization, they pretended to fit in with bullies so these individuals would no longer bully them (see also Batchelor, 2005). Joining antisocial groups, therefore, occurred through deliberate ways as suggested by the literature (Cairns et al., 1988) but interesting through what the young women themselves interpreted as *faked* similarities.

In their adolescence, the young women experiencing a high risk pathway (Moffit, 1993) encountered violence from antisocial partners as Gilfus (1992) has described, and/or

were sexually assaulted by men who were trusted. Male partners did not always pull women into offending as has been proposed (Haynie et al., 2005, Caspi et al., 1993, Miller et al., 2008, Javdani et al., 2011). Rather they contributed to victimization—sexual assaults, intimate partner violence, even trafficking—and, as a result, mental health problems flourished as found in the literature (Mitchell and Hodson, 1983, Fergusson et al., 1996a). The most high risk pathway, therefore, *always* involved struggles with depression and anxiety. This all contributed to a gender-victimization pathway, as Javdani et al (2011) have proposed with *cumulative* effects.

Offending began early through shoplifting in their preteens. When later official offending occurred, it could be violent or non-violent, with most women having engaged with both. This is in contrast to findings by Arnall and Eagle (2009) who suggested that young female acquisitive offenders were different from young violent women. Also, unlike offenders in Maruna's (2001) sample, the young women refused to use intoxication as an excuse for their offending. Offending sober—especially when being violent—seemed to be a particular consequence of coming from a background of high risk. Finally, most offences (except for their early childhood offences) were committed alone, perhaps indicative of their social isolation and lack of friends as well as being older (Cooper and Roe, 2012, McCord and Conway, December 2005).

Figure 1: Young women's high risk pathways to offending



In contrast to figure 1, figure 2 shows an absence of childhood risk factors. Instead, troubles began in school with other young women, just as the literature has pointed out (Xie et al, 2002; Batchelor et al, 2001; Bjorkqvist et al, 1994, 1994, Crick and Grotpeter, 1994). As the figure illustrates, trouble with other girls developed into violence or spending time with a peer group turned into offending when the young women were drinking, fitting in with Arnall and Eagle's (2009) findings that alcohol may be the only risk factor for otherwise prosocial women with no physical or sexual abuse in their background. When alcohol was involved, offending could be violent (assaults) or non-violent (criminal damage, using a fake ID).

For the young women in this sample, violent offences were always committed alone, while non-violent offences (criminal damage, fake IDs) were nearly always committed in a group. In cases of violence, the young women tended to describe the victim as also culpable, as has been found by Daly (2008), and in cases of non-violence, the participants used a number of minimizing techniques (Sykes and Matza, 1957) to suggest they were just having fun. Thus group offending, which has been documented as important for young women (van Mastrigt and Farrington, 2009, Cooper and Roe, 2012) occurred most often for young women without background risk factors as Moffitt's (1993) "adolescent-limited pathway" has proposed. These groups, however, were not mixed-gender, as the literature has often suggested (Caspi et al., 1993, Miller et al., 2008) but were, rather, as Arnall and Eagle (2009) found, single-sex groups.

Figure 2: Young women's low risk pathways to offending



Offending

The administrative database contained 7,003 offenders processed through restorative justice, of whom 74.9% were White British (N=5,248), 63% were male, and 62.1% were between the ages of 10 and 16. Thus, the most typical offender in restorative justice was a young, white, male.

The most common types of offending in the database were shoplifting (27.0%, N=1,818), criminal damage (22.8%, N=1,553) and violence (22.4%, N=1,530). Female offenders, however, showed slight differences in their offending patterns. The most common offence types for women were shoplifting (49.0%), violence (21.3%), and intimidation (13.9%).

Most women offended alone, followed by offending in a single sex group, and then a mixed sex group. However, offending in a single sex and mixed sex group was more common for women than for men, as expected (Cooper and Roe, 2012; Miller et al, 2009; van Mastricht and Farrington, 2009; Caspi et al, 1993). This generally matched the experiences of the women interviewed except the participants had committed assaults more often than shoplifting, due to recruitment deliberately targeting women who had met with a clear victim in restorative justice.

A particularly intriguing finding in the quantitative data was that most female offenders had corporate victims (57.9%, N=1,344), followed by peers (16.5%, N=383) and other known individuals (13.8%, N=320), which, as will be discussed in the RJ section profoundly affects RJ processes. Due to recruitment methods, the interviewee's victims were mostly peers or persons known. This more traditional relationship patterns for female offenders (see Ministry of Justice, November 2012; Greenfeld and Snell, 1999), in turn, revealed important information on complex relationships between women (Daly, 2008; Batchelor et al, 2001; Alder, 2000, Bjorkqvist et al, 1992, 1994, Crick and Grotpeter, 1995 etc), and, linked, the perception of mutual culpability (Daly, 2008), which, in turn, proved to be problematic in restorative justice (as also seen by Daly, 2008), which is supposed to contain a wholly responsible offender and a through and through victim (see discussions by Shapland, 2013; Daly, 2013; Umbreit, 1998).

Restorative Justice

Despite the general scarcity of female offenders in RJ processes (Sherman et al, 2008), several studies around the world have found that women may offend less after RJ (Sherman and Strang, 2007; Rodriguez, 2007; Hayes, 2005; Hayes and Daly, 2004; Maxwell et al, 2004) but that they react negatively to the process (Daly, 2008; Maxwell et al, 2004). The issues women have had range from not appreciating how police facilitators acted towards them (Maxwell et al, 2004) to finding exchanges with their so called victims problematic and vice versa (Daly, 2008). While this research could not examine recidivism, due to a lack of outcomes in the database, it could look at general patterns in the database and then compare these patterns to women's experiences through qualitative interviews.

General patterns

The quantitative data showed that the most common participants in RJ were offenders (40.2%), followed by victims (28.4%), offender supporters (18.7%), and victim supporters (5.7%). This suggested that the RJ scheme likely used forms of RJ, which involved no victims, as has been found in other police RJ schemes in the UK (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004).

Women outnumbered men in victim supporter (64.8%/34.7%) and offender supporter categories (66.7%/32.8%), as found by Daly (1996) (cited in Daly and Stubbs, 2006) while men dominated both offender (62.1%/36.8%) and victim categories (55.8%/43.0%). This meant that the "community" in this RJ scheme was mostly female. Not surprisingly, the data seemed to suggest that a majority of these female supporters were mothers, confirming Braithwaite's (1999) comments about his previous findings.

The most significant relationship pattern in this scheme, however, was that between offenders and corporate victims. This was a problematic finding since the types of RJ which have been found to yield most benefit to victims and offenders are ones where victims and offenders meet after a personal harm (Sherman and Strang, 2007). A similarly worrying practice was that offenders most frequently experienced RJ through street RJ (53.4%, N=3,743), no matter the offence type. Street RJ was a form of RJ, which required no preparation and did not always include all the participants involved.

Finally, just like in an evaluation of a police RJ scheme in Northern Ireland (O’Mahony and Doak, 2004) and various schemes in the US (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011), this scheme found some elements of potential “net-widening” both through qualitative and quantitative data. In terms of the quantitative data, most significantly, 8.5% (N=592) of the database’s cases were labelled as non-crimes. In addition, 2.6% of the cases in the database (N=173) involved children under the age of criminal responsibility. Scholars in favour of net-widening argue that involving young people who engage in minor offending and even involving very young offenders not only might be done with good intentions such as ensuring that young people displaying problematic behaviour do not escalate such behaviour but may also have crucial benefits such as connecting young people who offend due to vulnerabilities with appropriate assistance (see Bechard et al, 2010: 622; Prichard, 2010: 114; Binder, 1987: 255).

As the young women interviewed were only a subsample of the much larger sample of individuals processed, it is difficult to speak of the potential general benefits for the individuals experiencing restorative justice through net-widening. From the young women’s narratives and the type of offences they were involved in, however—very minor thefts, criminal damage, harassment, and violence (i.e. slapping), nearly all of which represented “behaviours that at one time were deemed mischievous but not criminal” (Bechard et al, 2010: 609), the benefits for these young women did not seem great. For example, none of the women mentioned being connected with support services even if they had had recent experiences of victimization, which had sometimes triggered the “offending.” Women’s histories of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse were not picked up on, and as will be discussed in the next section, the women often suggested they did not have a chance to tell their side of the story of why they had acted the way they had.

While there is not enough evidence available to make an evaluation of the implications and even extent of net-widening in this scheme, this is an important issue, not only to restorative justice (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004) but to young women, which the literature shows us have for many years been unnecessarily controlled (Finn et al, 2015; DeHart and Moran, 2015; DeHart et al, 2014; Bäckman et al, 2014; Lynch, 2014; Scoular and Carline, 2014; Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012; Himmelstein and Bruckener, 2011; Worrall, 2008; Hudson, 2008; Chesney-Lind and Pasko, 2008; Burman, 2008; Batchelor, 2005; Chesney-Lind, 1989).

Women's experiences in RJ

The women interviewed experienced either street RJ or RJ conferences. Both groups had problematic experience in RJ but for different reasons.

Women who experienced street RJ did not know they had experienced something other than a traditional criminal justice response and sometimes believed that community service was RJ. They also sometimes did not like police officers' attitudes. Their descriptions of police officers' behaviour matched researcher observations of police officers' RJ methods elsewhere—such as taking over the conversation, not knowing how to talk to young people, and resorting to lecturing (McCold and Wachtel, 1998; O'Mahony and Doak, 2004; Hoyle et al, 2002, etc).

Narratives by young women who experienced RJ conferences, in contrast, highlighted a lack of support in conferences. Contrary to quantitative findings, which showed that offender supporters outnumbered victim supporters, the women interviewed came alone to RJ. Given their sometimes abusive backgrounds and the concerns expressed in the literature about forcing such family members to be support persons in RJ (Alder, 2000), the absence of some of these family members was not necessarily a bad thing. However, evaluations of police RJ schemes elsewhere have pointed to a general lack of support in conferences for young offenders, particularly positive support (McCold and Wachtel, 1998: 27; Hoyle et al, 2002). The lack of support in RJ for female offenders had obvious repercussions with the young women trying a variety of tough girl strategies order to deal with the power imbalance and the discomfort they felt. It is, therefore, possible that the difficult attitudes researcher observers have noted in RJ (see Daly, 2008 and Daly, 2002, for example) are deliberate displays of bravado rather than not caring (Alder, 2000).

Shapland (2013: 66) has suggested that “the core is communication” in RJ conferences. The reality of this RJ scheme, however, was that communication tended to be poor. The offending women focused very little on the victim and instead did what they could in order to get the police on their side. Partially this was a spill-over of the young women's insistence that they and the victims were mutually culpable in the conflict, as addressed in the offending section. The advanced consideration of how to appear and what to say, however, also showed that that the young women tried to act a certain way in RJ, meaning Snow and Powell's (2011) and Snow and Sanger's (2011) concerns about

young offenders' social cognition difficulties did not apply here. However, emotions such as anger and shame sometimes got in the way of such reasoning (as expressed by Sanger et al, 2003), leading to chaotic RJ sessions.

Finally, young women spoke about police coercion, something that has been found in other police RJ schemes in the UK (see O'Mahony and Doak, 2004; Hoyle et al, 2002; McCold and Wachtel, 1998). One coercive strategy involved forcing offenders to apologize to the victims. Although apologies are not necessary in RJ (see Daly, 2013: 24), police schemes have sometimes been found to push for apologies (O'Mahony and Doak, 2004), which may originate from higher up; the white paper *No More Excuses*, for example, goes as far as to promise apologies to victims in RJ ("No More Excuses," 1997: 19, 33). Not surprisingly, 'forced' apologies left the young women feeling anger towards the police and the victim.

Desistance

The literature points to well-documented desistance pathways for young men involving prosocial long-term partners, joining the military, or landing a job with career potential (Laub and Sampson, 1993, Sampson and Laub, 1996, Sampson et al., 2006, Laub et al., 1998) or through cultivating a belief in the self's ability to change (Maruna et al, 2001). For women, the most successful pathway towards desistance has been thought to be motherhood (Michalsen, 2011; Kraeger et al, 2010; Graham and Bowling, 1995), although some literature has suggested that women's desistance is more complicated than simply having a baby (Giordano et al, 2002) and has also suggested agency (Giordano et al, 2002), work (Opsal, 2012, Maruna, 2001, Laub and Sampson, 1993), and new identities (Opsal, 2012; Giordano et al, 2002; Maruna, 2001) as crucial.

Surprisingly, all twelve women interviewed for this dissertation claimed that they were committed to not offending and had worked hard to change their lives. They had separated from antisocial partners, avoided antisocial friends, moved to new areas, begun to work, and sought help for mental health problems. The women described the following processes, people, and events as especially important to desistance. Some of these strategies overlap with those reviewed above:

- Supportive figures
- Motherhood

- Cutting down on alcohol
- Changing social networks
- Employment
- RJ
- Agency

Supportive figures

Despite the multiple risk factors in the women's lives, they were low-level offenders. Although some had been arrested multiple times, only one woman had two convictions and most had none. A reason for their relative lack of engagement in offending as well as their commitment to desistance seemed, in part, to be due to the presence of some positive supportive figures in their lives (as has also been found by Maruna, 2001).

For offenders with no histories of abuse in the family, these positive figures were family members who engaged in good RJ practice naturally—expressing disappointment with what the offender had done but still displaying love and concern for her—as soon as they had offended (see McCold and Wachtel, 2003; Braithwaite, 1989 descriptions of similar 'good' processes). All these women suggested they worked hard to regain their families' approval through not offending again. The women with antisocial parents sometimes had grandparents who acted similarly as the prosocial parents above.

Motherhood

Some of the mothers identified motherhood as important for desistance as has been suggested in the literature (Michalsen, 2011; Kraemer et al, 2011; Graham and Bowling, 1995). As suggested by Giordano et al (2002), however, motherhood did not always immediately lead to desistance. Two of the three mothers women offended (through assaults) after the birth of their children. Ultimately, however, wanting to be with their children (not losing them to social services or through being incarcerated) made them want to change their behaviour, as Giordano et al (2002) also found.

Cutting down on alcohol

Some women reported having stopped drinking (or decreasing their drinking) after they offended in order to not offend again. This tended to be a change made by young women who blamed alcohol for their actions (see Maruna's, 2001 about alcohol as a common excuse for offending).

Changing social networks

Related to cutting down on alcohol was the desistence strategy of changing peer groups. This involved moving to new areas to get away from people who were a bad influence or avoiding family members who encouraged the young women to offend. It also involved leaving violent or controlling partners, some of whom were also involved in criminal activity. For some of these women, previous social networks were replaced by more prosocial networks—either made up of other women who had also decided to stop offending, new friends made through prosocial activities, or new, kinder partners.

Employment

Surprisingly, work was brought up as something important by all the women interviewed. Although employment for the women was not ideal—low wages, for example, were common—most of the women felt working helped ease their depression and kept them away from antisocial friends. Like Opsal (2012) found, being a worker provided women with a new prosocial identity and made them feel part of the prosocial community. It gave them the sense that they were living ‘normal’ lives.

Restorative Justice

Two of the twelve participants suggested that the diversion from the criminal justice system to RJ made them decide not to offend again. For these young women, however, RJ meant not getting a criminal record, which meant keeping their jobs—the prominent and unexpected theme discussed above.

Agency

As has been emphasised by Maruna (2001), Giordano (2002), and Opsal (2012) several of the women credited their own resolve for desisting. Desisting was something they had decided to do themselves. As their lives improved from these choices and their interactions with the police became non-existent, they felt rewarded for their work, and in turn, felt more committed toward desistance.

Models of desistance

Because women with different histories of offending used different desistance techniques, three models have been created, which illustrate the various individuals, events, or experiences which were important in the process of desistance for one-time offenders, occasional offenders, and chronic offenders. Each model sits on a continuum

of “passive” events at the bottom of the diagram that happened “to” them and “active” events at the top of the diagram which they *did* in order to bring about change. The idea of “active” work comes from Murray’s (2009:123) writings about “active resistance” amongst young offenders and doing “to” from Watchell (1999:2).

In each of the models, the young woman is represented by a box in the centre of the model with arrows either directed up toward her (events that happened to her, which set desistance into motion) or away from her (suggesting her work/agency). The arrows vary in thickness, with thicker arrows representing more important relationships than the thinner arrows. Sometimes arrows are double arrows, meaning that the event/person/experience and the young women are mutually reinforcing.

Figure 3 shows a model of desistance for one-time offenders. As seen in the diagram, there are two broad arrows, one directed at the one-time offender, representing prosocial support, and one moving away from the young woman, representing an active decision to avoid alcohol.

The most common story told by one-time offenders was that their families had supported them during their difficult/rebellious phase and the criminal justice process even as they disapproved of their behaviour. All this happened outside of the criminal justice system and before RJ. While a passive pathway to desistance, the presence of a social network meant that there were people willing to ‘help’ the offenders immediately after the offence had occurred and remind them of the proper ways to act (also found by Maruna, 2001: 87).

A more active strategy the women undertook themselves was to avoid alcohol and scenes where they might be exposed to heavy drinking. The women usually blamed their one-time offence as being due to alcohol. According to their stories, alcohol had made them not themselves, and avoiding alcohol meant they would keep being their prosocial selves (see Maruna, 2001: 92-93 for a similar finding among his desisters).

Alongside these two thick arrows are thinner double arrows connecting the young women to motherhood and employment. In the months and years since offending, prosocial events had continued to happen to them. Gaining a family and working hard increased “social capital” in the women’s lives, as has been argued in the literature to help in desistance (see Laub and Sampson’s (1993: 302, 310) discussion of social

capital). The arrows are also directed back at the women because becoming a mother and having a job, in turn, made the women feel good about themselves, which solidified their prosocial path (see Michalsen, 2011: 360 and Kraeger et al, 2010: 250).

The last arrow comes from a criminal justice intervention (RJ) and is only directed at employment. Even though these one-time offenders had prosocial families, only one set of parents was invited to attend restorative justice with the young woman. Thus, the restorative justice they experienced didn't do what RJ is supposed to do—bring together individuals who know and care about the victims and offenders (Marshall, 1999)—but rather protected their working identities through not criminalising them for their offence.

The one-time offenders' model of desistance

Figure 3: One-time offenders' desistance mode

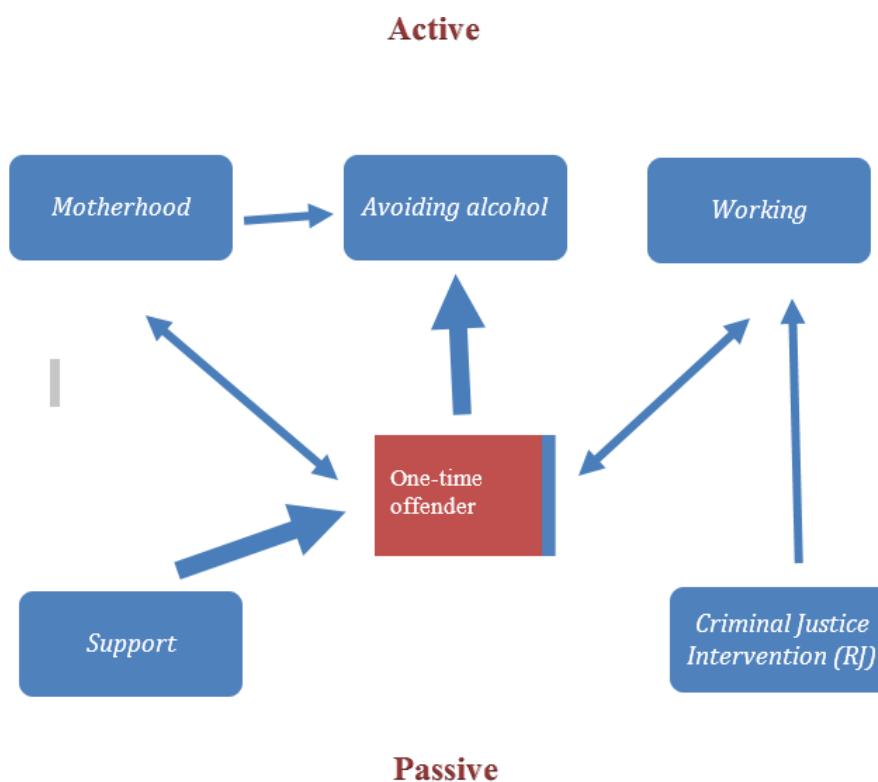


Figure 4 shows two broad arrows in the occasional offenders' diagram consisting of employment and leaving antisocial/violent partners. A stark difference from the one-time offenders is the lack of connection between existing social support and the young offender. This is because while the occasional offenders had some prosocial support in

their lives (grandparents, aunts, mothers etc), they had become estranged from these individuals, often because of a violent partner.

