

JUVENILE VICTIMS IN RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Findings from the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments

TALI GAL* and SHOMRON MOYAL**

Using a randomized experimental design the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) showed that restorative justice (RJ) is significantly more satisfying than court for both victims and offenders. It did not, however, explore the effect of victims' age and baseline differences in the level of harm caused to victims of different crimes on outcome variables. The current study uses a two-factor ANCOVA to address these questions. Main findings suggest that whereas RJ made adults more satisfied than courts (Cohen's $d = 0.50$), conference juvenile victims were less satisfied than court juvenile victims (Cohen's $d = -0.28$). Moreover, more serious harm is associated with decreased process satisfaction for all victims. A complementary qualitative analysis identifies adult domination and insensitivity to youth's special needs as recurring themes.

Keywords: young victims, juvenile victims, restorative justice, RISE, ANCOVA

Introduction

Restorative Justice (RJ) offers a 'new lens' to look at crime and reactions to it. According to the restorative lens, 'Crime is a violation of people and relationships. It creates obligations to make things right. Justice involves the victim, the offender, and the community in a search for solutions which promote repair, reconciliation, and reassurance' (Zehr 1990: 181). In their ideal form, RJ processes involve a safe and respectful encounter between the parties, in which they discuss the crime and its effects and together reach an agreement regarding ways of repairing the harm, to the extent possible, and preventing further harm.

Being a relatively new approach to justice, RJ necessitates empirical evidence for its success in achieving its own goals (repairing harm, preventing future harm) as well as the goals set by the retributive justice approach. Therefore, the central questions researchers have been asking are whether RJ reduces crime; whether it leads to agreed-upon plans; whether these plans are eventually followed; whether stakeholders are satisfied with the process; and, finally, whether RJ actually helps victims (for comprehensive reviews of research and meta analyses, see Umbreit *et al.* 2001; Bonta *et al.* 2002; 2006; Latimer *et al.* 2005; Sherman and Strang 2007).

RJ researchers have made particularly significant achievements in the development of theory and applied research focusing on offenders. Notable theories explaining the effectiveness of RJ in reducing reoffending are procedural fairness (Tyler 1990; Sherman and Barnes 1997; Tyler *et al.* 2007), reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite 1989) and shame management (Ahmed *et al.* 2001; Morrison 2007). Evaluative and experimental studies

* PhD, Institute of Criminology, Faculty of Law, The Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, 91905, Israel; tali.gal.04@gmail.com.

**Institute of Criminology, Faculty of Law, The Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, 91905, Israel.

have also explored the success of specific RJ programmes, either in comparison with court processes (Strang 2002; Sherman and Strang 2007; Shapland *et al.* 2008) or with respect to conditions for their success within the programme (Maxwell and Morris 2001). Consequently, there exists by now a significant body of knowledge explaining whether, why and under what conditions RJ is effective with regard to offenders.

Much less, however, has been done in the development of theory regarding victims and RJ (Sherman *et al.* 2005). Although RJ literature has identified what victims want (Zehr 1990; Strang 2002) and although it has been shown consistently that RJ is more satisfying for victims than court (see, e.g. Strang 2002; Shapland *et al.* 2007; Sherman and Strang 2007), RJ theory still lags behind in the provision of sound explanations as to why, to whom and under what conditions RJ can address the needs and wishes of crime victims and enhance their rehabilitation.¹

Child victims (the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child defines all people under the age of 18 as 'children'. Since children's involvement in RJ, however, is typically limited to those over a certain age, we also use 'young', 'youth' or 'juvenile' victims interchangeably in this paper) have been particularly neglected in applied and theoretical research of RJ, although they do hold distinct characteristics in terms of victimization risk, effects and reactions to formal criminal processes (Morgan and Zedner 1992; Gal 2006; Finkelhor 2008). Nor has there been an attempt to find theoretical explanations for the success of RJ for young victims or the specific challenges it creates, considering the differences between juveniles and adults.