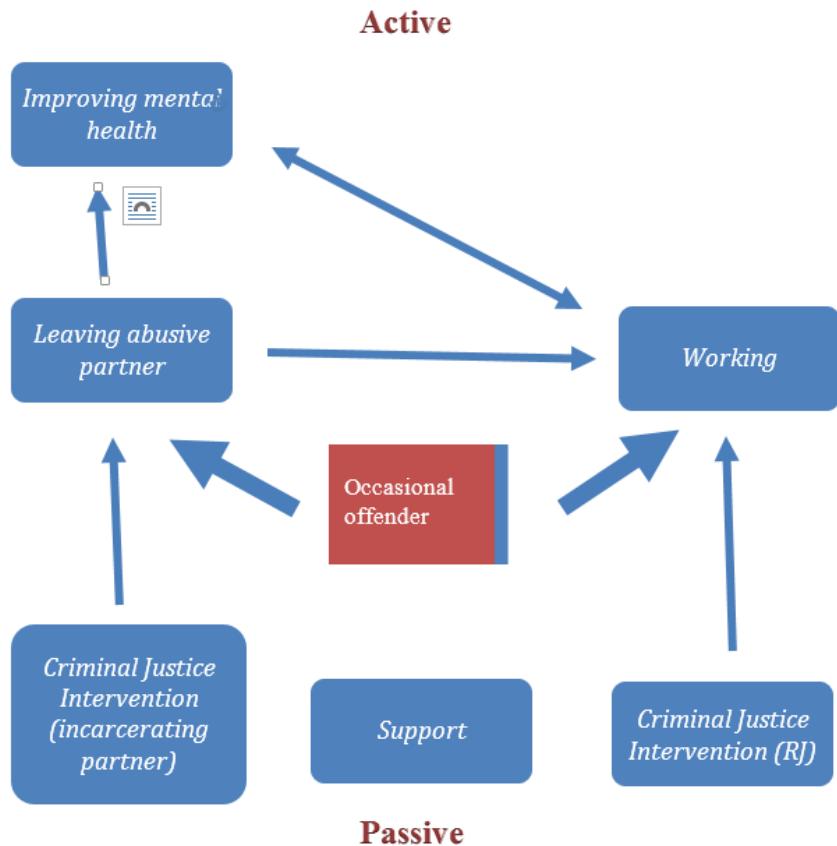
Without family support, the occasional offenders had to rely more on their own strategies to reach desistance. The primary strategy was to become a worker, ideally in a profession which involved taking care of others. This was similar to the figure of the “wounded healer” described by Maruna (2001: 102) because these young women had often been victimized through sexual assaults or intimate partner violence and therefore felt they could be empathetic toward others who might be vulnerable. Becoming a worker also meant keeping occupied, which improved their mental health problems.

Leaving their antisocial or violent partners, in turn, allowed them more freedom and decreased their isolation. While this was a very agentic and often difficult action, it decreased their offending in a roundabout way through working on their mental health issues and increasing their prosocial opportunities. Since this population often offended when they felt bad (shoplifting to give themselves a treat or using drugs) (also found by Arnall and Eagle, 2009), removing themselves from a violent partner was the most effective path toward better health and led to a circle of mutually reinforcing well-being.

Finally, two criminal justice interventions assisted in the path toward desistance, but as the arrows show, indirectly rather than directly. One effective criminal justice intervention was the arrest of a violent partner. This, in turn, helped the women get their lives in order so that they could leave permanently and improved their mental health during their separation. The second criminal justice intervention which had some effect was RJ, which, like for the one-time desisters, protected the women’s working identity. Unfortunately, like for the first group, RJ missed an opportunity by failing to include the prosocial people in the women’s lives.

The occasional offenders' model of desistance

Figure 4: Occasional offenders' desistance model



Finally, figure 5 illustrates the chronic offenders' pathway to desistance. It not only differs in the lack of a prosocial network, but it also differs in the emphasis on agency and in the multiple strategies employed by these young women.

Chronic offenders were the only ones who mentioned that there was agency behind their desistance. This, in part, was due to offending having become a part of their lives, which meant that they, more so than the other women, had to work on not offending in similar ways as Murray (2009) has portrayed. This work often involved working (as Ospal, 2012 has suggested). It also involved leaving violent partners and cutting themselves off from antisocial family members or social circles. This was perhaps the most difficult work of all, and very much ongoing, since the women sometimes ran into these individuals in the city or lived near them, which risked awakening negative feelings and possible offending. However, the longer the women stayed away from

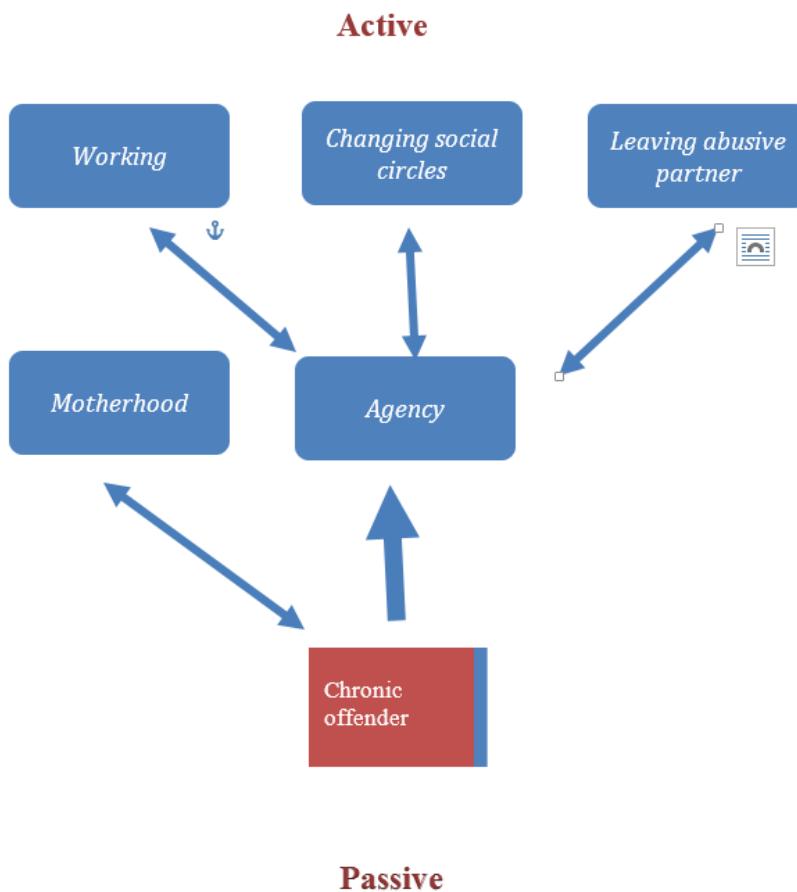
these influences, the more they felt their new lives could be permanent, which, in turn, made them feel more agentic.

Giving birth did not automatically lead to desistance as described previously in this chapter (see also Giordano et al, 2002:1040). Rather, at some point during motherhood, the women decided that fighting or antisocial activity was not worth the risk of losing their children—or of modelling the type of behaviour their children might copy as Giordano et al (2002) has suggested. Becoming mothers also brought new, positive opportunities into their lives as found by Michalsen (2011) and Kramer et al (2010).

Noticeably absent from the figure is any criminal justice intervention. Unlike the occasional offenders, the police or the CJS did not interfere in the women's violent relationships or help them in their childhoods. As a result, the women's only experiences with the police tended to be negative ones—as offenders. This led to complications because, despite their resolve not to offend, many of the women remained vulnerable. They struggled with a lack of support, and they had low incomes. Past histories of abuse contributed to their low mental health and low hope for the future. Thus, while they were no longer on the radar of the criminal justice system, they remained at risk, possibly for offending but mainly for victimisation, and their distrust of the police meant that they were unlikely to reach out to them for help if victimized.

The chronic offenders' model of desistance

Figure 4: chronic offenders' desistance model



Recommendations

Based on quantitative and qualitative data, this particular police RJ scheme appears not to follow best practices as described in the research and as outlined by the Training and Accreditation Group in the UK (December 2004). As a scheme, there was an overuse of street restorative justice, which allowed for no preparation and no support. Both quantitative and qualitative data suggested “net-widening.” Many participants did not understand the point of restorative justice or did not understand what they had experienced and some felt pushed into participating. Young women reported that male officers were aggressive and dismissive or that they frequently misinterpreted the young women’s non-verbal cues or failed to understand what emotion lay behind them (intimidation/fear/shame). These sorts of reactions confirmed that the young women in

this conferencing scheme had a poor experience in RJ as has been discovered elsewhere (Daly, 2008; Maxwell et al, 2004).

This final section, therefore, deals with recommendations for improvements for restorative justice in this police authority. The recommendations are split between those from the young women themselves, followed by the researcher's suggestions.

Young women's recommendations

The final question in the life history interview gave the participants an opportunity to make recommendations for how to improve restorative justice for young women or to give the police some parting thoughts. While the young women offered many suggestions, they mainly focused on the need for more clarity/knowledge for participants and improved police communication skills.

Increasing clarity for participants included talking about restorative justice to young people before they offended so that the option would seem legitimate and not come as such a surprise if they did offend. One young woman, for example, said, "*I think they need to explain to people like maybe in schools, like what they do, ehm and people should be aware a bit more because I didn't know anything about it until I was brought in and they said, 'Look we do restorative justice.'*" Improving young people's knowledge of restorative justice, however, was especially important after young people had offended, according to the young women. They felt young people needed to understand what it was, what would happen to them in RJ, who would be there, what criminal charge they might face, and what the outcomes of such charges might be should they choose not to participate. Participants felt they needed this knowledge in order to make an informed decision about whether or not to participate. This, in turn, might prevent resentment about having to participate and would prevent feeling coerced by the police.

The second major theme in young women's recommendations concerned itself with wanting to be treated better by police officers in restorative justice. Young women, especially, wanted to be respected and listened to. One participant, for example, wished the police officers, who did street RJ with her, had not shouted at her and had given her a chance to explain herself. Other young women felt that the police needed additional help with how to speak to young people effectively, particularly in communicating in less aggressive ways: "*Do you know what? I don't know what training they do or*

anything, but I definitely do think they need to do some training like around emotions, communicating properly definitely.” Generally, many of the women felt that they were judged harshly and that their non-verbal gestures were misunderstood. They believed the police jumped to conclusions about what they were feeling rather than trying to create an atmosphere where shy or intimidated participants could overcome their defences and share their true feelings.

Researcher’s recommendations

The following recommendations are made in light of the young women’s criticisms and the quantitative and qualitative findings.

- Refer participants to the restorative justice type best suited to them and their offence

The quantitative data demonstrated that street RJ was the most common form of disposition used by the police in this county regardless of the offence type. Although street restorative justice saved police time, it was not the best fit for every offence. A quick intervention would not allow time to prepare participants and would not allow for the inclusion of support people or even all the persons involved in the conflict. For violent offences involving family members, a quick intervention might potentially create further harm in family situations with multiple issues (see Daly and Nancarrow, 2008). Having a measurable outcome (such as recidivism) might help support the choice of using street RJ instead of conferences, but without this, it is recommended that street RJ be replaced with conferences except in circumstances where a quick and unplanned intervention is the best fit.

- Be aware of victim backgrounds of young women wrongdoers in restorative justice

This thesis has demonstrated over and over again that the women who participated in restorative justice as offenders were more vulnerable than expected. The women were victimized in their childhoods by their families and peers and in their adolescence and young adulthoods through sexual assault, domestic violence, and trafficking. Many of the young women were known to the police first as victims. Sometimes these women’s first offences occurred within a year of a major case of victimization or a case that had been investigated by the police. For some, victimization was the turning point which encouraged them to act out. Given such strong victimization experiences among

samples of even low-level female offenders, which has been clearly outlined in the literature for decades (Chesney-Lind, 1989, Gilfus, 1992), police officers need to be made aware of the circumstances around which some young women offend so that the right support can be put in place as an addition to restorative justice.

- **Prepare participants before restorative justice**

The research reviewed here has suggested that one of the crucial aspects of successful restorative justice practice is “preparation” of offenders and victims (Stuart and Pranis, 2006; Maxwell et al, 2004; Coates et al, 2003; Hoyle et al, 2002; McCold, 1999; McCold and Wachtel, 1998; Umbreit, 1998). The multiple and sometimes confused descriptions of what the young women participated in could be eliminated if this were to occur. Perhaps more of the important participants and support persons could also be located if more preparation took place. Meeting with offenders prior to restorative justice conferences would also allow police officers to more fully understand the circumstances of the offenders—such as recent experiences of victimization as described above. Finally, preparation would also allow police facilitators to find out how the participants feel about the offence. For participants who insist they are mutually culpable restorative justice, for example, might not be a good option. Mediation might be a better one, or more extensive preparation involving making young women realize the impact of their actions—similar to the preparation used by mediators in victim-offender mediation (see Bradshaw, 1998/Umbreit, 1998).

- **Equalize support for victims and offenders**

Care must be taken to identify all participants “with a stake in a particular offence” attend conferences just as Marshall (1996: 37) and McCold and Wachtel (2003) have suggested. Facilitators should also be prepared to handle the potential power imbalance and feelings of defiance and anger (or intimidation) which might result when one side has support persons and the other side doesn’t. As is demonstrated in the qualitative data findings, and the literature (Hoyle et al, 2002; Alder, 2000), some offenders with vulnerable backgrounds do not have support persons to bring to restorative justice, creating a sense that the process and the participants, including the facilitator, are against them. For some vulnerable young women, the effort to appear ‘big’ during the restorative justice process seemed to be a reaction to feeling intimidated by it (see also Alder, 2000).

- Do not force apologies in restorative justice

Several participants raised important issues about the right of the police to demand insincere apologies from participants and what exactly such apologies would achieve other than to make the participant ‘lie.’ Such forced apologies often led to lingering feelings of resentment toward the victim and the police. Apologies that are coerced might also feel ineffective for victims. Neither victim-offender mediation nor conferencing advocates for forcing apologies (see, for example, Daly, 2013; Umbreit, 1998).

- Involve victims and offenders in the creation of agreements

Best practices for restorative justice include involving offenders and victims in the creation of agreements (Maxwell et al., 2004, Hayes and Daly, 2004). The young women in this sample, by contrast, suggested that police concluded their conferences by telling them what to do (such as staying away from each other).

- Empower women in restorative justice

The quantitative portion illustrated that women participated in restorative justice more often as offender supporters (66.7%) and victim supporters (64.8%) than men did, which meant that women acted as the “community.” The “gendered burden of care” Braithwaite (1999:94) argues is placed on women may, therefore, not be a negative development. It could offer significant opportunities for women in terms of “leadership” in restorative justice. The concerns about dominant masculine attitudes by community members as expressed by Elis (2005); van Wormer (2009); Alder (2000), and Gaarder and Presser (2006) might be alleviated if women took some ownership of the process. This means, however, that these community members should be empowered to participate actively in restorative justice (as Daly and Nancarrow, 2008: 6 hopes for) and that their prosocial contributions after restorative justice should be acknowledged, encouraged, and assisted.

Empowering women to take leadership roles in restorative justice also means that it is important that women participate in restorative justice in roles other than as supporters. A recommendation is to ensure that there are equal number of female police facilitators in restorative justice conference, and women wrongdoers and women victims should be given restorative justice as an option whenever possible.

- Select the right police officers for RJ

Positive and negative experiences in RJ often had to do with how the restorative intervention was delivered, as has been suggested by previous studies (Maxwell et al, 2004; Hoyle et al, 2002).

Lessons learned from this study demonstrated that if the young women were paired with a sympathetic officer, it felt like an “easier” process for young women in terms of demonstrating guilt and apologizing. Officers will vary in terms of talent as restorative justice facilitators, and it could be that not every police officer should facilitate restorative justice.

Women also raised the idea that the gender and race of police officers was important to how comfortable they felt with them. This idea that has frequently been discussed in both US and UK literatures, which have described policing as “hyper-masculinized” (Sklansky, 2006: 1233; Rowe, 2002, Jones and Newburn, 2001) and traditionally dominated by “tough, macho, hypermasculine officers” (Miller et al, 2003:379) Several of the participants, for example, suggested they were more comfortable around female officers or said that they felt comfortable in restorative justice because the officer was a woman. They described female officers as more approachable and/or more likely to listen to their side to things (i.e. “nice” female officers), which again the literature offers support for (Silvestri, 2007; Sklansky, 2006). Other times it was because they feared the aggressiveness displayed by certain male police officers (see Sklansky, 2006; Miller et al, 2003), which especially did not sit well given their previous violent encounters with men.

As discussed in the restorative justice qualitative findings chapter, the minority ethnic young woman interviewed felt distrustful of the police because her previous interactions with them as a victim and as a community observer had convinced her that the police were racist. Not only had she experienced racism directly from a police officer, she also felt that the police did not take several racist attacks the community had made against her and her family seriously. Ultimately, this young woman felt that the way the police responded had to do with the culture of the force in the area where she lived, due to the lack of diversity among the police officers. She believed that in larger cities where police officers represented the diversity of the population more fully, things might have been different, “In London you’ve got all sort of police races so

there's not really that much racism but here I've never ever seen one black police officer so it's really different." The young immigrant woman interviewed felt similarly. She too had been harassed and threatened by groups of English young people and by neighbours, "Immigrants they are quiet. But English peoples all the time trying to push them." In her mind, however, the police did not see it this way and tended to side with English people.

As in the literature, these personal experiences negatively impacted the way both women saw the justice system (Jones and Newburn, 2001: 49), especially since both young women felt the local police force misunderstood the underlying reasons of why they had become involved in offending: victimization due to xenophobia and racism. Across these twelve interviews, the young women's many negative experiences with white, male English police officers echo recommendations in the literature for more diversity in the police force as well as increased sensitivity towards the cultural and gendered diversities in local communities in order to improve both victims and offenders' experiences with the police in general and restorative justice specifically (Sklansky, 2006; Miller et al, 2003; Rowe, 2002; Jones and Newburn, 2001; see also Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 346-348).

- Make database improvements

One of the recommendations which emerges from this project is for the police to rethink the way the information on restorative justice is stored as well as what information is collected so that it is easier for them to evaluate how restorative justice is working. In its present form, for example, there was much additional information in the note section but no way to pull out that information in order to make comparisons between the cases without going through and coding each case. In order to improve the data the police are already collecting, and simultaneously not additionally burdening police officers, administrative decisions should be made on what information is most important to evaluating their restorative justice initiatives. For example, the notes were searched and coded because the database lacked outcomes, and the researcher was trying to learn as much about the restorative justice cases as she could. While this resulted in some interesting analyses of relationships between offenders and victims as well as group versus lone offending, it was problematized through inconsistencies with the information that was gathered by police officers. Variables which were 'official' such

as the relationship between participants in restorative justice also varied in how often they were filled out. Once more senior officers have decided what information they need, this information needs to be communicated to officers who should be encouraged to fill out all the essential information.

One of the most pressing improvements which should be made in order to establish whether restorative justice is working in this local authority, and which does not necessarily need to be done by police officers, is to record outcomes. At some point, the police force decided to stop collecting satisfaction data from victims for reasons unknown to the researcher but possibly having to do with poor response rates or the amount of employee time it took to follow-up with participants (or even poor evaluations). If the evaluation method was abandoned due to the difficulties of obtaining the data, collecting recidivism data up to two years (as Shapland et al, 2008 described as the norm in the UK) should be relatively easy since this information comes directly from the police and would provide them with evidence of some of the impact restorative justice may be having. Since recidivism alone does not demonstrate all there is to know (as the literature review has demonstrated), recidivism data, however, should also be accompanied by qualitative data from offenders, victims, supporters, and perhaps even from police officers who facilitate or do street RJ. This work could serve as an opportunity for local PhD students or academics to conduct research. This thesis hopefully provides the police with a starting-point for what seems to be working well and what needs to be improved.

Final thoughts and next steps

While endorsements have been made for female offenders' participation in RJ for decades (Verrecchia, 2009, Pepi, 1998, Failinger, 2006, Gaarder and Presser, 2006), there seem to be relatively few female offender participants in RJ (see Sherman et al, 2008). For example, even though I contacted a number of organizations that advertised they were doing restorative justice, only one program suggested it had more than a handful of young female offender participants. As luck would have it, however, the police, offered me more than the possibility of twenty some young women to interview about their experiences in RJ, and I found myself exploring a large but unruly administrative database of police-facilitated RJ alongside such interviews. As a result, what has emerged is a contextual overview of how women have participated in RJ in

one police-authority in the UK, what decisions the police have made about who and what kinds of cases are eligible for RJ and how they are processed, as well as young women's individual experiences with two forms of such RJ.

A choice of life history interviews and the accompanying narrative analysis was an unusual methodological choice for RJ research which has often tended to rely on surveys, short answer, or structured interviews that focus on the RJ experiences to gauge participants' experiences (see chapter 3 in the literature review). This was intended to see both where and how RJ would emerge in their narratives, in relation to their other experiences as well as because RJ is about "storytelling and dialogue" (Umbreit, 1998: 26) and it made intuitive sense that narratives about a storytelling process should be both listened to and analysed as *narratives* (Reissman, 2008; 1993; 1990). I also believed that since there was limited information on why young women reacted negatively to RJ (Daly, 2008; Maxwell et al, 2004), using an interview format that allowed for all types of stories would allow young women to tell me about their lives, including RJ, rather than only learning what did and did not work about RJ. Thus my research about RJ focused on young women's experiences first and RJ second, reimagining what research about RJ could look like.

Doing RJ research in this way yielded several unexpected themes. One of those was the importance of employment for young offenders as Opsal (2012) and Laub and Sampson (1993) have found. For young women with multiple run-ins with the police as well as for young women who had had only one encounter with the CJS through RJ, the theme of work far dominated any other discourse by the young women. Work represented independence and freedom from family and partners, which was especially important when such family and partners were abusive.

Another unexpected development was the prevalence of desistance narratives because desistance was not something the research intended to specifically interrogate. Instead it was the women who, whenever they talked about offending, carefully and deliberately "presented" (Goffman, 1978) desisting identities throughout their interviews. The identities they chose to present were more expected gender roles, just as Giordano et al (2002: 29) observed among their sample of desisting women such the 'mother,' found by Michalsen (2011), Kraemer et al (2010), Giordano et al (2002) with caveats, and Graham and Bowling (1995). Simultaneously, however, these identities

also seemed to purposefully show they had something in common with me, the researcher, which seems to be a common participant strategy (see Phoenix, 2013; Presser, 2004; Presser, 2002, for example).

Also of note were the victim identities and experiences the women brought up. Feminist criminological literature has presented that women's pathways to crime often come through experiences of victimization (see Javdani et al, 2011; Hubbart and Pratt, 2002; Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1998; Maher and Curtis, 1998; Gilfus, 1992; Chesney-Lind, 1989) and the experiences of young and adult women who have been incarcerated confirm such pathways through statistics on female physical and sexual abuse, intimate partner violence, and early family difficulties that have led to care (Arnall and Eagle, 2009, Siegel and Williams, 2003, Williams et al., March 2012, Corston, 2007). Many of the women interviewed had experienced many of the major victim experiences described in the literature. The women with the highest number of interactions with the police in this sample had usually experienced multiple forms of abuse from childhood through adulthood. Even young women who did not have backgrounds of abuse and who had only offended once saw themselves as victims of female friends they fought with or as victims of peers groups/peer pressure who encouraged them to drink, provoked or otherwise abused them, and sometimes directly pushed them to offend. Being considered and treated as offenders when the women identified as victims—not only in the circumstances of their offence but in general—was difficult for the young women to accept, and as Daly (2008) found, complicated restorative justice.

As the literature has suggested, many of the young women's pathways to offending in this sample had something to do with their previous victimization, and some of them directly attributed their offending to victimization as other offenders have done (Maruna, 2001, Gilfus, 1992) while other women were less aware of such linkages. Women who connected their victimization to their offending usually described becoming violent in order to stand up to abusers (bullies and step-fathers) or becoming violent before further abuse could happen (see also Henriksen and Miller, 2012; Batchelor, 2005 and others).

The interviews not only suggested that gender had an important effect on young women's victimization and offending as the literature has repeatedly suggested (Javdani et al., 2011; Miller, 2002; Miller and Decker, 2001; Miller and Brunson, 2000;

Heimer and De Coster, 1999, Miller, 1998; Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996, Gilfus, 1992; Chesney-Lind, 1989), they also suggested that the same was true for race. The statistics on race and the CJS in the UK shows an unequal treatment of black and mixed-race individuals (Home Office, December 2013; Ministry of Justice, November 2013). The black minority ethnic and foreign interviewees in the interview sample spoke extensively about the difficulties of being 'different' in an area that did not have much diversity. The women had not only experienced difficulties with the local population (bullying, racism, trafficking) but also with the police whom they felt did not adequately respond to complaints about discriminatory behaviour from other citizens but who also had racist or xenophobic views themselves. Neither woman trusted the police after having several negative experiences with them as citizens and as victims. The mixed-race young woman, in particular, felt that her violent offending was only due to being bullied by local youths but that the school and the police never saw her complaints as serious, forcing her to take matters into her own hands. She viewed her referral to RJ as an additional way that the police dismissed her, and while a diversity officer was in attendance in restorative justice, the participant did not feel that the issue of racism was addressed appropriately or adequately in RJ, in part, because the whole community shared racist views.

It is clear from the qualitative data that young female offenders did not feel that the police, through police facilitated RJ, were sensitive to issues of gender and race, which many of them felt shaped their offending as well as their victimization. In particular, the young women felt that male police officers did not know how to engage with them, did not understand why they did what they did, and could not make connections between their victim and offending experiences. They noted the absence of minority ethnic or foreign police officers in the area, whom they believed might be able to understand their experiences in a different way, and wanted to see more female officers on the streets, particularly when officers approached groups of young people. The quantitative data suggests that the police in this authority pursued the least time consuming type of RJ—street RJ—which involved no meetings with offenders before the conference/street RJ, no preparation, no effort to include support persons, and sometimes no victim, which, at least partially, seems to explain why young women did not feel understood.

I, therefore, reach the same conclusion as Hoyle et al (2002: 29) who wrote, in their evaluation of the Thames Valley RJ scheme, “some of these practices deviate so sharply from [RJ]...as to preclude them being described as restorative in nature.” It is possible that a less involved form of police practice is convenient and appropriate for certain types of cases but such methods need to be case appropriate with clear goals of why such policing is being practiced rather than another form. Unfortunately, conferences in this scheme, while restorative justice, also lacked many best practices associated with restorative justice, which seemed to be due to a lack of police officers’ skills in facilitating and perhaps a lack of understanding of what RJ is and what RJ is not.

As Hoyle et al (2002: 56) have also expressed, high quality RJ takes time and effort. When authorities or counties are advertising that they use RJ but are not willing to invest in it, they might not reap any benefit from the practices and might encourage shame and anger at the victims and at the police, as found in this thesis. While police in this authority were trained, they, according to the constabulary, received a three-day training a number of years earlier, which supporters of police-facilitated RJ have found not to be enough (McCold and Wachtel, 1998). Like Daly’s (2008) and Maxwell et al’s (2004) studies, young women in this authority had problematic experiences with RJ. Their dismissive reactions however, needed not to have been permanent since although they had to do with mutual culpability, which Daly (2008) identified as problematic for RJ, the young women explained that their behaviour was a result of feeling uncomfortable, nervous, and threatened. Properly preparing individuals for their meetings, allowing difficult conversations to happen in conferences (as suggested by Daly, 2013), and treating both victims and offenders respectfully, would go a long way in improving outcomes.

This mixed-methods study had several strengths and limitations. The sheer size of the quantitative database provided interesting background information on how restorative justice is being used by the police, for what types of offences, what the police perceived to be restorative justice, and finally, since gender was of primary importance to this research, how women participated. The addition of qualitative life history interviews not only meant that the study became aligned with “new political arithmetic” (Gorard, 2002 in Smith, 2008: 335) but also revealed young women’s thinking about their victimization, offending, the police, and how these previous experiences affected

restorative justice. This type of interview not only gave insight into what young women experience in RJ but also why they think the way they do about it.

Limitations included the lack of outcomes. Contextual information is useful and especially given the lack of data on gender in RJ (Sherman et al, 2008; Daly and Stubbs, 2006; Elis, 2005; etc), is an important addition to our knowledge of women's roles. However, it is not clear from contextual data who benefits from restorative justice and how, only who participates and why. In RJ schemes run by the police, follow-up of arrest rates within 2 year (identified as the typical RJ follow-up date by Shapland et al, 2008), would be possible and would reveal whether or not this scheme works or how it could be improved. Limitations also included missing data, and suggestions on how to improve data collection have already been described. In terms of the qualitative work, recruiting through the police proved problematic and yielded a lower interview rate than would have been desired. While the interviews were rich and narrative interviews tend to only focus on a small group (Squire, 2013: 54), interviewing more female offenders would have further contributed to our understanding of women's experiences.

The proposed next steps, therefore, are a continued focus on young female offenders' restorative justice experiences in the UK in order further to contribute to the field. However, given the lack of best practices through the police, and given that the most benefit of restorative justice for young offenders with backgrounds of victimization and/or issues or social cognition difficulties might come from repeated exposure to restorative justice (such as in schools or detention facilities), it could be that the innovative programs for women established in such settings (Gaarder and Hesselton, 2012, Fortune et al., 2010) are more appropriate than other forms of RJ. Since I am both a practitioner and a researcher, a worthwhile next project would be to first publish findings from this research. Next, I would wish to combine my skill set in order to set up an RJ intervention in a young offender institute or a residential setting tailored for offending women, based on best practices and research involving female offenders, train staff in such practices, and evaluate it from beginning to end. The qualitative data in this research pointed to several missed opportunities where RJ could have been useful, for example—in exploring links between victimization and offending, in negotiating victim and offender roles without causing hurt to victims (Daly, 2013: 28; Daly, 2008), in connecting young women with the right support networks, and, perhaps especially, in establishing plans and help with desistance, as programs evaluated by Fortune et al

(2010) and Walker et al (2006) have, at least, partially done. There is no way of knowing whether or not RJ works for women unless it is done correctly, and since the enthusiasm for RJ and the development of new programs seems to occur without the guidance of evidence-based research in the UK, it seems high time for theory, research, and good practice to be combined for further exploration of RJ for offending women.

Appendix 1: Quantitative Study Methodology

Introduction

The following chapter discusses the methodological choices made involving the data extracted from the police administrative database in preparation for these questions to be answered in the quantitative findings.

The chapter begins by explaining the complex process of gaining access to the data including the clearances and contract negotiations between the university and the constabulary. The next section of the chapter describes the variables contained within the spreadsheets extracted, which includes date of birth, participant role, gender, ethnicity, relationships between participants, offence type, intervention type, restorative justice type, the start and end dates of restorative justice, and a notes section. A description of two databases—1) all participants, and 2) offenders—built from those initial variables follows. Particular attention is paid to the state of those variables when first accessed as well as the work that had to be done to them in order to make the data usable.

The chapter then presents how and why new variables were created from the notes section in response to the literature on women and offending and restorative justice as well as the qualitative interviews which were held alongside the work on this database. These variables include the offender's relationship to the victim, alone versus group offending, and age groups. The chapter then concludes with a section on missing data and the implications for the findings as well as the strength and limitations of the data as a whole.

Key Issues

According to the Administrative Data Liaison Service (ADLS), “administrative data refers to information collected primarily for administrative (not research) purposes” and is “collected by government departments and other organisations for the purpose of registration, transaction and record keeping, usually during the delivery of a service” (“Administrative data introduction,” ADLS, 2014). Making use of such datasets for research, however, is gaining in popularity, with a number of European countries as well as the United States allowing researchers access to government data (ADT, December, 2012: 1, “Administrative data introduction,” ADLS, 2014).

One of reasons for its growing popularity is because it can benefit a host of people from individuals to groups. Secondary analysis has been described as “an unobtrusive research method” for potential participants and “a very democratic method” for researchers (Smith, 2008: 332) since it is fairly easy to analyse (Gorard, 2012: 84; Smith, 2011: 335; 2008: 2). Ultimately, the goal of using such large datasets, as described by Gorard (2012: 78) may be to “promote sound, well-informed state policy, and so to raise life expectancy and population figures, and reform health, education, and the handling of crime” through “laying bare issues of deprivation, inequality, and the stratification of opportunities.”

Gorard (2012: 79), however, has also advocated the use of administrative data as a starting off-point for “further in-depth study.” Smith (2008: 335) has agreed, and added that “the combination and integration of smaller scale in-depth work would encourage inter-disciplinarity and the exchange of ideas, theories and perspectives between researchers of different methodological and substantive persuasions.” This present study neatly fits into “the new political arithmetic approach” (Gorard, 2002 in Smith, 2008:335) because the administrative data from the police database not only provided useful contextual information about who participated in restorative justice, how and for what purpose, but was also used to sample young women aged 18 to 30 who had participated in restorative justice as offenders for the qualitative study, just as Gorard (2012: 79) has advised.

The use of administrative data in research, however, does not come without problems. As it has not benefited from researcher design (“Administrative data introduction,” ADLS), it has the potential to contain errors (Smith et al (2004) in “Administrative data introduction,” ADLS, n.d.; Gorard, 2012; Smith, 2008). It also raises new issues and concerns about confidentiality and consent of a large number of participants who may not be aware that their records are being accessed and analysed (“Administrative data introduction,” ADLS; Administrative Data Taskforce, ADT, 2012: 18).

In the UK the issue became current when the government announced its intention to “unlock the potential of Open Data” and join “a global movement toward transparency” in the *Open Data White Paper: Unleashing the Potential* (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, June 2013; HM Government, 2012: 5). *Improving Access for Research and Policy*, a report from the Administrative Data Task Force followed with a set of suggestions of how this could best occur (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, June 2013; ADT, December 2012). Among other things, they proposed the creation of Administrative Data Research Centres (ADRCs) which would be in charge of access to these large datasets (ADT, 2012). In June 2013, the government responded positively to the Administrative Data Taskforce’s report with *Improving Access for Research and Policy: The Government Response to the Report of the Administrative Data Taskforce*, praising a number of these suggestions (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, June 2013). One of the key developments of this exchange was the creation of ADRCs, which have since been set up in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland (ESRC, 10 October, 2013).

Contrasting with this consensus and progress, however, have been the fairly negative reactions by the public. In response to the NHS leaflets distributed via the post in early 2014 describing their new policy of allowing researchers access to records, for example, “Better information means better care,” NHS, 2014 a number of petitions began circulating on-line, protesting against the “sale” of NHS data (see, for example, “Stop selling our NHS records to private companies” (Williamson, 2014) These sorts of petitions demonstrate that there is a lot of public distrust as to how such data will be used and by whom; that, for the individual, data protection and privacy will likely be more important issues than advancement in research; and that the government has likely underestimated public fear. These key issues—advancement, data protection, and a worried public—do not only play out in policy reports and on-line but, as will be discussed in this thesis, cropped up at several stages in this study: during data access, data cleaning, and, especially, in participant recruitment.

Data Access

The requests to access data on restorative justice began in November 2011, prior to the governmental discussion about access to administrative databases cited above. However, as demonstrated below, a number of the issues raised by the white papers and responses by various agencies were discussed and covered in the agreement between myself and the police including ensuring the researcher was legitimate and deciding how the data would be accessed and stored during the research, in order to safeguard private information.

The process began by sending a number of e-mails to agencies who described themselves as doing restorative justice. In these e-mails, I introduced myself as a PhD candidate in the Social Work and Psychology department at the University of East Anglia, my background, which included a professional career as a mediator at a charity organization in New York City, and the proposed research concerning young female offenders who had experienced restorative justice, including the benefits of such research. Examples of agencies contacted included the police, probation, and a Youth Offending Team (Y.O.T.). Although the Y.O.T responded with potential interest, they suggested they had no more than five (5) young female offenders who had been involved in RJ. They recommended getting in touch with probation and the police.

Initial e-mail contact was made with a restorative justice worker at a constabulary on 29 November 2010, after sending an e-mail to the address listed on the constabulary website for inquiries related to restorative justice. Following a number of e-mails with this initial contact, the person left the constabulary, and I was directed to get in touch with the contact's line manager who was the head of criminal justice at the constabulary. An in-person meeting was held at the constabulary with this contact on April 21, 2011. At this meeting, the type of restorative justice data kept by the police was described and informal permission was granted by the police to access the administrative data they held on individuals who had been involved in restorative justice from 2007 (the year they began collecting the data) to the date the data would be accessed as well as to interview young women who had experienced restorative justice as offenders.

As the data involved sensitive information on 17,000 individuals who had participated in restorative justice, including minors and offenders who had not receive a criminal record for their offences, and therefore were not 'known' beyond this database, I had to be vetted as a reliable and trustworthy researcher. I had already obtained an enhanced CRB check through the university in February 2011 and had this ready to show to the constabulary. Since I had spent a number of years living and working in the United States, however, the constabulary also required I undergo a criminal check via the FBI. I was fingerprinted at the constabulary headquarters on July 5, 2011 and the fingerprints were sent to the FBI the next day. I received a letter from the FBI confirming I had no criminal record in the US on September 13, 2011 and forwarded the originals to the constabulary. I was cleared to proceed by the constabulary on September 15, 2011.

Data protection

Once I had been vetted, the negotiations with the constabulary progressed to the stage of discussing data access. In order to safeguard the contents of the data, I was asked to

sign a data protection agreement that described in detail what data would be accessed; how it would be accessed; what security measures would be put in place to ensure the data remained safe; and how I would work on the data during the course of my Ph.D. This included using a security encrypted police laptop to convert the raw data to research data. The laptop could not be connected to the internet and nothing could be downloaded onto or extracted from the laptop outside the constabulary.

The initial contract drawn up by the constabulary was sent to me in October 2011, which I, in turn, forwarded to a department at the university in charge of advising on research agreements. UEA had issues with some points in the agreement (particularly regarding the indemnity clause as well as ownership of the research data). This led to a lengthy contract negotiation between the UEA and the constabulary. The new contract, with an accompanying letter allowing the university ownership of the research data and allowing me to publish my findings was not ready to be signed until March 14, 2012. The constabulary official who signed the research agreement then left the constabulary for another position, and his temporary replacement became my new contact. I had an in-person meeting with this contact at the constabulary on April 4, 2012 to look at the data and discuss how to extract it. The data was released to me on May 1, 2012.

Data extraction

Data extraction was done under the supervision of one of the employees working on the database at the constabulary on May 1, 2012. This same person was to become my main contact at the constabulary and would recruit participants for the qualitative interviews on my behalf.

The process of obtaining the data began by extracting Microsoft Access files from the administrative database at the constabulary office and exporting them to Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. During the extraction, I avoided obtaining names and addresses of participants, in order to protect the identities of the individuals on the database. After the extraction was done, the files were installed remotely by the constabulary IT department onto the encrypted police laptop. The constabulary IT department also installed a version of SPSS provided to me by UEA onto the laptop. I was then given the laptop to undertake initial screening of the data to ensure anonymity, clean the data required for the research, and create the new research databases in excel before transferring it to SPSS where I coded the data and created new variables. The police laptop was stored in a locked cabinet in a locked office at all times when I was not working on the data.

Due to the size and state of the data, it took several months of careful work to manually convert the raw data into research data. It was finally ready to be extracted in November 2012. At that point, I obtained permission from my constabulary contact to extract a file of my research data and returned the laptop to the constabulary. Even though the research data extracted was clear of identifiers, due to the sensitive nature of the data, I continued to store the research data on a secure network on the UEA computer system (access permitted only by myself and my supervisors) and the backup SPSS file with the data was placed in a locked department safe.

The police restorative justice administrative dataset

On the day of the data extraction, the administrators complained that the database was difficult to work with and that the data they were frequently asked to extract was difficult to obtain due to system errors and glitches. These proved to be a problem in my own attempt to extract the data. Two visits to the constabulary were necessary and due to multiple failed attempts to extract a spreadsheet with multiple variables, the data had to be exported in individual excel spreadsheet with one variable per spreadsheet. In the end, the data used for this project came from two main spreadsheets 'Participants' and 'Interventions', which were, at times, checked against a third 'Outcomes' spreadsheet. The Participant spreadsheet included information on all participants who had attended some form of restorative justice intervention (including victims, offenders, support people and professionals). The Interventions spreadsheet included information about the offences committed and the type of restorative justice experienced. The Outcomes spreadsheet contained notes about how the interventions concluded.

Participant spreadsheet variables

The Participant spreadsheet contained data on participants who had participated in restorative justice from January 2007 through December 2012. The variables included: participant ID numbers, titles, dates of birth, gender, ethnicity, role in the process, and 'relationship,' which referred to how participants were related to either the victim or the offender (although to whom was usually not clear without the aid of individuals' last names, which had not been included in the extraction). This spreadsheet also contained multiple blank entries with no information. All completely blank rows were deleted but any row which had data for at least one of the above variables was retained. After this first screening process, the spreadsheet contained at least one variable on 17,486 individuals.