In practice, however, juvenile victims have been involved in RJ processes in many parts of the world, including New Zealand, Australia, the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. Although young victims have not been the focus of evaluation studies in these programmes, still the existing data reveal that they can participate in such processes, their satisfaction can be very high and their well-being promoted through the process (see, e.g. Daly *et al.* 2003 for South Australia, and Pennell and Burford 1995 and 2000 for Newfoundland and Labrador Province in Canada). Restorative justice, however, can also harm young victims (Cossins 2008), presumably because they are more vulnerable to power imbalances, manipulation and victim blaming. The 'special case' of juvenile victims in RJ calls, then, for a closer look at what happens in existing programmes, what makes young victims benefit from RJ and what hinders their participation and even causes further harm.

Aiming to contribute in this direction, this study examines whether young victims were as satisfied with RJ processes conducted in Canberra, Australia, following their victimization as were adult victims involved in similar processes. Our theoretical framework is based on literature pertaining to the importance of procedural justice and sense of control as promoting process satisfaction for victims in general and young victims in particular.

Following a review of the theoretical background, the paper presents the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) conducted in Canberra, Australia, between 1995 and 2000, and the data collected from them. It then describes the current quantitative analysis, where the satisfaction of juvenile victims participating in either court or conferences is compared with the satisfaction level of adult victims who participated in RISE. The relatively lower satisfaction of young victims who participated in conferences is further

¹Two prominent exceptions are Angel's (2005) study on post-trauma symptoms and RJ, and Collins's (2004) analysis of RJ as a form of Interaction Ritual. See also Strang *et al.* (2006).

explored through a qualitative analysis that uncovers some distinct child–adult dynamics. The findings are then discussed and recommendations for further research and practice are suggested.

Children as Victims: Theoretical Background

Childhood presents an increased risk for becoming a victim of crime (Finkelhor 2008: Chapter 1). Furthermore, a victimized child is more likely to experience other victimizations as well, resulting in ‘poly-victimization’ (Finkelhor 2008: 35). Yet, the knowledge base on what helps victimized children as well as what creates further pain and frustration to them during the legal process that follows their victimization has not yet been developed. While there are numerous studies on child sexual and physical abuse, on its effects on children and on what happens to victims of such crimes in the criminal process (see, e.g. Goodman *et al.* 1998; Wade 2002; Whitcomb 2003), these questions have not been adequately studied with regards to child victims of other crimes. Furthermore, very little use has been made of findings from psychological and sociological studies regarding the needs, justice perceptions and wishes of juvenile victims. The following paragraphs synthesize psychosocial findings illuminating two central dimensions of process satisfaction that are arguably important to young victims: control and procedural justice. Although these concepts are well established with regard to adults, only rarely has there been any acknowledgment of their importance for young victims.

Procedural justice

Victimologists have found that crime victims want to feel that they are treated fairly, namely that they are given opportunities to express their views and being treated with respect (Strang 2002: 13–15). People care more about how they are treated in decision-making processes than they do about the outcome (Thibaut and Walker 1975; Tyler 1988). Procedural justice is particularly important for those who feel excluded or marginalized (Gonzales and Tyler 2008). Perhaps more importantly, procedural *injustice* is connected with feelings of anger and dissatisfaction (Folger 1977; Greenberg 1987) even when the outcome is considered positive (Koper *et al.* 1993).

Children and adolescents perceive procedural justice as no less important. Melton and Limber (1992: 180) found strong preference for an adversarial procedure where due process rights are protected (especially through participation) among both Norwegian and American children. Graham and Fitzgerald (2006) interviewed children of separating parents and asked them about their participation in matters regarding their residences. Children were clear about their wishes to be listened to and be taken seriously. Like adults (Tyler 1988), adolescents consider their representation by a lawyer as important, as well as judges making an effort to be fair, impartial, polite and calm, and the process to be confidential (Hicks and Lawrence 1993).