Along with missing information within each variable, there were plenty of errors due to inputting mistakes or absent information, as briefly described above and as noted in the literature (Gorard, 2012; Smith, 2008; "Administrative data introduction," 2014). Work needed to be done for each of these variables in order to create usable data. Below, I give examples of what was done to three variables in order to render them usable.

Participant ID number

Each participant in restorative justice, regardless of their role, was assigned an individual ID number. Since no names were included in the data, these participant IDs became the main method of identifying individuals in the database. Out of 17,486 individuals, only 8 had no ID number. However, since some other participant information (such as gender or a title) was available for each of these participants, the entries were left in.

Title

A range of titles were used to describe the participants such as Master, Miss, Mrs, Police officer, etc. At times the titles were useful to indicate the gender or role of the

participant or explained the participant's relationship to others in restorative justice. Part of the cleaning of the raw data involved removing identifying numbers that sometimes accompanies titles such as Police Officer XXXX. There were 3,183 missing titles.

Date of birth

The spreadsheet contained 14,744 dates of birth. 2,742 dates of birth were missing. Dates of birth were seldom included for observers or professionals in the room. Dates of birth, however, tended to be recorded for offenders, which was of primary importance. (See the section describing the offender database for further information on how missing data involving offenders was handled.)

Intervention ID

This intervention ID variable was the only variable, which allowed entries from the Participant spreadsheet to be matched with entries from the Interventions spreadsheet. 33 entries were missing Intervention IDs.

Participant role

This variable explained what role the participant played in restorative justice. This included victim, offender, support people, and types of professionals. The raw data described 68 different participant roles, which included variations in spelling of the same role. 347 participants had no recorded participant role.

These roles were initially reduced from 68 roles to 14 roles:

Participant roles
Victim
Offender
Victim supporter
Offender supporter
Victim/Offender--participants who, according to the police, were both victims and offenders
Observer
Witness
Interpreter
Mutual supporter
Appropriate adult
Other
Police
Unknown supporter—not clear for whom (victim or offender)
Missing

For the missing roles, the note section and the relationship section were referred to in order to attempt to identify the participant. If these sections made the participant's role clear, the entry was reassigned to the appropriate label. If a relationship could not be elucidated with the aid of the notes, the role was identified as missing. For the most part these 'unclear' roles seemed to be from the earliest entries on the system.

These roles were then further reduced to 8 role types:

Participant roles: final
Victim
Offender
Victim supporter
Offender supporter
Victim/Offender
Authority figure
Other supporter
Others

Gender

In the original police data, gender was recorded as 0, A, C, f, F, G, K, m, M, N, o, O, R, U, variations most likely due to data input errors, with an additional 204 cases left blank. Gender was re-coded to Male, Female, and Unknown. Some of the ambiguous initial entries, and the blank entries, were reclassified to Male or Female with the assistance of the ‘title’ and ‘relationship’ variables. The ones which could not be reclassified were coded as missing.

Ethnicity

The original data file described ethnicity through 41 different categories through codes such as 00, 03, 09, 4, 6, A1, A2, A3, A9, B1, B2, B9, dw1, IC2, M1, M2, M3, and M9. A further 4,478 cases were missing an ethnicity code altogether. A chart explaining the ethnicity coding was supplied by the police upon my request. The police codes included information on ‘self-defined ethnicity code’ as well as ‘officers’ perceived ethnicity code’ should they not have described their own. With the aid of this chart, the ethnicity codes were further reduced to twenty-one codes. These codes included:

Ethnicity
<i>Asian or British Asian</i>
Indian
Pakistani
Bangladeshi
Any other Asian background
<i>Black or Black British</i>
Caribbean
African
Any other black background
<i>Chinese or other ethnic group</i>
Chinese
Any other ethnic group
<i>Mixed</i>
White and Black Caribbean
White and Black African
White and Asian

Any other mixed background
<i>White</i>
British
Any other white background
<i>Not recorded</i>
Person declined
Sit involving public disorder
<i>Police Officers' perceived ethnicity</i>
Police Officer identified-white
Police Officer identified-black
Police Officer identified-Asian
Police Officer identified-Middle Eastern
<i>Other</i>
Missing

Relationship

The original police data contained a column of information describing the relationship between participants (such as mother/father/brother/sister/friend.) The relationship to whom in the database, however, was not always clear. 'Mother,' for example, might refer to the relationship of a support person to a victim or an offender. Since the database was anonymised, there were not last names or addresses to clarify such information in these sorts of situations. 185 different relationships were described in the initial raw data, with many of these being due to spelling errors or variations in the name of the same relationship (such as step father and step dad). An additional 12,940 participants lacked a relationship description.

Initially, the 185 different relationship entries were reduced to 23 broad codes. These inc

Relationship
Mothers and stepmothers
Fathers and stepfathers
Sister
Brother
Daughter
Son
Other relative
Spouse
Partner/ex-partner
Friend
Former friend
Acquaintance
Carer/foster carer/social worker
Appropriate adult
Neighbour
School personnel

Flatmates
Police
Colleague/work
Landlord/tenant
Representative of an organization*
Stranger
Missing/unclear

*Representative of an organization was usually a store manager or an employee of the location/organization where the offence occurred.

In order to create more meaningful data analysis, these codes were further narrowed down to 20 categories:

Relationship: final
Mothers and stepmothers
Fathers and stepfathers
Sister
Brother
Daughter
Son
Other relative
Partner/ex-partner/Spouse
Friend/former friend
Acquaintance
Caring relationship**
Neighbour
School personnel
Cohabitating
Police
Colleague/work
Landlord/tenant
Representative of an organization*
Stranger
Missing/unclear

However, since the majority of this data was missing/unclear, it was eliminated from the final discussion.

*Representative of an organization was usually a store manager or an employee of the location/organization where the offence occurred.

**Caring relationships included appropriate adults, carers, nurses, and foster parents

Interventions spreadsheet variables

The second spreadsheet used contained information on the Intervention participants experienced as well as key information on the offences committed. The information on the Intervention spreadsheet was organized around cases, rather than participants in each case. The original interventions database contained 5,206 cases, all of which were not included (the process of elimination will be described in greater detail in the next section). Some variables within this spreadsheet, such as information about which areas the cases were from, were not included for anonymity reasons. The following variables originating from the interventions spreadsheet were used for further analysis.

Offence description

This variable described the type of offences that had been committed (such as specific types of theft; violence, antisocial behaviour, or dog bite). Only 45 offence type descriptions were missing.

Intervention ID

This variable allowed a match between participants from the Participant spreadsheet (which contained both unique participant IDs as well as Intervention IDs) to the cases described in the Interventions spreadsheet. As the Interventions spreadsheet represented all cases, which had experienced some form of restorative justice, no intervention IDs were left blank in the intervention spreadsheet.

Status

The status variable described the cases in terms of whether restorative justice actually occurred. They were labelled as complete; failed to complete; RJ declined; or pending. 7 interventions had no status label.

Start date

This variable included the day, month, and year the RJ intervention began. Seven start dates were missing from the interventions spreadsheet.

End date

This variable included the day, month, and year the RJ intervention concluded. 57 end dates were missing from the interventions spreadsheet.

Notes

This section included a few short sentences about the context about the offence. I describe in greater detail how this information was used below. 7 cases from the interventions spreadsheet contained no explanatory notes.

Intervention type

This variable classified the offence as a crime, non-crime, ASB, community, local resolution, or traffic. 29 intervention types were missing from the interventions spreadsheet.

Restorative Justice type

This variable described what type of restorative justice interventions participants had experienced, including conference, community conference, informal restorative justice, street restorative justice, or school RJ. 31 restorative justice type descriptions were missing from the interventions spreadsheet.

Outcomes spreadsheet

The Outcomes spreadsheet contained details about the outcomes of restorative justice. There were 10,168 outcomes for RJ diversions. They included general statements such as “To acknowledge what happened & engage with community in a positive way” and “Apologies made & remorse expressed by wrongdoer” (quoted from outcomes spreadsheet) to more case and offender specific outcomes such as the following four outcomes for the same case:

“Wrongdoer to improve his behaviour toward mother & brother./ To keep Mother aware of where he is going./Wrongdoer & brother to undertake household chores when asked./Wrongdoer not to break any items” (quoted from outcomes spreadsheet)

Outcomes were not included in the final offender spreadsheet and were only used to double check whether or not RJ had occurred because of the generic nature of most of the entries and the too specific nature of the others.

Creation of Offender spreadsheet

In order to have a database of usable data, information about offenders from the Participant spreadsheet was combined with information from the Interventions spreadsheet. This third spreadsheet was labelled ‘offenders.’

The only way to cross reference records between the participant spreadsheet and the intervention spreadsheet was to use the intervention ID which was common across both sheets. While the Intervention spreadsheet contained one intervention ID per case, the participant spreadsheet included both the intervention ID and one to several participants with unique participant IDs for that intervention. In creating the offender spreadsheet, the variables from the Interventions spreadsheet remained the same for all participants sharing that same intervention ID. The participants differed, however, in terms of the information gathered from the participants’ spreadsheet (such as gender and date of birth, for example). In order to combine these two spreadsheets, via a non-unique Intervention ID, I had to manually cut and paste information about the offenders from the participant spreadsheet and from the intervention spreadsheet. This process took

approximately three months of daily data entry to create a spreadsheet of circa 7,003 individuals.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The Participant spreadsheet yielded 7,030 offenders, and the Interventions spreadsheet yielded 5,206 interventions of which 4,816 were completed; 302 RJ declined; 47 failed to complete; 33 pending cases; and 8 cases which had no status label.

As the offender portion of the research concerned itself with offenders who experienced restorative justice, offenders were excluded from inclusion in the 'Wrongdoer Spreadsheet' from cases where RJ did not take place. This included cases where RJ was declined; RJ failed to complete; or RJ was pending.

RJ was declined for 302 cases. These cases contained 310 offenders; 67 individuals with blank role codes; 39 persons harmed (persons harmed were only counted when the case did not list any offenders); 36 others (others were only counted when the case did not list any offenders); 3 person harmed supporters (person harmed supporters were only counted when the case did not list any offenders); and 1 witness (witnesses were only counted when the case did not list any offenders).

There were 47 cases, which were labelled 'Failed to Complete.' These cases included 64 offenders and 4 participants who were rated as 'others.'

There were thirty-three (33) pending cases. As the research had to do with participants who had experienced restorative justice, a pending intervention might have resulted in a completed intervention or a failure to complete. For this reason, pending cases were only included if the case had taken place but the administrators working on the database had not reclassified the case from 'Pending' to 'Completed.' Pending cases, which had actually concluded could generally be identified by referring to the start and end dates of the RJ conferences. At times, however, when this information was unclear, it was double checked against the third police spreadsheet called Outcomes. After pending cases were checked against the Outcomes, two persons harmed were added as offenders to the database since the case notes suggested there was a conflict between these two individuals (both were victims and offenders). One offender was eliminated due to a conference not having taken place by the time of the data extraction. The rest were included in the database.

Eight (8) cases had no label describing them as complete, pending, failed to complete or RJ declined. These cases were checked against the 'Outcomes' spreadsheet, after which four (4) cases were excluded since there was no personal information, outcome information, or intervention information for any individual associated with these cases. The rest were included.

A total of 374 offenders were excluded and two additional offenders were included in the 'Wrongdoer Spreadsheet.'

By matching up interventions with offender IDs, it was discovered that 157 cases which had not been labelled as containing offenders were associated with completed restorative justice interventions. As a result, these new offenders were added to the database.

157 cases were added to the offenders' spreadsheet, containing 343 individuals. Some of these individuals had previously had no role code and others had been classified as persons harmed. Individuals who were included were those who, according to the notes, had been involved in a conflict and had experienced a restorative justice intervention. For multiple participants involved in verbal conflicts about a matter, which was not deemed to be a crime, the persons were added as offenders but also considered mutually culpable.

After these inclusions and exclusions, a total of 7,003 offenders were included in the offender database. As can be seen in the chart below, the process of adding and removing offenders resulted in three more individuals than accounted for. As the error was discovered after the researcher returned the original police file and the file could not be accessed again, a recount was not possible. It is likely, however, that this error was due to a miscount rather than an erroneous addition of offenders. Given the size of the database, however, and the general limitation of missing data, these three cases are unlikely to make a difference to the findings.

Variable name	Excluded Numbers	Included Numbers	Total data
Status: RJ declined	301 cases containing 310 offenders		-310
Status: Failed to complete	46 cases including 64 offenders		-64
Status: Pending	1 offender removed due to conference not being completed	2 participants identified as persons harmed, but recoded as mutually culpable offenders	+1
Status: Blank	4 cases but these cases were not associated with any individuals		0

Status: Complete		157 cases (343 individuals)	+343
Total	-365	+345	-30

Preparing variables in the offender spreadsheet

Offence description

The cases included in the offender spreadsheet contained 677 offence descriptions, which included offence descriptions which appeared unique because of spelling errors. These were reduced to 95 incident description codes with the assistance of police-recorded crime categories obtained from the Home Office website in 2012 for this initial task. The offence types have changed since; see Home Office (2014) for updates (Home Office, 17 July 2014). 428 cases were missing offence types altogether and were, therefore, coded as missing.

As seen in the following list, restorative justice processes were used for a wide range of offences by the police in this authority.

First version of Offence type: general
Shoplifting
Theft by employee
Theft in a dwelling
Theft from a vehicle
Theft from the person
Theft from an automatic machine
Theft of a pedal cycle—included take or ride pedal cycle without consent
Theft of a motor vehicle—included unauthorised taking of a motor vehicle
Theft by finding
Theft—not crime
Other theft—included all other theft that were considered crimes such as theft if not classified elsewhere, theft of honesty box, theft of cash, theft of coal, theft of dinghy, etc
Fraud
Counterfeit
Obtaining cash by deception
Handling stolen goods
Making off without payment
Blackmail
Burglary—not a dwelling
Burglary in a dwelling
Aggravated vehicle taking
Arson
Arson not endangering life
Assault with injury

Assault without injury
Wounding
Assaults—not crime
Assaults on police
Accidental injury—non crime
Robbery of personal property
Racially aggravated assault
Racially aggravated harassment and hate incidents
Racially aggravated criminal damage
Hate/racial issues—not crimes
Indecent exposure
Sexual assault of a female child under 13
Sexual assault of a female child under 16
Sexual assault of a male age 13 or over
Rape male child under 13
Indecent assault on female/male
Pornography of children
Possession of cannabis
Antisocial behaviour
ASB non crimes
Fear or provocation of violence
Harassment, alarm or distress
Criminal damage
Criminal damage to a building
Criminal damage to a dwelling
Criminal damage to a vehicle
Accidental damage—no crime
Criminal damage—no crime
Threats to property
Trespassing
Missing person
Traffic offences
Offensive weapon
Possession of weapons—non crimes
Hoax/false calls
Wasting police time
Tattooed underage
Inappropriate disposal of waste/littering
Civil disputes
Exotic species
Other non-crime

In the first version of the crime coding, multiple offences were separated into their own category. At times it was not clear whether the second offence was a second offence or a description of the type of ASB.

First version of offence types: Multiple offences
--

ASB + criminal damage

ASB + theft
ASB + drugs
ASB + assault
ASB + arson
ASB + hate/racial incident
ASB + drunkenness
ASB + fear/provocation of violence
Assault + criminal damage
Assault + bullying
Assault + racially aggravated harassment
Assault + battery + hate crime
Assault + arson not endangering life
Affray + weapon
Criminal damage + burglary
Theft + possession of cannabis
Theft + arson
Theft + criminal damage

Along with the crime types above, there were a number of offences, which did not match the categories of official police-recorded crime as described by the Home Office in 2012 (for new list of codes, which for the most part contain many of the codes in my initial coding, see “Crime codes,” HMIC and “Police recorded crime open data tables,” (Home Office, 17 July 2014). They often had to do with families, school children, or neighbours and included a range of behaviours from pornography, drugs, and alcohol to verbal arguments. According to the database, these offences were labelled as ‘non crime.’ That the police respond to such incidents might represent a net-widening effect of restorative justice (Greene, 2013; Bechard et al, 2011; O’Mahony and Doak, 2004) or it may indicate police efforts at not criminalizing young offenders in schools or households (Prichard, 2010; Binder, 1987). As these types of offences/harms could not be matched with police-recorded crimes nationally, they were considered to be separate RJ specific codes in the first attempt to recode the original offence types.

First version of offence types: RJ offences
Bullying
Neighbour disputes—arguments, not assaults
School disputes
Truancy
Family disputes
Threats and abuse—not crime
Teasing or friendship problems at school
Students misbehaving
Minors with alcohol—non crime
Drugs—school, non crime
Disputes—non crimes
Pornography—non crime, school
Missing

As seen in the list above, some of the offences listed as non-crimes include minor teasing between school friends but they also included recognizable crimes such as

pornography and underage drinking/drug use, which could be classified as crimes. In these instances, it seemed as though the location and age of the offenders led to the classification of these offences to non-crimes.

Early data analysis demonstrated very low frequencies for each of these offence categories, given the number of overall offence types. As the purpose of analysis was to discover meaningful patterns in the data, the offence type categories were therefore reduced to broader 25 categories, which focussed on behaviour behind the offence rather than the specific penal code. A focus on behaviour rather than the specific crime violation fit the research questions better, which concerned themselves with the principles of restorative justice such as offenders' motivations behind their offending as well as the impact of these offences on victims. In creating these broader offence types, crimes and non-crimes were kept separate initially. Many of the broad offences categories, therefore, ended up being parallel in nature with the same offence having a crime and a non-crime category.

For example, given that most of the violence committed did not involve serious injuries (as these types of offences would have been referred to the traditional criminal justice route), all the violent offending was subsumed into one code. The same reasoning led to the creation of one sexual crime code to include all types of criminal sexual offending (including child pornography and indecent exposure as well as inappropriate touching) and one drug crime code to include all drug related criminal offences.

Criminal damage grew to include arson since none of the arson cases described an intent to harm; the result of arson in all the cases included in the database was various levels of damage to property.

Robbery and burglary were kept separated out from other types of theft, even though there were few such cases, because the motivation of the offenders and the effects of such offences on the victims involved more serious harms. Burglary included theft from dwellings as well as non-dwellings.

Other theft became one of the largest categories, including shoplifting, theft of motor vehicles, theft of pedal cycles, theft by employees, theft from automatic machines, theft by finding, theft from honesty boxes, as well as numerous 'other' types of theft. The reasoning for conflating all these thefts into one category was because some had very few numbers (for example theft from automatic machines) and they were assumed to have similar motivations as well as similar effects on victims. This category, however, changed in later iterations due to gender breakdowns as will be described below.

The fraud category included fraud by false representation, attempted fraud, other fraud, and attempted deception, just like the previous iteration, given how few fraud offences were in the database.

Traffic offences included all traffic offences such as aggravated vehicle taking, road traffic collisions, speeding, and parking issues.

Fear or provocation of violence included both ASB-fear provocation of violence as well as Fear, provocation of violence.

The hate incidents category came to included racial, religious and other types of discriminatory motivated offences. The motivation behind the offence became the reason for why offences were included in this offence type. It included a wide range of offences from violence, harassment to criminal damage as long as the motivation was hate related.

Harassment included all ASB described as causing harassment, alarm or distress; causing intentional harassment, alarm or distress; and harassment, alarm and distress.

For the case of multiple offences, they were coded under the more serious offence and were not counted twice. For example, assault + bullying became part of the violence code. The offences which were described as hate or race became part of the hate incident code because of the assumed motivation behind the offending.

Second version of Offence types: crimes
Violence
Sexual crimes
Criminal damage
Robbery
Burglary
Drugs
Other theft
Fraud
Traffic
Fear or provocation of violence
Possession of firearms/weapons
Hate incidents
Harassment

The non-crime categories replicated the categories above for nearly all categories: violence, sexual offences, criminal damage, robbery, burglary, drugs, other theft, fraud and traffic. They included similar types of offences but sometimes they were of a more minor nature than the crime categories or they took place in a more private setting such as a home, care home/residential setting or school. The RJ codes discussed in the previous section for the most part fell neatly into the same offence types as the crime list described above. There were some exceptions, however, which led to the creation of non-people non crimes (including offences such as trespassing and truancy where a victim was not directly affected by the offending) and people non-crimes (including offences such as verbal disputes and bullying where a victim, or even both parties, were directly affected by the confrontation. In these confrontations, the dispute had not escalated to any type of physical violence).

Second version of Offence types: non-crimes
Non-crime: Violence
Non-crime: Sexual crimes
Non-crime: Criminal damage
Non-crime: Robbery
Non-crime: Burglary
Non-crime: Drugs

Non crime: Other theft
Non-crime: Fraud
Non-crime: Traffic
Non-crime, non people: e.g. trespassing, truancy
Non-crime, people: e.g. disputes/bullying

One category was created to include both crime and non-crime versions of offences linked to Sec 10(3) Dangerous Dogs Act. The reason why the crime and non-crime were grouped in one category was because it was difficult to determine a reason for why some of these offences would be classed as crimes and others as non-crimes. They seemed to involve similar scenarios and circumstance.

Second version of offence types: Crime and non-crimes
Dangerous dogs—crime and non-crime

Preliminary statistics (frequencies) were run on these categories. The crime and non-crime categories of each offence type did not show any significant percentage differences. A decision was, therefore, made to create broader categories by combining the crime and non-crime categories. Robbery and burglary were also combined given the similar impact of the crimes on a victim and given very low numbers for both categories. Harassment and fear and provocation of violence were also subsumed into the same new category called Threats and fear given the similarities between those offences of causing discomfort and creating an atmosphere of threat for another person. The people non-crime categories were usually subsumed into this category as well since offences such as bullying may have the same effect on school children and harassment has on adults. The non-people non crimes remained as a separate RJ code given that these types of offences (trespassing and truancy) did not neatly fit into any other category. After these changes, there were a total of thirteen offence types. These offence types are a fairly accurate match to the new police recorded crime codes described by the ONS in 2013, although the codes in this thesis were created before I saw these codes (see ONS, 18 July 2013: 12-13 for similarities and differences). The main differences between these 13 codes in the table below and the 10 codes described by ONS are my conflation of the robbery and burglary codes (burglary is included under theft in the ONS); my inclusion of hate incidents (which were presumably coded within various offence types); threats and fear; dogs; traffic; and non-people non-crimes. While the non-people, non-crime code was a remaining RJ specific code, which could not be conflated within any other code, the threats, dogs, and traffic codes might have been codes as miscellaneous (ONS, 18 July, 2013).

Third version of offence types: Crimes and non-crimes combined
Violence (crime and non-crime)
Sexual (crime and non-crime)
Damage (crime and non-crime)
Robbery and burglary (crime and non-crime)
Drugs (crime and non-crime)
Theft (crime and non-crime)
Weapons (crime and non-crime)

Hate incidents (crime and non-crime)
Fraud (crime and non-crime)
Threats and fear (crime and non-crime)
Dogs (crime and non-crime)
Traffic (crime and non-crime)
Non-people (non-crimes)

After the interviews with the young women and taking into account national trends about the types of crimes that were predominantly female, the crime codes changed again. Shoplifting was separated out from the theft category, creating a total of fourteen offence categories.

Fourth versions of Offence type
Violence
Sexual
Damage
Robbery and Burglary
Drugs
Shoplifting
Other theft
Weapons
Hate incidents
Sex offences
Fraud
Intimidation
Dogs
Traffic
Non-people, non-crimes

Since one of the research questions had to do with gender differences between the offenders, frequencies were run on the crime categories by gender and the percentages were reviewed. Categories that had very few female offenders such as sexual offences, robbery and burglary, drugs, weapons, hate incidents, fraud, dogs, traffic, and non-people, non-crimes were coded as missing, leaving the following final crime types.

Fifth version of Offence type
Shoplifting
Damage
Violence
Intimidation
Theft
Missing

RJ type

The RJ type variable described the various types of restorative justice practiced by the police. According to the raw data, five different types of RJ were used. All except 35 entries had recorded RJ types. These were coded as missing, making a total of six RJ type codes.

RJ type
Community conferences
Conferences
Informal RJ
School
Street RJ
Missing

Conferences, according to the notes describing the offences and offenders, seemed to be a traditional form of RJ usually including victims and offenders in a direct meeting. Community conferences tended to include more participants (such as neighbours having a dispute over graffiti or noise). Street RJ according to the notes could be any kind of meeting between the police and offenders or offenders and victims but would most often be completed on the same day, without a scheduled meeting. School RJ was any type of RJ completed in a school for issues between students or students and staff. I emailed the constabulary for clarifications about what informal RJ and the other forms of RJ were and received a response that the constabulary only used two types of RJ: street RJ and conferences. Street RJ was defined as:

“a process which can be used on the street (or at a house/shop/police station) for incidents occurring AT THAT TIME, where its use will result in the most effective, time-saving and appropriate outcome. Used for both crime and non crime incidents. This is a face to face meeting of the participants and has to take place at the TIME OF THE INCIDENT or AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THEREAFTER. We usually say within 3 days at the latest. It is meant for groups of no more than 4 participants”
(from e-mail correspondence with police, January 21, 2014)

Conferences, on the other hands were *“Used for more complex issues or crimes, involving more participants or when some time has passed since the original incident took place and officers need to have taken a Conference training course”* (from e-mail correspondence with police, January 21, 2014)

RJ type was therefore reduced to three types of RJ: conferences, street, and school. The rest of the forms were coded as missing.

Construction of new variables

Notes: preparation and cleaning of data

The notes section contained detailed descriptions of the circumstances surrounding the offence. This included information such as where the offence occurred and who was involved. Since the notes were presumably written by the arresting officer and inputted by a member of the administrative staff managing the database, entries did not consistently contain the same type of information and level of detail varied from case to case. However, all participants except for three offenders had some comments associated with their cases. Before working further with the notes variable, all the notes needed to be anonymised. Although all identifiers had been excluded in the data extraction stage, the notes section occasionally included names and identifying locations, all of which were carefully removed while the data was still on the police laptop.

Once the notes had been anonymised, the information in them was considered alongside the qualitative life history interviews from the qualitative study and restorative justice/criminological literature in order to create new variables. These new variables included relationship to victim and alone versus group offending. Daly and colleagues have been among the few RJ researchers to explore additional variables in this vein (relationships between victims and offenders; offence type; offending in a group or offending alone, etc) (Daly, 2008; Hayes and Daly, 2004; Hayes and Daly, 2003).

Relationship to victim

In one of the previous sections, I discussed that information from the participant spreadsheet yielded incomplete information about the relationship between participants in restorative justice. The notes describing each offence, however, were mini narratives about what had occurred. This meant that they often described how the offender and the victim knew each other or where the victim and offender were when the offence occurred as well as what led up to the offence. With the new available information, a second relationship variable was created, but this time the variable referred to the relationship between the offender and the victim. The availability of more contextual information also allowed some hypothesis testing having to do with gender of the offenders and the relationships to their victims, which will be described in greater detail in the findings chapter.

Because there were over 7,000 offenders, the first codes were kept in broader social groups such as 'family member' rather than 'sister,' 'brother,' 'father,' 'mother,' 'uncle,' 'aunt' and 'school personnel' rather than 'teacher,' 'teaching assistant,' or 'coach.' Previous coding attempts demonstrated that meaningful relationships emerged when codes were fewer. Therefore, seventeen relationship categories were created in the first attempt:

First version of relationship to victim
Family—this included all family members such as parents, siblings, children and extended family.
Partner—also included spouse
Former partner—also included former spouses
Peer—this included persons who were in the same age group (youth) or who attended the same school
Neighbour
Colleague/former colleague
Stranger
Corporate victim—this included store managers who stood in as victims for shoplifting offences as well as any other stand-in victim to an offence against a corporation or organization
Community as victim—this included offences committed in/to buildings, public places, parks, schools or other public institutions resulting in indirect harm to other persons intending to use that space
School personnel—this included any adult that worked at a school
Known but not peer—this included a person known to the offender but not the same age
Carers—this included nurses, foster parents, carers, residential staff at children's homes and other person whose job it was to look after the offender
Housemates and former housemates
Landlord/tenant
Business relationships—this included co-workers who worked at the same organization but also individuals who had a conflict due to work one person had asked to be carried out (such as repairs to a car, for example)
Police
Missing—any relationship that did not clearly fit into any of the above codes

After consulting with the qualitative interviews and the criminological literature, the codes were then reduced to 7 categories, which took into consideration the relationships female offenders might have with their victims (i.e. Greenfeld and Snell, December 1999):

Second version of relationship to victim
Family
Romantic—this included partners, former partners, current/former spouses, as well as offences that arose because of a romantic relationship (such as fights between two individuals over a third partner)
Known—this category included all categories with a relationship such as neighbours, colleagues, school personnel, housemates, peers, and carers
Stranger—this included police or other public officials not known to the offender as well as members of the public who were strangers
Corporate victim
Missing

Once the numbers were run and the frequencies compared, the decision was made to alter the codes slightly. Known persons (of different ages from each other) was once again separated out from peers (who were left as young persons of a similar age). The

category representing the community as victim was coded as missing due to a low N. These changes resulted in the following categories:

Third version of relationship to victim
Family
Romantic
Known—this category included all adults who knew each other (i.e. neighbours, housemates, etc)
Peer—this category included similarly aged juvenile peers
Stranger
Corporate victim
Missing—community as victim was coded as missing since there were very few females in this category

Alone and group offending

Criminological research on young people in the UK and US often discusses the importance of groups (Garnier and Stein, 2002, Haynie and Osgood, 2005, McCord and Conway, December 2005), especially for young women (Miller et al., 2008, Caspi et al., 1993, Cooper and Roe, 2012, van Mastrigt and Farrington, 2009). Since the raw data listed offenders by individual participant IDs as well as intervention IDs, and was accompanied by notes, there was the opportunity to examine the extent to which offenders were by themselves or in groups when committing the offence for which they were referred to restorative justice. Once coding began, however, diverse data entry practices made it clear that determining whether an offender offended by him/herself or in a group (and if so what gender of that group) was more difficult than expected.

Six broad categories were created expressing whether the person offended alone or with others.

1. *Offended Alone*—this category for the most part was straight-forward except for the cases where participants in the same offence were described as both victims and offenders. That means that the individuals were identified as having ‘offended’ alone, resulting in two or more offenders who offended alone in the same offence
2. *Offended in group, but gender of group unknown*—this category was composed of cases with accompanying notes, which described a group offence occurring. Gender was not collected for all the participants in the offences, however, or in some cases gender was not available for any of the participants. In both scenarios, this meant that participants were missing from the data.
3. *Single sex group*—this category was composed of groups where either all participants and all genders were accounted for, or indicated groups where the notes indicated it was a single sex group, even if some of the participants’ information was missing
4. *Mixed sex group*—here the notes described the offence as a mixed-sex group and usually the genders of the participants were accounted for
5. *Was with group but called lone offender*—or only one RJ’d—this indicated cases where the notes either said that the offender was with a group but was the

only person who received RJ (the others either received no punishment or received more severe punishments, depending on their involvement). It also represented cases which described a group offence in the notes but only had information on one offender.

6. *Missing*—where notes were unclear or information was lacking. These cases were coded as missing.

Alcohol

Since the UK literature on young women's offending has suggested an important connection between female violence and alcohol, especially in relation to violent offending (Arnull and Eagle, 2009), this variable tracked cases where alcohol played a role in the offending. This included cases where the offender was under the influence of alcohol while he/she offended; offences which took place at establishments serving alcohol (such as bars and nightclubs), where alcohol use was implied but not directly stated; as well as theft of alcohol from shops. Since this information appeared in few cases, however, the variable was excluded from final analysis.

Variables which emerged from qualitative interviews

Bullying

Bullying was an issue frequently discussed in the qualitative interviews conducted alongside secondary analysis of the administrative data. A variation of the term such as 'bullied', 'bully,' 'bullying' was searched for. Cases involving 'teasing' were not included, as this was assumed to involve lower levels of abuse although the decision to call a behaviour bullying or teasing might have been up to the individual police officer. At times bullying was the offence committed but other times bullying was the trigger for further offending such as physical violence. All instances where bullying played part in a conflict were included in the variable. In the end, however, relatively few notes mentioned bullying, and thus the variable was excluded from final the analysis.

Social media

In the qualitative interviews with young female offenders, cyberbullying emerged as an issue of concern and conflict between groups of young women. Specifically, many of the participants spoke about Facebook and Twitter continuing and escalating conflicts. This variable, therefore, tracked each mention of social media. Types of social media included facebook, twitter, xbox, and bebo. Again, like alcohol and bullying, due to the small size of cases, the variable was not included in the findings chapter.

Mutual culpability

Many of the young women interviewed in the qualitative portion of the research identified themselves and the victim as mutually culpable in the conflict just as previous research had suggested (Batchelor et al., 2001, Daly, 2008). As a result, cross-complaints were searched for and coded as part of this variable. These cases included those the police identified as cross-complaints as well as cases where the notes suggested the dispute was an ongoing situation between multiple parties resulting in no injuries, or between individuals where injuries were sustained by all involved. As above,

the few notes in which this idea appeared meant that nothing could be said with certainty and the variable was excluded.

New variables

The start date and end date were used to create a number of new variables.

Age at time of intervention

Age of the participants at the start date of the intervention in months and in years were calculated from the dates of birth at the start date of the RJ intervention.

322 ages at the time of intervention were missing.

Age groups

Age groups were constructed according to the age of criminal responsibility (under 10s); adolescence (10-16); young adults (17-24); and adults (25 and up). 322 cases were coded as missing.

Duration of RJ intervention

Duration of the RJ intervention was calculated by taking the difference from the start date and the end date. The calculations demonstrated major differences between RJ types such as street RJ tended to be finished on the same day an offence was entered into the system whereas a conference took several days to weeks before it was completed. Although the data clarified the type of restorative justice intervention in terms of which ones were more time efficient, some of the time differences were likely due to scheduling differences either on behalf of the victim, offender, or the police. There were too many unknowns to use the variable in further calculations other than for clarification.

Re-examining Gender

Although gender had been left blank in 175 cases, the intervention notes sometimes made it possible to identify genders of the participant. If the description of the incident made it clear, participants were reclassified from unknown gender to either male or female. 31 cases were reclassified. After reclassification, a total of 144 cases were coded as missing gender.

Missing data and implications

The administrative data in the database was used by several part-time employees, and since its inception (the first record of a participant is from early January 2007) the database was handled by numerous employees. As a result the coding ‘errors’ found in the database were likely to do with different inputting styles by employees (Smith et al, 2004 in “Administrative data introduction,” 2014). The following section describes what was missing and the implications of this missing data.

Incomplete entries

At times the notes in the database were incomplete or vague, with descriptions such as ‘conference held,’ or ‘victim satisfied with outcome.’ These cases tended to have other information missing as well, such as gender, or dates of birth. Such incomplete entries tended to only occur in the earliest entries of the database.

Number of offenders per incident

Other errors had to do with underestimating the number of offenders who participated in RJ. Sometimes the notes stated that multiple offenders were involved in the incident, but the participant information only had records of one offender’s information (such as dates of birth or gender). Occasionally, the notes made it clear that only one offender received RJ, while the others were arrested, reprimanded, released, or were judged to be inappropriate for the intervention. Most of the time, however, the reason why only one offender’s information was recorded was unclear. Although the majority of these errors occurred in the early entries of the database, such cases continued to appear from 2007-2012.

Number of offenders in RJ

A third range of errors had to do with not consistently keeping track of how many offenders from each offence participated in RJ. For example, sometimes the notes stated that one or two offenders had committed an offence, but more offenders than the notes suggested were recorded as offenders for that case. These cases did not seem to be duplicates since each offender had a different date of birth. At times, parents had been labelled as offenders, due to them being present at the restorative justice intervention. (11 parents were mislabelled as offenders. 9 were recoded as missing). Other times, the reason why there were more offenders present than described in the notes was unclear, especially when all the participants were of similar ages.

Conclusion

This chapter described not only how the data came to be accessed and the complex procedures that were involved in ensuring that the data and the identities of the people within the database were appropriately protected but also the processes and the work that was done in order to convert the data from raw data into research data.

As discussed throughout the chapter, and as mentioned in the literature involving secondary data analysis, the raw data contained errors (Gorard, 2012; Smith, 2008; Smith et al, 2004 in “Administrative data introduction,” 2014). The format the data originally arrived in, combined with these errors, meant that many months of work had to be put to screen and clean the data before it could be analysed. The state of the overall database was such that the administrators had trouble locating the information they needed and could only perform simple data calculations involving a variable at a time such as the number of offences over a given time period or the number of male and female offenders in the sample overall. The work that I did to each variable, by either recoding data or coding it as missing, made it possible to include it in analysis. By further inputting these cleaned and recoded variables into SPSS, analysis could be designed comparing variables, which meant that meaningful relationships within the

data could be examined. The work was guided with the aid of research questions that aimed to investigate in particular women's roles as general participants and as offenders in restorative justice, and to then compare these findings with that of men's, all of which was informed by criminological and restorative justice literature.

The state of the database and the various decisions made in preparing the data, however, means that the findings have both strengths and limitations. In terms of limitations, this chapter has outlined the errors, which might hinder some analysis. The chapter also discussed decisions, which were made in reducing codes. Creating broad codes for offence types, for example, was deemed to be necessary in order to make sense of hundreds of codes, which might only have a handful of participants in each category. A judgement was made that the overall pattern of offences and the motivations behind them would better examine the research questions. Similarly, broad categories of participants in terms of their relationships—mothers and step-mothers in the same category, for example, and foster carers, nurses, and carers in the same category, provided a sense of general roles. These decisions, however, even as they provided general patterns making the data more readable removed unique details and perhaps meant that more complex relationships and patterns were omitted.

The administrative database did, of course, also not contain any outcomes such as those on satisfaction or recidivism as described in the literature review. Although the constabulary used to collect satisfaction surveys from victims, they had ceased doing so by the time access was gained, and the results of these surveys were not made available. Recidivism results were not automatically collected as part of this data due to police officer time but could have been made available for the young women who were interviewed, had they provided permission. A decision was made, however, that such little data would not contribute to understanding of young female offenders in this database as a whole. Without outcomes, however, this administrative data has no evidence base, and the data cannot tell us if RJ has been "successful."

These limitations, however, are countered by strengths. A database containing the records of 17,000 participants in restorative justice, regardless of its lack of measured outcomes, provides important information on this police-facilitated restorative justice scheme, which will, in turn, increase understanding of the narrative interviews discussed in the qualitative portion of this thesis. The sheer size of such administrative data has the potential to make a significant contribution to general knowledge of the uses of police-facilitated restorative justice in the UK, and may also reveal information about the way the police in this particular force thinks about restorative justice and what they deem to be appropriate cases. This could all be accomplished by cleaning the data and coding it in such a way that slightly more complex calculations could be done, which was beyond what the police administrative database could do.

A particularly noteworthy contribution was making use of the fairly extensive notes, by turning them into new variables. These notes had previously simply been inputted into the database without further analysis. With the way the administrative database was set up, these notes could not be included in any type of analysis the administrators were asked to do, which meant that time consuming data entry ultimately had no purpose. The notes were what rendered the database more interesting, especially data lacking a measure outcome of restorative justice such as satisfaction or recidivism. Due to all these choices and use of the notes, the most unique contribution is what the data can

tell us about women's general participation in an R.J. scheme—as victims, offenders, and support persons—of which there are limited published findings (Elis, 2005). With a sample of 8,000 women in all participant categories and 2,500 female offenders, these findings explore the available descriptive data in depth and compare outcomes to those of male participants and male offenders, adding understanding of both female offending and female participation in RJ.

Appendix 2: Information leaflet to the police

Young Women, Offending and Restorative Justice

This project focuses on young women who have offended and participated in restorative justice in [xArea]. It comes at a time when the number of young women entering the criminal justice system has increased and research on how young women experience and participate in offending is gaining critical attention. Currently, restorative justice is actively being promoted as an alternative to arrest and incarceration for young people in the UK. Very little research, however, has been conducted on restorative justice and young women. This project will be one of the first major studies on the topic.

The researcher is Birgit Larsson, a current PhD candidate at the University of East Anglia and a former mediator/facilitator.

Methods

The project will be composed of:

- 1) A review of the literature
- 2) Quantitative analysis on police data collected on individuals who have experienced restorative justice in [xarea]
- 3) Interviews with young women who have offended and participated in restorative justice
 - o 25 young women under the age of 25 who have committed against the person crimes or other crimes with a clear victim.

Aims of the project

The goal of this project is to:

- Increase understanding of young women's offending in the UK
- Investigate how young women who have offended feel about their lives, victims, and communities after participating in restorative justice
- Develop ideas of interventions that might work for young women who offend.

Appendix 3: Letter to participants

Dear _____

I'm getting in touch with you because you've had contact with the [xarea] police and have participated in restorative justice. I wonder if you'd be interested in helping me with my research.