Empowerment and control

Victimology studies show that victims want to take part in the process that follows their victimization, to be listened to and to be informed about its progress (Strang 2002: 8–13). Why is being involved in the legal process so important for crime victims?

One possible explanation is the notion of control—a central term in psychological literature on stress and trauma. Control is associated with coping, rehabilitation and positive appraisals (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). At the same time, asserting control might induce feelings of anger, dissatisfaction and frustration, particularly when exerted in uncontrollable situations. Having control means being able to influence or change events (Brickman *et al.* 1982: 369). Therefore, being able to participate in a process that follows one's victimization—and, more so, feeling that, by participating, one is able to affect the outcomes—generates a sense of control, which, in turn, arguably promotes satisfaction and empowerment.

But only a certain type of control enhances victims' satisfaction and helps them cope with the aftermath of crime: a sense of control in the process itself. Attributing control for the crime, that is, blaming the victim, might lead to opposite reactions. The differentiation between attributed responsibility for the crime (blame) and attributed responsibility for the solution (control) has been typologized by Brickman *et al.* (1982): people may be blamed for the situation *and* regarded responsible for the solution (the *moral model*); or they can be held responsible for neither the problem nor the solution (*medical model*), in which case, they are expected to be passive and receive the help of others in resolving their problem. People may also be considered responsible for the problem but unable to solve it by themselves (the *enlightenment model*) or, lastly, they may not be blamed for their situation but regarded responsible for the solution (the *compensatory model*), in which case, help is provided through encouragement to take control and make the necessary steps to solve the problem themselves. The compensatory model is the only one that allows people to maintain a sense of control without being blamed for their situation (Brickman *et al.* 1982: 377). The criminal and restorative processes differ in the alternating messages of guilt, responsibility and accountability that are communicated during these encounters. The criminal justice process often treats victimized children according to the medical model. While they are typically not blamed for their victimization, children are also excluded from taking part in the solution. Conversely, RJ processes ideally absolve victims from blame over their victimization while inviting them to control the way the solution is shaped.

Children and control

Having a sense of control is an important coping mechanism for children as well. Children use control in three different models of coping (Rothbaum *et al.* 1982). *Primary control* means changing the stressful environment in order to make it more comfortable for the individual. *Secondary control* means changing oneself to fit the environment. *Relinquishing control* means, simply, giving up. As children age, they use more active methods of coping, believing that they can address and change existing challenges (primary control strategies) [see, e.g. LaMontagne *et al.*'s (1996) study of children undergoing surgery]. Most children engage in 'layered coping'—a mix of secondary and primary control (Thurber and Weisz 1997). When children manage to switch from primary to secondary coping and back according to the controllability of the situation, they can reduce stress and cope more effectively. Conversely, children who assert primary control in relatively uncontrollable situations experience more negative feelings (see Thurber and Weisz 1997: 516 for children coping with homesickness and Langer *et al.* 2005 for children undergoing medical treatment).

In sum, the literature on procedural justice and control as applied to children and youths suggests that young victims who experience the legal processes that follow their victimization as fair and who feel that they have been able to assert some level of control in them would be satisfied with these processes. Conversely, young victims can feel unsatisfied, bitter and frustrated when they think the process was unjust or that they had no control on its progress or outcomes.

Restorative justice is indeed experienced as more just and more controllable (by both victims and offenders) than the court process (Strang 2002; Shapland *et al.* 2007). This is not surprising, since, by definition, the decision-making power in RJ processes is at the hands of the direct stakeholders. None of these assumptions, however, has been tested empirically with RJ involving *young* victims. While the RISE experiment did not focus on the juvenile victims who participated in it, its data can tell us about their experiences and be linked with these conclusions.

The effectiveness of RJ in different types of crime

The accumulation of findings from different studies has led researchers to conclude that RJ is generally more effective in reducing recidivism in violent crimes and in crimes that have induced significant emotional harm to victims (Sherman and Strang 2007: 68). From offenders' perspectives, having an intense face-to-face encounter with a significantly affected victim induces real change and hence has the potential of reducing recidivism. When the victim has not been emotionally affected by the crime, in contrast, RJ may be experienced as an 'easy way out' and loses much of its transformative power.

From victims' perspectives, studies consistently show the greater benefits of RJ compared with court (Sherman and Strang 2007). However, there are still no conclusive data as to differences in victim satisfaction with the process or its success in reducing harm to victims across different types of crimes. It is possible to assume that, when the emotional effects of the crime are salient, the opportunities provided in RJ to discuss the harm, receive answers, express feelings and receive reparation are most beneficial. Conversely, when the crime effects are insignificant, those opportunities are less meaningful. At the same time, it is also plausible that the more emotionally charged the crime is, the more vulnerable would victims be when things go wrong at a conference (Strang 2002: 208). In the RISE study, victims' satisfaction levels were consistently higher among conference victims for both violent and property crimes, but property victims were slightly more pleased with their conferences than violence victims (Sherman and Strang 2007: 63). Without clearer evidence, it is impossible to conclude in what types of crime (and at what level of emotional harm) RJ is more beneficial for victims. The current analysis, however, provides a good opportunity to further examine the association between the effects of crime and the level of victim satisfaction. In RISE, 86 per cent of all juveniles were victims of *violent crimes*, compared with only 25 per cent of adult victims. To overcome this baseline difference, we constructed a *crime-effects* index and included it as a covariate in our two-way ANCOVA model.

RISE on Victims as a Semi-Experimental Trial

Heavily influenced by John Braithwaite's (1989) Reintegrative Shaming Theory, the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) used a stratified randomized experimental

design to compare outcomes of court and conference cases held in Canberra, Australia, in 1995–2000 (Strang 2002). Drink-driving, shoplifting, property crimes and violent crimes were randomly assigned within each crime to either RJ conferences or traditional courts by a computer program.²

The study on victims, however, focused on victims of property and violent crimes only. RISE design on victims has been described in detail elsewhere (Strang 2002). Crimes eligible for randomization were property crimes involving individual victims and committed by admitting offenders under the age of 18 and violent crimes committed by admitting offenders aged up to 29 years. Only *middle-range* crimes were included (Strang 2002: 67). That is, serious offences, sexual and domestic violence offences were excluded. Cases referred into the experiment did not necessarily represent the total population of eligible offences known to the police during the course of the study. It was in the judgment of the apprehending police officer to decide whether or not to refer cases to RISE. ‘Despite very close contact and co-operation between the researchers and police at every level throughout the study, RISE missed many ostensibly eligible cases’ (Strang 2002: 69).

Ninety-seven per cent of the court victims went through the assigned court process, compared with 77 per cent of the assigned conference victims. After all cases were disposed, 260 victims were identified for post-trial interviews, resulting from 175 property offences and 100 violent offences. In few of the offences, individual victims could not be identified, since the victims were the public at large or an institution such as a school or bus company. Whenever multiple victims were involved in one case, only one was interviewed, keeping the outcomes measured independent of each other.³ Out of the 260 victims approached, 232 (89 per cent) agreed to be interviewed, divided in a 1:1 ratio between conferences (N = 116) and courts (N = 116). Response rates for post-treatment interviews were similar for property and violence victims and for conference and court victims.

Despite the design limitations, as expected in a randomized controlled trial, conference and court victims *within* each experiment (property/violence) did not differ in known baseline characteristics or in the level of material, physical and emotional harm they had experienced as a result of the offence. Among key outcome criteria were victims’ satisfaction with the process, perceptions of procedural justice and protection of rights. Most of the analyses were performed on an ‘intention-to-treat’ basis (bearing in mind that some assigned cases were not eventually adjudicated as planned). The findings suggested that, *overall*, conferences ‘worked’ better for victims (Strang 2002: 154).