Who I am:

My name is Birgit and I'm a PhD researcher at the University of East Anglia. Before coming to the UK, I worked in New York City with young people who were in trouble with the police. I'm now writing about **the real lives of young women and their experiences with the criminal justice system in the UK.**

Who I'm looking for:

I'm looking for **20 young women between the ages of 18-30** who are willing to talk to me about their lives, and tell me their thoughts on young women and offending as well as restorative justice. We'll chat for an hour or so, and I'll tape record your interview.

What you'll get out of it:

In exchange for your interview, you'll be paid **£20**. Your life and opinions will become part of **important research** about young women living in the UK today. You'll also have the opportunity to **help improve local services** for young women.

What will happen to your story:

Your name and personal details will be changed so that no one will be able to recognize you. The information you give me will help me write about young women and crime and will lead to suggestions on how to make programmes, services and restorative justice more helpful to young women.

If you're interested, send me a text. I'd love to hear from you.

Birgit Larsson

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule

Opening question

1. Could you tell me about your life? You can begin anywhere and tell me anything you'd like.

Current life

2. Can you tell me about the important people in your life? What do you do with your time? What's important to you now?

Childhood

3. What were things like when you were young? What was school like? What important things happened? Can you tell me about your family?

Friends

4. What were your friends like? What did you do with your friends? Romantic relationships?

Getting into trouble

5. I'm interested in what young women have to say about getting into trouble. Could you tell me about....

Restorative Justice

6. Can you tell me how that all came about?

Future

7. When you think about your future, what do you imagine?

Turning points

8. Looking back, what do you think was the most important thing you told me? Has anything happened that changed the way you saw things or the way you felt about things?

Advice

9. Advice for the police? Advice for people working with young women? How could RJ be improved?

Interview thoughts

10. Feelings/thoughts about the interview?

Appendix 5: Consent form for participants

Thank you for agreeing to take place in my research project on the lives and choices of young women who have participated in mediation/restorative justice.

Your identity will be kept confidential. That means that while the material you provide me may appear in a publication, you will only be identified by your pseudonym.

Please sign your name below showing you give your **consent** for me to write about you and your story. This shows that you've thought about taking part, that you understand what the project is about, and that you want to talk to me. **If you change your mind after the interview about me including your opinions in what I write, that's okay**, and all you have to do is let me know. You have two weeks from the time of our interview to let me know.

The purpose of the study has been explained to me: YES/NO

I understand that I can change my mind within two weeks of the interview about having my opinions be part of this project: YES/NO

Your name:

Date _____

Your signature

Age:

Ethnicity:

Highest educational level received:

Current employment status (please circle): student/part-time employed/full-time employed/unemployed

I have received £20 for my interview: Please initial here _____.

Bibliography

AERTSEN, I., PARMENTIER, S., VANFRAECHEM, I., WALGRAVE, L. & ZINSSTAG, E. 2013. An adventure is taking off. Why Restorative Justice: An International Journal? *Restorative Justice: An International Journal*, 1, 1-14.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES COLLECTION (APC). 1997. The Four Circles of Hollow Water. Available: <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/fr-crcls-hllw-wtr/index-eng.aspx> [Accessed 02/06/2014]

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA LIAISON SERVICE (ADLS). *Administrative Data Introduction*. [Online]. Available: http://www.adls.ac.uk/adls-resources/guidance/introduction/?hide_cookies_info=1 [Accessed 13/03/2014.]

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA TASKFORCE. December 2012. The UK Administrative Data Research Network: Improving Access for Research and Policy. London: ESRC. Available: http://www.esrc.ac.uk/_images/ADT-Improving-Access-for-Research-and-Policy_tcm8-24462.pdf [Accessed 10/09/2014]

ALARID, L. F. & MONTEMAYOR, C. D. 2012. Implementing restorative justice in police departments. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 13, 450-463.

ALDER, C. June 26 and 27 1997. Young women and juvenile justice: objectives, frameworks and strategies. *Australian Institute of Criminology Conference Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice: Toward 2000 and Beyond*. Adelaide, Australia.

ALDER, C. (ed.) 2000. *Young women offenders and the challenge for restorative justice*, Aldershot, England: Ashgate.

ARNULL, E. & EAGLE, S. 2009. Girls and offending--patterns, perceptions and interventions. London: Youth Justice Board.

ASHWORTH, A. 2002. Responsibilities, Rights and Restorative Justice. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42, 578-595.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY. 2013. Australian crime: facts and figures. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. Available: http://aic.gov.au/media_library/publications/facts/2013/facts13.pdf [Accessed 07/07/2014]

BAMBERG, M. 2006. Stories: Big or small. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16, 139-147.

BATCHELOR, S. A. 2001. The myth of girl gangs. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 43, 26-27. [Online]. Available: <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/5070>

BATCHELOR, S. A. 2005. 'Prove me the bam!': victimization and agency in the lives of young women who commit violent offences. *Probation Journal*, 52, 358-375.

BATCHELOR, S. A., BURMAN, M. J. & BROWN, J. A. 2001. Discussing violence: let's hear it from the girls. *Probation Journal*, 48, 125-134. [Online]. Available: <http://vmdev1.eprints.org/8400/1/Batchelor5105.pdf>

BAUMRIND, D. 1966. Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior. *Child Development*, 37, 887-907.

BAZEMORE, G. & GRIFFITHS, C. 2003. Police reform, restorative justice and restorative policing. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 4, 335-346.

BECHARD, S., IRELAND, C., BERG, B. & VOGEL, B. 2011. Arbitrary Arbitration: Diverting Juveniles Into the Justice System--A Reexamination After 22 Years.

International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 55, 605-625.

BENETTI-MCQUOID, J. & BURSIK, K. 2005. Individual Differences in Experiences of and Responses to Guilt and Shame: Examining the Lenses of Gender and Gender Role. *Sex Roles*, 53, 133-142.

BENJAMIN, W. 1999. *Illuminations*, London, Pimlico.

BERGSETH, K. J. & BOUFFARD, J. A. 2007. The long-term impact of restorative justice programming for juvenile offenders. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 35, 433-451.

BERMAN, G. & DAR, A. 2013. Prison Population Statistics. London: House of Commons.

BERNDT, T. J. 1982. The Features and Effects of Friendship in Early Adolescence. *Child Development*, 53, 1447-1460.

BINDER, A. 1987. A Systematic Analysis of Decker's 'A Systematic Analysis of Diversion: New Widening and Beyond'. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 15, 255-260.

BJÖRKQVIST, K. 1994. Sex Differences in Physical, Verbal, and Indirect Aggression: A Review of Recent Research.

BJÖRKQVIST, K., LAGERSPETZ, K., M.J. & KAUKIAINEN, A. 1992. Do Girls Manipulate and Boys Fight? Developmental Trends in Regard to Direct and Indirect Aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, 18, 117-127.

BJÖRKQVIST, K., OSTERMAN, K. & KAUKIAINEN, A. 2000. Social Intelligence-Empathy = Aggression? *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 5, 191-200.

BLOCK, J. H. 1983. Differential Premises Arising from Differential Socialization of the Sexes: Some Conjectures. *Child Development*, 54, 1335-1354.

BLOOM, B. & COVINGTON, S. 2002. Gender-Responsive Strategies: Research, Practice and Guiding Principles for Women Offenders. Washington, D.C. National Institute for Corrections. Available: <http://nicic.gov/pubs/2003/018017.pdf>

BLOOM, B. E. & COVINGTON, S., S. November 11-14, 1998. Gender-Specific Programming for Female Offenders: What is it and Why is it Important? *50th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology* Washington, D.C.

BRADSHAW, W. 1998. Working with Offenders. In: UMBREIT, M. (ed.) *Victim Offender Mediation Training Manual*. Office for Victims of Crime, US Department of Justice to the: Center for Restorative Justice & Mediation.

BRADT, L. & BOUVERNE-DE BIE, M. 2009. Victim-Offender mediation as a social work practice. *International Social Work*, 52, 181-193.

BRAITHWAITE, J. 1989. *Crime, shame and reintegration*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

BRAITHWAITE, J. 1999. *Restorative Justice: Assessing Optimistic and Pessimistic Accounts* [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1147608> 25].

BRAITHWAITE, J. 2002. Setting Standards for Restorative Justice. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42, 563-577.

BRAITHWAITE, J. & DALY, K. 1994. Masculinities, Violence and Communitarian Control.

BRENNAN, P. K. & VANDENBERG, A. L. 2009. Depictions of Female Offenders in Front-Page Newspaper Stories: The Importance of Race/Ethnicity. *International Journal of Social Inquiry*, 2, 141-175.

BRONFENBRENNER, U. 1994. Ecological Models of Human Development. In: GAUVAIN, M. & COLE, M. (eds.) *Readings on the development of children, 2nd Ed.* . New York: Freeman.

BRUNER, J. 1990. *Acts of Meaning*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

BRYAN, K., FREER, J. & FURLONG, C. 2007. Language and communication difficulties in juvenile offenders. *International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders*, 42, 505-520.

BURMAN, M. 2003. Girls Behaving Violently? *Criminal Justice Matters*, 53, 20-21.

BURMAN, M. & BATCHELOR, S. A. 2009. Between Two Stools? Responding to Young Women who Offend. *Youth Justice*, 9, 270-285.

BÄCKMAN, O., et al. 2014. "The Life Course of Young Male and Female Offenders: Stability or Change Between Different Birth Cohorts?" *The British Journal of Criminology*, 54, 3, 393-410.

BUSSEY, K. & BANDURA, A. 1999. Social Cognitive Theory of Gender Development and Differentiation. *Psychological Review*, 106, 676-713.

CABINET OFFICE. 2012. Open Data White Paper: Unleashing the Potential. London: Cabinet Office. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/open-data-white-paper-unleashing-the-potential> [Accessed 03/04/2014]

CAIRNS, R. B., CAIRNS, B. D., NECKERMAN, H. J., GEST, S. D. & GARIEPY, J.-L. 1988. Social Networks and Aggressive Behavior: Peer Support or Peer Rejection? *Developmental Psychology*, 24, 815-823.

CARSON, E. A. & SABOL, W. J. December 2012. Prisoners in 2011. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

CASPI, A., LYNAM, D., MOFFITT, T. E. & SILVA, P. A. 1993. Unraveling Girls' Delinquency: Biological, Dispositional, and Contextual Contributions to Adolescent Misbehavior. *Developmental Psychology*, 29, 19-30.

CHAMBERLAIN, P. & REID, J. B. 1994. Differences in Risk Factors and Adjustment for Male and Female Delinquents in Treatment Foster Care. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 3, 23-39.

CHAPLIN, R., FLATLEY, J. & SMITH, K. 2011. Crime in England and Wales 2010/11. London: Home Office.

CHATTERJEE, J. August 10 2010. *A Report on the Evaluation of RCMP Restorative Justice Initiative: Community Justice Forum as Seen by Participants* [Online]. Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Available: <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/pubs/ccaps-spcca/restor-repara-chaterjee-eng.htm> [Accessed 13/05/2014.]

CHATTERJEE, J. & ELLIOTT, L. 2003. Restorative policing in Canada: the royal Canadian mounted police, community justice forums, and the youth criminal justice act. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 4, 347-359.

CHESNEY-LIND, M. 1989. Girls' Crime and Woman's Place: Toward a Feminist Model of Female Delinquency. *Crime & Delinquency*, 35, 5-29.

CHESNEY-LIND, M. & IRWIN, K. 2008. *Beyond Bad Girls: gender, violence and hype*, New York, Routledge.

CHESNEY-LIND, M. & PASKO, L. 2008. Girls' troubles and "female delinquency". In: EVANS, K. & JAMIESON, J. (eds.) *Gender and Crime: A Reader*. Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open University Press.

CHRISTIE, N. 1977. Conflicts as Property. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 17, 1-15.

CHRISTIE, N. 2013. Words on words. *Restorative Justice: An International Journal*, 1, 15-19.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (CJS). 2002. Justice for All. London: The Stationary Office. Available: <http://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/docs/jfawhitepaper.pdf> [Accessed 10/09/2014]

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (CJS). 2003. Restorative Justice: the government strategy. London: The Stationary Office. Available: http://www.rjc.org.uk/resource/restorative_justice_the_governments_strategy_yjy9c/ [Accessed 10/09/2014]

CLANDININ, J. & CONNELLY, M. 2000. *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Narrative Research*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers.

COATES, R., UMBREIT, M. & VOS, B. 2003. Restorative Justice Circles: An Exploratory Study. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 6, 265-278.

COHEN, S. 2011. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, London, Routledge Classics.

COOPER, C. & ROE, S. 2012. An estimate of youth crime in England and Wales: Police recorded crime committed by young people in 2009/10. London: Home Office.

CORSTON, J. 2007. The Corston Report. London: Home Office.

CORTAZZI, M. 1994. Narrative Analysis. *Language Teaching*, 27, 157-170.

COTTRELL, B. & MONK, P. 2004. Adolescent-to-Parent Abuse: A Qualitative Overview of Common Themes. *Journal of Family Issues*, 25, 1072-1095.

CRAWFORD, A. & NEWBURN, T. 2002. Recent Developments in Restorative Justice for Young People in England and Wales. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42, 476-495.

CRENSHAW, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139-167.

CRENSHAW, K. 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241-1299.

CRICK, N. R. & GROTPETER, J. K. 1995. Aggression, Gender and Social-Psychological Adjustment. *Child Development*, 66, 710-722.

CROCKETT, L., LOSOFF, M. & PETERSEN, A. C. 1984. Perceptions of the Peer Group and Friendship in Early Adolescence. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 4, 155-181.

CROSSLEY, M. L. 2000. *Introducing Narrative Psychology: Self, Trauma and the Construction of Meaning*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

CULLEN, F. T. & AGNEW, R. (eds.) 2011. *Criminological Theory: Past to Present*, New York: Oxford University Press.

DAIUTE, C. & LIGHTFOOT, C. 2004. Part I: Literary Readings. In: DAIUTE, C. & LIGHTFOOT, C. (eds.) *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

DALY, K. 2002. Restorative Justice: The Real Story. *Punishment & Society*, 4, 55-79.

DALY, K. 2005. Restorative Justice and Sexual Assault: An Archival Study of Court and Conference Cases. *British Journal of Criminology*.

DALY, K. 2008. Girls, Peer Violence, and Restorative Justice. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 41, 109-137.

DALY, K. 2013. More words on words. *Restorative Justice: An International Journal*, 1, 23-30.

DALY, K. & CHESNEY-LIND, M. 1988. Feminism and Criminology. *Justice Quarterly*, 5, 497-538.

DALY, K. & HAYES, H. February 2001. Restorative Justice and Conferencing in Australia. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology

DALY, K. & IMMARIGEON, R. 1998. The Past, Present, and Future of Restorative Justice: Some Critical Reflections. *The Contemporary Justice Review*, 1, 21-45.

DALY, K. & NANCARROW, H. 2008. Restorative justice and youth violence toward parents.

DALY, K. & STUBBS, J. 2006. Feminist engagement with restorative justice. *Theoretical Criminology*, 10, 9-28.

DANDURAND, Y. & GRIFFITHS, C. 2006. Handbook on Restorative Justice Programmes. New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

DAVID-FERDON, C. & HERTZ, M. F. 2009. Electronic Media and Youth Violence: A CDC Issue Brief for Researchers. Atlanta, GA: Center for Disease Control.

DAVIES, P. T. & WINDLE, M. 1997. Gender-Specific Pathways Between Maternal Depressive Symptoms, Family Discord, and Adolescent Adjustment. *Developmental Psychology*, 33, 657-668.

DECKER, S. H. 1985. A Systematic Analysis of Diversion: Net Widening and Beyond. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 13, 207-216.

DEHART, D. D., et al. 2014. "Life History Models of Female Offending: The Roles of Serious Mental Illness and Trauma in Women's Pathways to Jail." *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38, 1, 138-151.

DEHART, D. D. and R. Moran. 2015. "Poly-Victimization Among Girls in the Justice System: Trajectories of Risk and Associations to Juvenile Offending." *Violence Against Women*, 21, 3, 291-312.

DENZIN, N. & LINCOLN, Y. (eds.) 1998. *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, London: Sage Publications.

DEPARTMENT FOR BUSINESS INNOVATION AND SKILLS. June 2013. Improving Access for Research and Policy: The Government Response to the Report of the Administrative Data Taskforce. London: Department for Business Innovation and Skills. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/206873/bis-13-920-government-response-administrative-data-taskforce.pdf [Accessed 03/04/2014]

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. March 2014. Children in care: research priorities and questions. London: Department of Education. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/292032/Children_in_Care_Research_priorities_and_questions_FINAL_v1_1.pdf [Accessed 18/06/2014]

DOBASH, R. P. & DOBASH, R. E. 2004. Women's Violence to Men in Intimate Relationships: Working on a Puzzle. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44, 324-349.

DOWDEN, C. & ANDREWS, D. A. 1999. What Works for Female Offenders: A Meta-Analytic Review. *Crime & Delinquency*, 45, 438.

EASTON, H., SILVESTRI, M., EVANS, K., MATTHEWS, R. & WALKLATE, S. July 2010. Conditional Cautions: Evaluation of the women specific condition pilot. London: Ministry of Justice.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL (ESRC). 10 October 2013. *Big Data Family is Born-- David Willetts MP announces the ESRC Big Data Network* [Online]. Available: <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/news-and-events/press-releases/28673/the-big-data-family-is-born-david-willetts-mp-announces-the-esrc-big-data-network.aspx>. [Accessed 05/06/2014]

ELIS, L. 2005. Restorative Justice Programs, Gender, and Recidivism. *Public Organization Review: A Global Journal*, 375-389.

EMERSON, P. D. & FROSH, S. 2009. *Critical Narrative Analysis in Psychology: A Guide to Practice*, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan.

ERICKSON, K. G., CROSNOE, R. & DORNBUSCH, S. M. 2000. A Social Process Model of Adolescent Deviance: Combining Social Control and Differential Association Perspectives. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 29, 395-425.

FAILINGER, M. 2006. Lessons unlearned: women offenders, the ethics of care, and the promise of restorative justice. *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 33, 487-526.

FAMILY MEDIATION COUNCIL. *Training and good practice* [Online]. Available: <http://www.familymediationcouncil.org.uk/mediator-area/good-practice/>. Accessed 01/09/2014

FARRINGTON, D. P. 1995. The Development of Offending and Antisocial Behaviour from Childhood: Key Findings from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 360, 929-964.

FARRINGTON, D. P., COID, J. W. & MURRAY, J. 2009. Family factors in the intergenerational transmission of offending. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 19, 109-124.

FERGUSSON, D. M. & HORWOOD, L. J. 2001. The Christchurch Health and Development Study: review of findings on child and adolescent mental health. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 35, 287-296.

FERGUSSON, D. M., LYNSKEY, M. T. & HORWOOD, L. J. 1996. Alcohol misuse and juvenile offending in adolescence. *Addiction*, 91, 483-494.

FERGUSSON, D. M. & WOODWARD, L. J. 2000. Educational, Psychosocial, and Sexual Outcomes of Girls with Conduct Problems in Early Adolescence. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 41, 779-792.

FINN, M. A., et al. 2015. "Exploring the Overlap between Victimization and Offending among Women in Sex Work." *Victims and Offenders: An International Journal of Evidence-based Research, Policy, and Practice*, 10, 1, 74-94.

FISKE, S. T. 1993. Social Cognition and Social Perception. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 44, 155-94.

FLATLEY, J., KERSHAW, C., SMITH, K., CHAPLIN, R. & MOON, D. 2010. Crime in England and Wales 2009/10. London: Home Office.

FORTUNE, D., THOMPSON, J., PEDLAR, A. & YUEN, F. 2010. Social justice and women leaving prison: beyond punishment and leaving exclusion. *Contemporary Justice Review: Issues in Criminal, Social, and Restorative Justice*, 13, 19-33.

FREEMAN, M. 2000. When the story's over: narrative foreclosure and the possibility of self-renewal. In: ANDREWS, M., SCLATER, S. D., SQUIRE, C. & TREACHER, A. (eds.) *Lines of Narrative: Psychosocial Perspectives*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

FREEMAN, M. 2004. Data Are Everywhere: Narrative Criticism in the Literature of Experience. In: DAIUTE, C. & LIGHTFOOT, C. (eds.) *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

FREEMAN, M. 2006. Life 'on holiday'? *Narrative Inquiry*, 16, 131-138.

GAARDER, E. & HESSELTON, D. 2012. Connecting restorative justice with gender-responsive programming. *Contemporary Justice Review: Issues in Criminal, Social, and Restorative Justice*, 15, 239-264.

GAARDER, E. & PRESSER, L. 2006. A feminist vision of justice? the problems and possibilities of restorative justice for girls and women. In: SULLIVAN, D. &

TIFFT, L. (eds.) *Handbook of restorative justice: A global perspective*. Abington, England: Routledge.

GARNIER, H. E. & STEIN, J. A. 2002. An 18-Year Model of Family and Peer Effects on Adolescent Drug Use and Delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 31, 45-56.

GAVRIELIDES, T. & ARTINOPOLOU, V. 2013. Restorative Justice and Violence Against Women: Comparing Greece and The United Kingdom. *Asian Criminology*, 8, 25-40.

GEE, J. P. 1991. Memory and Myth: A Perspective on Narrative. In: MCCABE, A. & PETERSON, C. (eds.) *Developing Narrative Structure*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

GELSTHORPE, L. 2011. Working with women offenders in the community: A view from England and Wales. In: SHEEHAN, R., MCIVOR, G. & TROTTER, C. (eds.) *Working with Women Offenders in the Community*. Abingdon, Oxon: Willan Publishing.

GERGEN, K. J. & GERGEN, M. 1983. Narratives of the Self. In: SARBIN, T. & SCHEIBE, K. E. (eds.) *Studies in Social Identity*. New York: Praeger.

GERGEN, M. 2004. Once Upon a Time: A Narratologist's Tale. In: DAIUTE, C. & LIGHTFOOT, C. (eds.) *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

GILFUS, M. 1992. From Victims to Survivors to Offenders: Women's Routes of Entry and Immersion into Street Crime. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 63-89.

GILLIGAN, C. 1982. *In a Different Voice*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.

GILMOUR, J., HILL, B., PLACE, M. & SKUSE, D. H. 2004. Social communication deficits in conduct disorder: a clinical and community survey. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45, 967-978.

GIORDANO, P. C., CERNKOVICH, S. A. & RUDOLPH, J. L. 2002. Gender, Crime, and Desistance: Toward a Theory of Cognitive Transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107, 990-1064.

GOFFMAN, E. 1978. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books.

GOODWIN, M. H. 2002. Exclusion in Girls' Peer Groups: Ethnographic Analysis of Language Practices on the Playground. *Human Development*, 45, 392-415.

GORARD, S. 2012. The Increasing Availability of Official Datasets: methods, Limitations and Opportunities for Studies of Education. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 60, 77-92.

GORDON, K. G. 2004. From Corrections to Connections: A Report on the AMICUS Girls Restorative Program: A Gender-specific Restorative Practices Program for Serious and Chronic Juvenile Female Offenders. Minneapolis, Minnesota: AMICUS.

GRAHAM, J. & BOWLING, B. 1995. Young people and crime. London: Home Office.

GRAHAM, J. & KARN, J. February 2013. Policing Young Adults: A Scoping Study. London: The Police Foundation.

GREENE, D. 2013. Repeat performance: is restorative justice another good reform gone bad? *Contemporary Justice Review: Issues in Criminal, Social, and Restorative Justice*, 16, 359-390.

GREENFELD, L. A. & SNELL, T. L. December 1999. Women Offenders. Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice.

HANNAH-MOFFAT, K. & YULE, C. 2011. Gaining insight, changing attitudes and managing 'risk': Parole release decisions for women convicted of violent crimes. *Punishment & Society*, 13, 149-175.

HAYES, H. 2005. Assessing Reoffending in Restorative Justice Conferences. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 38, 77-101.

HAYES, H. & DALY, K. 2003. Youth Justice Conferencing and Reoffending. *Justice Quarterly*, 20, 725-764.

HAYES, H. & DALY, K. 2004. Conferencing and Re-offending in Queensland. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 37, 167-191.

HAYNIE, D. L., GIORDANO, P. C., MANNING, W. D. & LONGMORE, M. A. 2005. Adolescent Romantic Relationships and Delinquency Involvement. *Criminology*, 43, 177-210.

HAYNIE, D. L. & OSGOOD, D. W. 2005. Reconsidering Peers and Delinquency: How do Peers Matter? *Social Forces*, 84, 1109-1130.

HEIDENSOHN, F. & SILVESTRI, M. 2012. Gender and Crime. In: MAGUIRE, M., MORGAN, R. & REINER, R. (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford Press.

HEIMER, K. & DE COSTER, S. 1999. The Gendering of Violent Delinquency. *Criminology*, 37, 277-318.

HELM, T. 22 March 2014. Exposed: the Exploitation of Girls in UK Gangs. *The Guardian* [Online]. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/mar/22/girls-in-uk-gangs-exploitation-abuse-drugs>.

HENRIKSEN, A.-K. & MILLER, J. 2012. Dramatic lives and relevant becomings: Toward a Deleuze-and Guattari-inspired cartography of young women's violent conflicts. *Theoretical Criminology*, 16, 435-461.

HIMMELSTEIN, K. E. W. & BRUCKNER, H. 2011. Criminal-Justice and School Sanctions Against Nonheterosexual Youth: A National Longitudinal Study. *Pediatrics*, 127, 49-57.

HOLLIN, C. R. & PALMER, E. J. 2006. The Adolescent Problems Inventory: A Profile of incarcerated English male young offenders. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 40, 1485-1495.

HOLSINGER, K. & HOLSINGER, A. M. 2005. Differential Pathways to Violence and Self-Injurious Behavior: African American and White Girls in the Juvenile Justice System. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 42, 211-242.

HOLT, A. & PAMMET, N. March 2011. Overcoming the challenges of researching 'young offenders': using assisted questionnaires--a research note. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 14, 125-133.

HOME OFFICE. 1997. No More Excuses: a new approach to tackling youth crime in England and Wales. London: Home Office. Available: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/jou-no-more-excuses?view=Html> [Accessed 10/09/2014]

HOME OFFICE. 17 July 2014. *Police Recorded Crime Open Data Tables* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables>. [Accessed 01/08/2014]

House of Lords/House of Commons Joint Committee on Human Rights 9 June 2003. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child: Tenth Report of Session 2002-2003. London: The Stationery Office.

HOYLE, C., YOUNG, R. & HILL, R. 2002. Proceed with caution: An evaluation of the Thames Valley Police initiative in restorative cautioning. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

HUBBARD, D. J. & PRATT, T. C. 2002. A Meta-Analysis of the Predictors of Delinquency Among Girls. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 34, 1-13.

HUDSON, A. 2008. "Troublesome girls": towards alternative definitions and policies. In: EVANS, K. & JAMIESON, J. (eds.) *Gender and Crime: A Reader*. Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open University Press.

INSTITUTE FOR MEDIATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION (IMCR). *Training: apprenticeship program* [Online]. Available: <http://www.imcr.org/training/apprenticeship.html>. [Accessed 01/09/2014]

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF RESTORATIVE PRACTICES (IIRP). *Faculty* [Online]. Available: <https://www.iirp.edu/faculty-staff-admin-trustees.php>. [Accessed 01/09/2014]

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF RESTORATIVE PRACTICES (IIRP). *Professional development: facilitating restorative conferences* [Online]. Available: <http://www.iirp.edu/prof-dev-detail.php?eventid=NjI=>. [Accessed 01/09/2014]

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF RESTORATIVE PRACTICES (IIRP). 2009. Improving school climate: findings from schools implementing restorative practices. Bethlehem, PA.: IIRP Graduate School [Online]. Available: <http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/IIRP-Improving-School-Climate.pdf> [Accessed 03/07/2014]

JACKSON, C. 2006. 'Wild' girls? An exploration of 'ladette' cultures in secondary schools. *Gender and Education*, 18, 339-360.

JACKSON, C. & TINKLER, P. 2007. 'Ladettes' and 'Modern Girls': 'troublesome' young femininities. *The Sociological Review*, 55, 251-271.

JANSSON, K. 2007. British Crime Survey: Measuring crime for 25 years. London: Home Office. Available: <http://pgil.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/British-measuring-Crime-for-Last-25-years.pdf>

JAVDANI, S., SADEH, N. & VERONA, E. 2011. Expanding our lens: Female pathways to antisocial behavior in adolescence and adulthood. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 31, 1324-1348.

JOE, K. A. & CHESNEY-LIND, M. 1998. "Just Every Mother's Angel": An Analysis of Gender and Ethnic Variations in Youth Gang Membership. In: DALY, K. & MAHER, L. (eds.) *Criminology at the Crossroads: Feminist Readings in Crime and Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

JOHNSON, M. P. & LEONE, J. M. 2005. The Differential Effects of Intimate Terrorism and Situational Couple Violence. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26, 322-349.

JOLLIFFE, D. & FARRINGTON, D. P. 2004. Empathy and offending: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 9, 441-476.

JOLLIFFE, D. & FARRINGTON, D. P. 2007. Examining the relationship between low empathy and self-reported offending. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 12, 265-286.

JONES, A. P., FORSTER, A. S. & SKUSE, D. 2007. What do you think you're looking at? Investigating social cognition in young offenders. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 17, 101-106.

JONES, T. & NEWBURN, T. 2001. Widening Access: Improving police relations with hard to reach groups. Home Office.

KARP, D. R. & BRESLIN, B. 2001. Restorative justice in school communities. *Youth and Society*, 33, 249-272.

KAUKIAINEN, A., BJORKQVIST, K., LAGERSPETZ, K., M.J., OSTERMAN, K., SALMIVALLI, C., ROTHBERG, S. & AHLBOM, A. 1999. The Relationships Between Social Intelligence, Empathy, and Three Types of Aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, 25, 81-89.

KIRKWOOD, S. & RICHLEY, T. 2008. Circles of Support and Accountability: the case for their use in Scotland to assist in the community reintegration and risk management of Sexual Offenders. *SCOLAG Legal Journal*, 372, 236-239.

KITZMANN, K. M., GAYLORD, N. K., HOLT, A. R. & KENNY, E. D. 2003. Child Witnesses to Domestic Violence: A Meta-Analytic Review. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71, 339-352.

KOLVIN, I., MILLER, F. J. W., FLEETING, M. & KOLVIN, P. A. 1988. Social and Parenting Factors Affecting Criminal-Offence Rates: Findings from the Newcastle Thousand Family Study (1947-1980). *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 152, 80-90.

KOSS, M. & ACHILLES, M. 2008. Restorative Justice Responses to Sexual Assault. *National Online Resource Center on Violence Against Women* [Online]. Available: www.vawnet.org

KRAEGER, D. A., MATSUEDA, R. L. & EROSHEVA, E. A. 2010. Motherhood and Criminal Desistance in Disadvantaged Neighborhoods. *Criminology*, 48, 221-257.

KRUTTSCHNITT, C. & GARTNER, R. 2008. Female Violent Offenders: Moral Panics or More Serious Offenders? *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 41, 9-35.

LAIRD, R. D., JORDAN, K. Y., DODGE, K. A., PETTIT, G. S. & BATES, J. E. 2001. Peer rejection in childhood, involvement with antisocial peers in early adolescence, and the development of externalizing behavior problems. *Development and Psychopathology*, 13, 337-354.

LAMB, M. E. & SIM, M. P. 2013. Developmental Factors Affecting Children in Legal Contexts. *Youth Justice*, 13, 131-144.

LANSFORD, J. E., MILLER-JOHNSON, S., BERLIN, L. J., DODGE, K. A., BATES, J. E. & PETTIT, G. S. 2007. Early Physical Abuse and Later Violent Delinquency: A Prospective Longitudinal Study. *Child Maltreatment*, 12, 233-245.

LATIMER, J., DOWDEN, C. & MUISE, D. 2005. The Effectiveness of Restorative Justice Practices: A Meta-Analysis. *The Prison Journal*, 85, 127-144.

LAUB, J. H., NAGIN, D. S. & SAMPSON, R. J. 1998. Trajectories of change in criminal offending: Good marriages and the desistance process. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 225-238.

LAUB, J. H. & SAMPSON, R. J. 1993. Turning points in the life course: why change matters to the study of crime. *Criminology*, 31, 301-325.

LEITH, K., P. & BAUMEISTER, R. F. 1998. Empathy, Shame, and Narratives of Interpersonal Conflicts: Guilt-Prone People are Better at Perspective Taking. *Journal of Personality*, 66, 1-27.

LEVENDOSKY, A. A., LEAHY, K. L., BOGAT, G. A., DAVIDSON, W. S. & VON EYE, A. 2006. Domestic Violence, Maternal Parenting, Maternal Mental Health, and Infant Externalizing Behavior. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 20, 544-552.

LIDDELL, M. and M. Martinovic. 2013. "Women's Offending: Trends, Issues and

Theoretical Explanations." *International Journal of Social Inquiry*, 6, 1, 127-142.

LIGHT, M., GRANT, E. & HOPKINS, K. 2013. Gender differences in substance misuse and mental health amongst prisoners. London: Ministry of Justice.

LITTLECHILD, B. & SENDER, H. 2010. The introduction of restorative approaches in young people's residential units: A critical evaluation. NSPCC.

LLEWELLYN, J. J. & HOWSE, R. 1999. Institutions for Restorative Justice: The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, 49, 355-388.

LOEBER, R. & STOUTHAMER-LOEBER, M. 1986. Family Factors as Correlates and Predictors of Juvenile Conduct Problems and Delinquency. *Crime and Justice*, 7, 29-149.

LOOTS, G., COPPENS, K. & SERMIJN, J. 2013. Practicing a rhizomatic perspective in narrative research. In: ANDREWS, M., SQUIRE, C. & TAMBOUKOU, M. (eds.) *Doing Narrative Second Edition*. London: SAGE Publications.

LOVEJOY, M. C., GRACZYK, P. A., O'HARE, E. & NEUMAN, G. 2000. Maternal depression and parenting behavior: A meta-analytic review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 20, 561-592.

LUKE, G. & LIND, B. 2002. Reducing Juvenile Crime: Conferencing versus Court. *Crime and Justice Bulletin: Contemporary Issues in Crime and Justice*. Sydney, Australia: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

LYNCH, N. 2014. ""Girls Behaving Badly?" Young Female Violence in New Zealand." *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review: Special Issue in honour of Harriette Vine, First Woman Law Graduate 1913*, 45, 3, 509-523.

MAHER, L. & CURTIS, R. 1998. Women on the Edge of Crime: Crack Cocaine and the Changing Context of Street-Level Sex Work in New York City. In: DALY, K. & MAHER, L. (eds.) *Criminology at the Crossroads: Feminist Readings in Crime and Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

MARSHALL, T. 1999. Restorative Justice: An Overview. London: Home Office.

MARSHALL, T. F. 1996. The evolution of restorative justice in Britain. *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research*, 4, 21-43.

MARUNA, S. 2001. *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild their Lives*. Washington, D.C., American Psychological Association.

MARUNA, S. 2013. In defence of restorative justice: the perils of promising less. *Restorative Justice: An International Journal*, 1, 47-51.

MAXWELL, G., ROBERTSON, J., KINGI, V., MORRIS, A. & CUNNINGHAM, C. 2004. Achieving Effective Outcomes in Youth Justice: An Overview of Findings. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development.

MCADAMS, D. P. 1988. *Power, Intimacy, and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity*, New York, The Guilford Press.

MCADAMS, D. P. 1993. *The Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self*, New York, The Guilford Press.

MCCLUSKEY, G., LLOYD, G., KANE, J., RIDDELL, S., STEAD, J. & WEEDON, E. 2008. Can restorative practices in schools make a difference? *Educational Review*, 60, 405-417.

MCCOLD, P. 1999. Restorative Justice Practice: The State of the Field 1999. Available: http://www.iirp.edu/article_detail.php?article_id=NTA0 [Accessed 12/08/2011].

MCCOLD, P. 2003. An experiment in police-based restorative justice: the bethlehem (PA) project. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 4, 379-390.

MCCOLD, P. 2006. The recent history of restorative justice: mediation, circles, and conferencing. In: SULLIVAN, D. & TIFFT, L. (eds.) *Handbook of restorative justice: A global perspective*. Abington, England: Routledge.

MCCOLD, P. & STAHR, J. 1996. Bethlehem Police Family Group Conferencing Project. *American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting*. Chicago, November 20-23, 1996.

MCCOLD, P. & WACHTEL, T. 1998. The Bethlehem Pennsylvania Police Family Conferencing Project. Pipersville, PA.

MCCOLD, P. & WACHTEL, T. 2003. In Pursuit of Paradigm: A Theory of Restorative Justice. *XIII World Congress of Criminology*. Rio de Janeiro.

MCCOLD, P. A. S., J. 1996. Bethlehem Police Family Group Conferencing Project. *American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting*. Chicago, November 20-23, 1996.

MCCORD, J. & CONWAY, K. P. December 2005. Co-Offending and Patterns of Juvenile Justice. Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice.

MCEVOY, K., MIKA, H. & HUDSON, B. 2002. Introduction: Practice Performance, and Prospects for Restorative Justice. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42, 469-475.

MCMAHON, M. 1990. 'Net-widening' Vagaries in the Use of a Concept. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 30, 121-149.

MEDNICK, S. A., GABRIELLI, W. F. J. & HUTCHINGS, B. 1984. Genetic Influences in Criminal Convictions: Evidence from an Adoption Cohort. *Science*, 224, 891-894.

MESSERSCHMIDT, J. W. 2011. Masculinities and Crime. In: CULLEN, F. T. & AGNEW, R. (eds.) *Criminological Theory: Past to Present 4th Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MICHALSEN, V. 2011. Mothering as a Life Course Transition: Do Women Go Straight for Their Children? *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 50, 349-366.

MIERS, D. 2001. An International Review of Restorative Justice. London: Home Office.

MIERS, D., MAGUIRE, M., GOLDIE, S., SHARPE, K., HALE, C., NETTEN, A., UGLOW, S., DOOLIN, K., HALLAM, A., ENTERKIN, J. & NEWBURN, T. 2001. An Exploratory Evaluation of Restorative Justice Schemes. London: Home Office.

MILLARD, B. & FLATLEY, J. 17 June 2010. Experimental statistics on victimisation of children age 10 to 15: Findings from the British Crime Survey for the year ending December 2009. London: Home Office.

MILLER, J. 1998a. Gender and Victimization Risk Among Young Women in Gangs. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 35, 429-453.

MILLER, J. 1998b. Up it up: Gender and the accomplishment of street robbery. *Criminology*, 36, 37-65.

MILLER, J. 2002. The strengths and limits of 'doing gender' for understanding street crime. *Theoretical Criminology*, 6, 433-460.

MILLER, J. & BRUNSON, R. K. 2000. Gender dynamics in youth gangs: a comparison of males' and females' accounts. *Justice Quarterly*, 17, 419-448.

MILLER, J. & DECKER, S. H. March 2001. Young Women and Gang Violence: Gender, Street Offending, and Violent Victimization in Gangs. *Justice Quarterly*, 18, 115-140.

MILLER, S. L., FOREST, K. B. & JURIK, N. C. 2003. Diversity in Blue: Lesbian and Gay Police Officers in a Masculine Occupation. *Men and Masculinities*, 5, 355-385.

MILLER, S., LOEBER, R. & HIPWELL, A. 2008. Peer Deviance, Parenting and Disruptive Behavior Among Young Girls. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 37, 139-152.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. October 2010. Criminal Statistics: England and Wales 2009 Statistics bulletin. London: The Stationary Office. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/217947/criminal-statistics-annual.pdf [Accessed 15/03/2014].

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. December 2010. Breaking the Cycle: Effective Punishment, Sentencing and Rehabilitation of Offenders. London: The Stationary Office. Available: <http://www.justice.gov.uk/consultations/docs/breaking-the-cycle.pdf> [Accessed 12/20/2010].

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. October 2011. Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2010: A Ministry of Justice publication under section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991. London: The Stationary Office. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/219967/stats-race-cjs-2010.pdf [Accessed 01/01/2014]

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. November 2012. Statistics on Women and the Criminal Justice System 2011. London: The Stationary Office. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/220081/statistics-women-cjs-2011-v2.pdf [Accessed 02/10/2013]

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. November 2013. Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2012. London: The Stationary Office. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/269399/Race-and-cjs-2012.pdf [Accessed 10/08/2014].

MIRSKY, L. 2009. *Hull, UK: Toward a Restorative City* [Online]. Restorative Practices E Forum. Available: www.restorativejustice.org/research [Accessed 10 March 2010].

MISHLER, E. G. 1995. Models of Narrative Analysis: A Typology. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 5, 87-123.

MITCHELL, R. E. & HODSON, C. A. 1983. Coping with Domestic Violence: Social Support and Psychological Health Among Battered Women. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 11, 629-654.

MOFFITT, T. 1993. Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course-Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy. *Psychological Review*, 100, 674-701.

MONSBAKKEN, C. W., et al. 2013. "Crime and the Transition to Parenthood: The Role of Sex and Relationship Context." *British Journal of Criminology*, 53, 1, 129-148.