The Current Study: Research Hypothesis and Model Specification

We use the RISE data to examine whether conferences are equally beneficial for juvenile and adult victims. That is, we ask whether the effect of conferencing on victims’ overall satisfaction depends on the age group of the victims, so that, as our research hypothesis suggests, juveniles will be less satisfied than adults from conferences that are not

²It was suggested that stratifying ‘the sample of eligible cases by the type of the offence has the benefit of distinguishing different effects of conferencing under different circumstances’ reducing variance of the outcome variables within each of the four experiments and increasing the overall statistical power of the study (Strang 2002: 65).

³Interviewing multiple victims of the same crime could violate the *independence of errors* assumption (see Cochran 1947).

specifically designed to address their special needs. The model we specified includes *level of satisfaction* as a continuous outcome variable, *process assignment* (conference/court) as treatments variable, *victim's age group* (juveniles/adults) as a grouping factor, *treatments by age group* interaction and *crime effects* as a continuous covariate. The table in the Appendix shows the statistical coding and description of all variables included.

The outcome variable: overall satisfaction

Overall level of satisfaction as the *outcome variable* is indicated by eight items (N valid = 209, $\alpha = 0.866$), each measured on a five-point Likert-type scale. For all victims, a *summated* satisfaction scale was constructed ranging from 0, *least* satisfied, to 32, *most* satisfied. The scale is normally distributed with a mean of 19.24 (SD = 5.99, Skewness = -0.74). The eight items used to compose the satisfaction scale are listed in Table 1.

Fixed factors

Our model includes two fixed factors. The first is *assigned treatments* with victims whose cases were randomly assigned to conferences as the experimental condition (N = 116) and victims involved in cases assigned to court as the comparison group (N = 116). The second factor, *age group*, was of secondary importance to the original study. To examine whether prior conclusions on victims' benefits from conferences are equally valid for both juveniles and adults, we divided the sample by the age group of victims.

Table 2 shows that the randomization process in RISE resulted in proportional number of adults and juveniles assigned to either RJ conferences or traditional courts. For adults, 98 cases were assigned to conferences and 98 to court. Similarly, cases involving 18 out of the 36 juveniles were assigned to conferences.⁴ Yet, our two-way ANCOVA model is *unbalanced*, since the number of adults (196) is approximately five times larger than the number of juveniles (36).

Crime effects as covariate

The type of crime was identified prior to randomization as a baseline stratification factor. The study on victims focused on property and violent crimes. Adult and young victims differed in the distribution of crimes within each group: among young victims, only five were of property crime and 31 of violent crimes, while three-quarters of the adult victims were of property crime. We therefore constructed a 'crime-effects' index (N valid = 231, $\alpha = 0.804$, nine items), in order to control for possible variation on victims' level of satisfaction depending on the level of harm caused by different crimes. The index captures the *severity of physical and psychological harm* caused by the offence. For each victim, a *summated* scale was constructed ranging from 0, *least* affected by the offence, to 9, *most* affected by the offence (M = 2.30, SD = 2.32, $\alpha = 0.804$). Since the scale is positively skewed (skewness = 1.17), we normalized its distribution by taking the square root of the values and reached a range of 0, *least* affected, to 3, *most* affected

⁴The mean age of juvenile victims in our sample is 15.88 (SD = 1.95, Range: 10–18), with a mean age of 15.22 for court victims and 16.55 for conference victims. Twenty-four of all juvenile victims (67 per cent) are at the age of 16 and above. See Table 4 for mean ages of conference and court victims of the full sample.

TABLE 1 *Overall satisfaction scale*

Item	Scale	Mean	SD
Satisfied with way case was dealt with by justice system?	0 = Strongly disagree 4 = Strongly agree	2.33	1.21
The way case was dealt with made you feel angry?	0 = Strongly agree 4 = Strongly disagree	2.48	1.14
You feel bitter about the way you were treated in case?	0 = Strongly agree 4 = Strongly disagree	2.77	1.12
Pleased your case dealt with this way rather than other?	0 = Strongly disagree 4 = Strongly agree	2.55	1.08
As a result of way case handled, has respect for police?	0 = Gone down a lot 4 = Gone up a lot	2.30	0.99
You felt you could trust the police during your case?	0 = Strongly disagree 4 = Strongly agree	2.97	0.89
As result of experience with case, has respect for justice system?	0 = Gone down a lot 4 = Gone up a lot	2.03	0.90
As result of experience with case, has respect for the law?	0 = Gone down a lot 4 = Gone up a lot	2.06	0.77

TABLE 2 *Model specification: a 2x2 factor ANCOVA (unbalanced orthogonal design)*

	Conference	Court	Total
Adults	98	98	196
Juvenile	18	18	36
Total	116	116	232

(M = 1.24, SD = 0.866, skewness = 0.023). The nine items used to compose the index are listed in Table 3.

Findings

Initial analyses

Table 4 describes the sample of victims and shows that there are no statistically significant differences between conference and court victims on selected demographics and offence-related variables ($p \geq 0.155$).⁵

The correlation matrix in Table 5 shows that victims assigned to conferences are significantly more satisfied than victims assigned to courts ($r_{(230)} = -0.16$, $p = 0.017$). We also see that the perceived physical and psychological harm caused by the offence (i.e. crime effects) is negatively correlated with satisfaction. As victims are more harmed by the crime, they are less satisfied with both court and conference processes ($r_{(230)} = -0.20$, $p = 0.003$). When we regressed (using OLS regression) satisfaction on crime effects within the group of conference and court victims separately (not shown in Table 5), we found that, as the effects of crime are more severe, victims' satisfaction from the process is likewise to decrease within both the group of conference victims ($B = -0.147$, $t(114) = -2.24$, $p = 0.027$) and the group of court victims ($B = -0.147$, $t(114) = -2.48$, $p = 0.014$).

⁵Given random assignment, group means or frequencies on any baseline, pre-treatment characteristic should not differ between treatment and control groups except by chance.

TABLE 3 *Crime-effects index*

Item	Agreed %
The offence made you feel you were unworthy of respect	19.05
You suffered a loss of dignity as a result of offence	43.29
You suffered loss of self-respect as a result of offence	24.24
Have you suffered because of offence—loss of confidence?	21.21
Have you suffered because of offence—loss of self-esteem?	14.29
Have you suffered because of offence—suspicion/distrust?	58.87
Have you suffered because of offence—fear of being alone?	17.32
Have you suffered because of offence—sleeplessness?	15.58
Have you suffered because of offence—headaches, symptoms?	17.32

Note: the first three items were originally measured on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The remaining items are measured on a yes (coded 1) and no (coded 0) scale. We first recoded the Likert-type items into dichotomous scale (*agree* and *strongly agree* = 1, *neither*, *disagree* and *strongly disagree* = 0) and then checked for the reliability of the crime-effects index.

TABLE 4 *Selected baseline characteristics of conference and court victims*

	Conference victims (N = 116)	Court victims (N = 116)	P
<i>Demographics</i>			
Age (range, 10–68)	32.20 (12.94)	34.51 (14.71)	0.205
Juveniles	18 (50.0%)	18 (50.0%)	1.00
Females	46 (51.6%)	43 (48.4%)	0.685
Born outside Australia	26 (49.0%)	27 (51.0%)	0.876
Aboriginals or Torres Strait	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)	1.00
Did not complete high school	46 (49.4%)	47 (51.6%)	0.893
Level of religiosity (ordinal, 0–6)	2.50 (1.56)	2.72 (1.66)	0.324
<i>Offence-related</i>			
Violent crimes	45 (55.6%)	36 (44.4%)	0.215
Crime-effects index (standardized, 0–3 scale)	1.32 (0.891)	1.16 (0.835)	0.155

Note: data of continuous variables are presented as means with standard deviations in brackets, and associated P-values of t-test for mean differences. For binary variables, absolute numbers are followed by percentages (%), with associated P-values of χ^2 -test.