MOORE, D. B. & O'CONNELL, T. A. 1994. Family Conferencing in Wagga Wagga: A Communitarian Model of Justice. In: ALDER, C. A. W., J. (ed.) *Family Conferencing and Juvenile Justice: The Way Forward or Misplaced Optimism*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

MURRAY, C. 2009. Typologies of Young Resisters and Desisters. *SAGE publications*, 9, 14.

MURRAY, J., FARRINGTON, D. P. & SEKOL, I. 2012. Children's Antisocial Behavior, Mental Health, Drug Use, and Educational Performance After Parental Incarceration: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, Advance online publication doi: 10.1037/a0026407.

NANCARROW, H. 2006. In search of justice for domestic and family violence. *Theoretical Criminology*, 10, 87-106.

NEW YORK PEACE INSTITUTE. *Basic mediation training* [Online]. Available: <http://nypeace.org/basic-mediation-training/>. [Accessed 01/09/2014]

NORFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL. 2012. Restorative Approaches in Norfolk Annual Report 2011-2012. [Online]. Available: http://www.netcare-ni.com/media/uploads/g253_restorative_approaches_in_norfolk_annual_report_201112.pdf [Accessed 10/10/2013]

O'CONNELL, T. August 6-8 1998. *From Wagga Wagga to Minnesota: paper presented at the first North American conference on conferencing* [Online]. [online]: International Institute of Restorative Practices Graduate School. Available: http://www.iirp.edu/article_detail.php?article_id=NDg5.

O'MAHONY, D. & DOAK, J. 2004. Restorative Justice--is more better? the experience of police-led restorative cautioning pilots in Northern Ireland. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43, 484-505. Available: http://dro.dur.ac.uk/3259/1/3259.pdf?DDC117+DDC71+DDD19+ddo4ah1+dl_a0rmp

OFFICE FOR NATIONAL STATISTICS (ONS). 11 December 2012. Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales 2011. [Online]. Available: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/rpt-ethnicity.html> [Accessed 05/10/2013]

OFFICE FOR NATIONAL STATISTICS (ONS). 07 February 2013. Focus on: Violent Crime and Sexual Offences, 2011/2012. London: Office for National Statistics Available: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_298904.pdf [Accessed 08/06/2014].

OFFICE FOR NATIONAL STATISTICS (ONS). 18 July 2013. Crime in England and Wales, Year Ending March 2013. London: Office for National Statistics Available: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/rpt-ethnicity.html> [Accessed 08/07/2014].

OLSON, W., OLSON, C., GRAY, L. L. & POTTER, R. E. 1983. Communicative Disorders in a Group of Adult Female Offenders. *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 16, 269-277.

OPSAL, T. 2012. 'Livin' on the Straights': Identity, Desistance, and Work among Women Post-Incarceration. *Sociological Inquiry*, 82, 378-403.

PATTERSON, W. 2013. Narratives of events: Labovian narrative analysis. In: ANDREWS, M., SQUIRE, C. & TAMBOUKOU, M. (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research Second Edition*. London: SAGE Publications.

PEMBERTON, E. February 4, 2014 2014. RE: personal e-mail communication re: RJ. Type to LARSSON, B.

PEPI, C. L. O. H. 1998. Children Without Childhoods. *Women & Therapy*, 20, 85-101.

PHOENIX, A. 2013. Analysing narrative contexts. In: ANDREWS, M., SQUIRE, C. & TAMBOUKOU, M. (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research Second Edition*. London: SAGE Publications.

PHOENIX, A. & FROSH, S. 2001. Positioned by "Hegemonic" Masculinities: A Study of London Boys' Narratives of Identity. *Australian Psychologist*, 36, 27-35.

PICCINELLI, M. & WILKINSON, G. 2000. Gender differences in depression: Critical Review. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 177, 486-492.

PLAYER, E. 2014. "Women in the Criminal Justice System: The Triumph of Inertia." *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 14, 3, 276-297.

POLKINGHORNE, D. E. 1988. *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*, Albany, NY, State University of New York Press.

PRESSER, L. 2002. *Stories of Violent Men: Discursive Construction of Offender Identities*. Doctor of Philosophy, University of Cincinnati.

PRESSER, L. 2004. Violent Offenders, Moral Selves: Constructing Identities and Accounts in the Research Interview. *Social Problems*, 51, 82-101.

PRESSER, L. 2009. The Narratives of Offenders. *Theoretical Criminology*, 13, 177-200.

PRESSER, L. 2012. Getting on top through mass murder: Narrative, metaphor, and violence. *Crime Media Culture*, 8, 3-21.

PRICHARD, J. 2010. Net-Widening and the Diversion of Young People from Court: A Longitudinal Analysis with Implications for Restorative Justice. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 43, 112-129.

PROIETTI-SCIFONI, G. & DALY, K. 2011. Gendered violence and restorative justice: the views of New Zealand opinion leaders. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 14, 269-290.

PROPP, V. 1968. *Morphology of the Folktale*, Austin, TX, University of Texas Press.

PUZZANCHERA, C. 2013. Juvenile Arrests 2011. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

RIESSMAN, C. 1990. Strategic uses of Narrative in the Presentation of Self and Illness: A Research Note. *Social Science & Medicine*, 30, 1195-1200.

RIESSMAN, C. 1993. *Narrative Analysis*, Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE Publications.

RIESSMAN, C. 2008. *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*, Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications.

ROCHE, D. 2006. Dimensions of Restorative Justice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 62, 217-238.

RODOGNO, R. 2008. Shame and Guilt in Restorative Justice. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 14, 142-176.

RODRIGUEZ, N. 2007. Restorative Justice at Work: Examining the Impact of Restorative Justice on Juvenile Recidivism. *Crime & Delinquency*, 53, 355-379.

ROWE, M. 2012. *Race & Crime*, London, SAGE Publications.

ROWE, M. 2002. Policing Diversity: Themes and Concerns from the Recent British Experience. *Police Quarterly*, 5, 424-445.

RUTTER, M., GILLER, H. & HAGELL, A. 1998. *Antisocial Behavior by Young People*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

SALZ, A. 2010. Time for a Fresh Start: the report of the Independent Commission on Youth Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour. London: The Police Foundation.

SAMPSON, R. J. & LAUB, J. H. 1996. Socioeconomic Achievement in the Life Course of Disadvantaged Men: Military Service as a Turning Point, Circa 1940-1965. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 347-367.

SAMPSON, R. J., LAUB, J. H. & WIMER, C. 2006. Does Marriage Reduce Crime? A Counterfactual Approach to Within-Individual Causal Effects. *Criminology*, 44, 465-508.

SANDBERG, S. 2013. Are self-narratives strategic or determine, unified or fragmented? Reading Breivik's Manifesto in light of narrative criminology. *Acta Sociologica*, 56, 69-83.

SANGER, D. D., HUX, K. & RITZMAN, M. 1999. Female Juvenile Delinquents' Pragmatic Awareness of Conversational Interactions. *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 32, 281-295.

SANGER, D. D., MOORE-BROWN, B. J., MONTGOMERY, J., REZAC, C. & KELLER, H. 2003. Female incarcerated adolescents with language problems talk about their own communication behaviors and learning. *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 36, 465-486.

SARBIN, T. 2004. The Role of the Imagination in Narrative Construction. In: DAIUTE, C. & LIGHTFOOT, C. (eds.) *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

SCHOFIELD, G., BIGGART, L., WARD, E., SCAIFE, V., DODSWORTH, J., HAYNES, A. & LARSSON, B. 2014. *Looked after children and offending: Reducing risk and promoting resilience*, London, BAAF Adoption & Fostering.

SCHWARTZ, S. & BOODELL, D. 2009. *Dreams from the Monster Factory*, New York, Scribner.

SCOULAR, J. and A. Carline. 2014. "A critical account of a 'creeping neo-abolitionism': Regulating prostitution in England and Wales." *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 14, 5, 608-626.

SHAPLAND, J. 2013. Participants' chosen words: a response to 'Words on words'. *Restorative Justice: An International Journal*, 1, 62-69.

SHAPLAND, J., ATKINSON, A., ATKINSON, H., DIGNAN, J., EDWARDS, L., HIBBERT, J., HOWES, M., JOHNSTONE, J., ROBINSON, G. & SORSBY, A. 2008. Does restorative justice affect reconviction?: the fourth report from the evaluation of three schemes. London: Ministry of Justice.

SHAPLAND, J., ATKINSON, A., COLLEDGE, E., HOWES, M., JOHNSTONE, J., PENNANT, R., ROBINSON, G. & SORSBY, A. 2004. Implementing restorative justice schemes (Crime Reduction Programme) A report on the first year. London: Home Office.

SHAPLAND, J., ROBINSON, G. & SORSBY, A. 2011. *Restorative Justice in Practice*, Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge.

SHARPE, G. 2011. Beyond youth justice: Working with girls and young women who offend. In: SHEEHAN, R., MCIVOR, G. & TROTTER, C. (eds.) *Working with Women Offenders in the Community*. Abingdon, Oxon: Willan Publishing.

SHERMAN, L. & STRANG, H. 2007. restorative justice: the evidence. London: The Smith Institute.

SHERMAN, L., STRANG, H. & NEWBURY-BIRCH, D. 2008. Restorative Justice. London: Youth Justice Board.

SHERMAN, L. S., H.; WOODS, D. 2000. Recidivism Patterns in the Canberra Reintegrative Shaming Experiments. Canberra: Centre for Restorative Justice Research School of Social Sciences Australian National University.

SIEGEL, J. A. & WILLIAMS, L. M. 2003. The Relationship Between Sexual Abuse and Female Delinquency and Crime: A Prospective Study. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 40, 71-94.

SILFVER, M. & HELKAMA, K. 2007. Empathy, guilt, and gender: A comparison of two measures of guilt. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 48, 239-246.

SILFVER, M., HELKAMA, K., LONNQVIST, J.-E. & VERKASALO, M. 2008. The relation between value priorities and proneness to guilt, shame, and empathy. *Motiv Emot*, 32, 69-80.

SILVERTHORN, P. & FRICK, P. J. 1999. Developmental pathways to antisocial behavior: The delayed-onset pathway in girls. *Development and Psychopathology*, 11, 101-126.

SILVESTRI, M. 2007. "Doing" Police Leadership: Enter the "New Smart Macho". *Policing and Society*, 17, 38-58.

SKLANSKY, D. A. 2006. Not Your Father's Police Department: Making Sense of the New Demographics of Law Enforcement. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 96, 1209-1243.

SMITH, E. 2008. Pitfalls and Promises: the Use of Secondary Data Analysis in Educational Research. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 56, 323-339.

SMITH, E. 2011. Using numeric secondary data in education research *British Educational Research Association online resource* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Using-numeric.pdf> [Accessed 10/09/2014].

SNOW, P. & POWELL, M. 2011. Youth (in)justice: Oral language competence in early life and risk for engagement in antisocial behaviour in adolescence. *Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice* [Online], 435. Available: <http://aicstaging.aic.au/en/publications/current%20series/tandi/421-440/tandi435> [Accessed 23/03/2012].

SNOW, P. C. 2009. Child maltreatment, mental health and oral language competence: Inviting speech-language pathology to the prevention table. *International Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, 11, 95-103.

SNOW, P. C. & SANGER, D. D. 2011. Restorative Justice conferencing and the youth offender: exploring the role of oral language competence. *International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders*, 46, 324-333.

SONDHEIMER, D. 2001. Young Female Offenders: Increasingly Visible Yet Poorly Understood. *Gender Issues*, 19, 79-90.

SQUIRE, C. 2013. From experience-centered to socioculturally-oriented approaches to narrative. In: ANDREWS, M., SQUIRE, C. & TAMBOUKOU, M. (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research Second Edition*. London: SAGE Publications.

SQUIRE, C., ANDREWS, M. & TAMBOUKOU, M. 2013. Introduction: What is narrative research? In: ANDREWS, M., SQUIRE, C. & TAMBOUKOU, M. (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.

STATISTICS CANADA. May 2013. *Table 7: Number and rate of youth and adults accused by police, by sex and type of crime, 2009* [Online]. Available: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11416/tbl/tbl007-eng.htm> [Accessed 10/08/2014]

STEFFENSMEIER, D. & ALLAN, E. 1996. Gender and Crime: Toward a Gendered Theory of Female Offending. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22, 459-87.

STRANG, H. 2002. *Repair or Revenge: Victims and Restorative Justice*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

STUART, B. & PRANIS, K. 2006. Peacemaking Circles. In: SULLIVAN, D. & TIFFT, D. (eds.) *Handbook of Restorative Justice*. Abingdon: Routledge.

SULLIVAN, D. & TIFFT, L. 2006. Introduction: The healing dimension of restorative justice: a one-world body. In: SULLIVAN, D. & TIFFT, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Restorative Justice: A Global Perspective*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

SYKES, G. M. & MATZA, D. 1957. Techniques of Neutralization: A theory of Delinquency. *American Sociological Journal*, 22, 664-670.

TANGNEY, J., WAGNER, P., FLETCHER, C. & GRAMZOW, R. 1992. Shamed into Anger? The Relation of Shame and Guilt to Anger and Self-Reported Aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62, 669-675.

TANGNEY, J. P. 1995. Recent Advances in the Empirical Study of Shame and Guilt. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 38, 1132-1145.

TANGNEY, J. P. 1996. Conceptual and Methodological Issues in the Assessment of Shame and Guilt. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 34, 741-754.

TAYLOR, C. 2003. Justice for looked after children? *Probation Journal*, 50, 239-251.

TIFFT, D. & SULLIVAN, D. C. 2001. A Needs-Based, Social Harms Definition of Crime. In: HENRY, S. & LANIER, M. M. (eds.) *What is Crime? : Controversies Over the Nature of Crime and What to Do About It*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

TIMMONS-MITCHELL, J., BORNW, C., SCHULTZ, C., WEBSTER, S. E., UNDERWOOD, L. A. & SEMPLE, W. E. 1997. Comparing Mental Health Needs of Female and Male Incarcerated Juvenile Delinquents. *Behavioural Sciences and the Law*, 15, 195-202.

TRAINING AND ACCREDITATION POLICY GROUP. 2004. Best Practice Guidance for Restorative Practitioners and their Case Supervisors and Line Managers and Conclusions and Recommendations of the Training and Accreditation Policy Group. London: Criminal Justice System Available: http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/beth06_davey10.pdf [Accessed 10/09/2014]

TURNBULL, S. & HANNAH-MOFFAT, K. 2009. Gender, Parole and the Governance of Reintegration. *British Journal of Criminology*, 49, 532-551.

TURNER, M. August 1, 2013. Repeat Bully Victimization and Legal Outcomes in a National Sample: The Impact Over the Life Course. *American Psychological Association*. Honoloulou, Hawaii.[Online]. Available: <https://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/2013/08/bully-victimizations.pdf> [Accessed: 10/09/2014].

TYE, D. 2009. Children and Young People in Custody 2008-2009. London: Youth Justice Board.

UK MEDIATION. *Train as a neighbourhood mediator* [Online]. Available: <http://www.ukmediation.net/train-as-a-mediator/train-as-a-neighbourhood-mediator>. [Accessed 01/09/2014]

UMBREIT, M. 1998a. Restorative justice through victim-offender mediation: A multi-site Assessment. *Western Criminology Review*, 1. [Online]. Available: <https://wcr.sonoma.edu/v1n1/umbreit.html> [Accessed 10/09/2014].

UMBREIT, M. 1998b. Victim Sensitive Victim Offender Mediation Training Manual (abridged version). Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice, Office for Victims of Crime.

UMBREIT, M. 1999. Victim-offender mediation in Canada: the impact of an emerging social work intervention. *International Social Work*, 42, 215-227.

UMBREIT, M. & BRADSHAW, W. 2001. Assessing Victim Satisfaction with Victim Offender Mediation & Dialogue Scale (VSODS). Center for Restorative Justice and Peacemaking. Prepared for the Office for Victims of Crime, US Department of Justice.

UMBREIT, M., COATES, R. & VOS, B. 2006. Victim offender mediation: an evolving evidence-based practice. In: SULLIVAN, D. & TIFFT, L. (eds.) *Handbook of restorative justice: A global perspective*. Abington, England: Routledge.

VAN MASTRIGT, S. B. & FARRINGTON, D. P. 2009. Co-Offending, Age, Gender and Crime Type: Implications for Criminal Justice Policy. *British Journal of Criminology*, 49, 552-573.

VAN WORMER, K. 2009. Restorative Justice as Social Justice for Victims of Gendered Violence: A Standpoint Feminist Perspective. *Social Work*, 54, 107-116.

VERRECCHIA, P. J. 2009. Female Delinquents and Restorative Justice. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 19, 80-93.

WACHTEL, J. March 20 2009. Toward Peace and Justice in Brazil: Dominic Barter and Restorative Circle. *Restorative Practices: E Forum*.

WACHTEL, T. 1999. SafeSanerSchools Restoring Community in a Disconnected World, adapted from Restorative Justice in Everyday Life: Beyond the Formal Ritual, a paper presented at the Reshaping Australian Institutions Conference: Restorative Justice and Civil Society, the Australian National University, Canberra, February 16-18, 1999.[Online]. Available: <http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/SSSRestoringCommunity.pdf> [Accessed 10/09/2014].

WACHTEL, T. & MCCOLD, P. 2004. What is Restorative Practices? Available: www.iirp.org/whatisrp.php.

WACHTEL, T., O'CONNELL, T. & WACHTEL, B. 2010. Restorative Conference Facilitator Script from Restorative Justice Conferencing: Real Justice and the Conferencing Handbook. Available: <http://www.realjustice.org/articles.html?articleId=662> [Accessed 24/10/2011].

WALKER, L. 2009. Modified restorative circles: a reintegration group planning process that promotes desistance. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 12, 419-431.

WALKER, L., SAKAI, T. & BRADY, K. June 2006. Restorative Circles--A Reentry Planning Process for Hawaii Inmates. *Federal Probation*, 70, 33-37.

WARD, T. & LANGLANDS, R. L. 2009. Repairing the Rupture: Restorative Justice and the Rehabilitation of Offenders. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 14, 205-214.

WENGRAF, T. 2000. Betrayals, trauma and self-redemption? The meanings of the closing of the mines' in two ex-narratives. In: ANDREWS, M., SCLATER, S. D., SQUIRE, C. & TREACHER, A. (eds.) *Lines of Narrative: Psychosocial Perspective*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

WENGRAF, T. 2001. *Qualitative Research Interviewing*, London, SAGE Publications.

WENGRAF, T. 2006. Interviewing for life-histories, lived situations, and personal experience: The Biographic Interpretive Narrative Method (BNIM) on its own and as part of a multi-method full spectrum psycho-societal methodology. Available: www.clarku.edu/~mbamberg/future_files/huddersfield_paper.doc.

WIDOM, C. S., KATKIN, F. S., STEWART, A. J. & FONDACARO, M. 1983. Multivariate Analysis of Personality and Motivation in Female Delinquents. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 20, 277-290.

WILLIAMS, K., PAPADOPOULOU, V. & BOOTH, N. March 2012. Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds: Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners. London: Ministry of Justice.

WILLIAMSON, R. 2014. *Stop selling our NHS records to private companies* [Online]. Available: <https://you.38degrees.org.uk/petitions/stop-selling-our-nhs-records-to-private-companies-1> [Accessed 17/03/2014].

WOOLGAR, M. 2013. The practical implications of the emerging findings in the neurobiology of maltreatment for looked after and adopted children: recognising the diversity of outcomes. *Adoption and Fostering*, 37, 237-252.

WORRALL, A. 2008. Twisted sisters, ladettes, and the new penology: the social construction of "violent girls". In: EVANS, K. & JAMIESON, J. (eds.) *Gender and Crime: A Reader*. Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open University Press.

XIE, H., CAIRNS, R. B. & CAIRNS, B. D. 2002a. The Development of Social Aggression and Physical Aggression: A Narrative Analysis of Interpersonal Conflicts. *Aggressive Behavior*, 28, 341-355.

XIE, H., SWIFT, D. J., CAIRNS, B. D. & CAIRNS, R. B. 2002b. Aggressive Behaviors in Social Interaction and Developmental Adaptation: A Narrative Analysis of Interpersonal Conflicts During Early Adolescence. *Social Development*, 11, 205-224.

YULE, C., et al. (2015). "An Examination of the Local Life Circumstances of Female Offenders: Mothering, Illegal Earnings and Drug Use." *The British Journal of Criminology*, 55, 2, 248-269.

ZEHR, H. 1990. *Changing Lenses*, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, Herald Press.

ZEHR, H. 2002. *The Little Handbook on Restorative Justice*, Intercourse, PA, Good Books.