We also see that the perceived harm caused by the offence is uncorrelated with conferencing ($r_{(230)} = 0.09$, $p = 0.155$). That is, conference and court victims did not differ in the level of physical and psychological harm they had experienced as a result of the offence. Interestingly, juveniles are significantly more associated with being a victim of violent crimes ($r_{(230)} = 0.46$, $p < 0.0001$) and reasonably are more affected than adults by the crime ($r_{(230)} = 0.23$, $p = 0.0003$).

Statistical model

We use a two-factor *analysis of covariance* (ANCOVA), in order to adjust for differences in level of satisfaction that may result from baseline imbalances in the level of harm (the covariate) caused to victims of different crimes. Analyses were conducted on SPSS 18, using the GLM procedure. We employ the *Type III method* for calculating the

TABLE 5 *Inter-correlations, means and standard deviations (N = 232)*

	1	2	3	4	5
Level of satisfaction	1				
Conferencing	0.16*	1			
Juveniles	0.07	0.001	1		
Violent crimes	-0.10	0.08	0.46***	1	
Crime effects (<i>Normalized</i>)	-0.20**	0.09	0.23***	0.41***	1
Mean	19.24	0.50	0.16	0.35	1.24
SD	5.99	0.501	0.36	0.478	0.866
Range	0-31	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-3

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Note: *Conferencing*, *Juveniles* and *Violent Crimes* (all coded 1) are binary variables and their means indicate the proportion of the named category.

sum-of-squares, which is considered appropriate for *unbalanced* two-way ANOVA/ANCOVA designs with interaction term.⁶

ANCOVA is a combination of analysis of variance and regression analysis (Cochran 1957: 261). As sources of variability on the outcome variable, it accounts for both the *mean differences* on each factor and the *correlation* between the covariate (crime effects) and the outcome variable (satisfaction). If basic statistical assumptions of ANCOVA are met,⁷ then covariate adjustment reduces the error variance resulting in increased statistical power and greater precision in the estimation of treatments effect (Cochran 1957; Miller and Chapman 2001).

Results

Table 6 shows the results of hierarchical ANCOVA. In model 1, the treatment variable (*conferencing*) is shown to have a significant effect on victims' overall satisfaction ($F_{(1,230)} = 5.83, p = 0.017$), yet the size of the effect is relatively small (Cohen's $d = 0.32$). The mean differences on satisfaction indicate that conference victims (N = 98, M = 20.18, SD = 6.37) were significantly more satisfied than court victims (N = 98, M = 18.30, SD = 5.44). Moving to model 2, the beneficial effect of conferences is shown to be stronger when we adjust for crime effects in comparing the mean levels of satisfaction (Cohen's $d = 0.37$). In fact, adding crime effects into the model reduced by nearly three times the probability of making a type-I error in concluding that conferences 'work' ($p = 0.006$ for the adjusted treatment effect compared with $p = 0.017$ for the

⁶There are four methods for computing the sums-of-squares and testing hypotheses in factorial ANOVA, called Types I-IV. In unbalanced two-way ANOVA/ANCOVA, the debate revolves on whether to use Type II or Type III method; both do not depend on the order of entering the variables into the model. Overall, it is recommended by the statistical literature to use Type III method (default option in SPSS, GLM) with unbalanced two-way ANOVA with interaction for two main reasons: (1) it is the only technique that uses the rationale of an ordinary OLS regression, in which the effect of each factor/variable is evaluated controlling for *all* other factors in the model (including the interaction term); (2) it is the only method that uses *unweighted* means analysis where the row and column means are found by taking the simple average of the two cells' means in each row or column, ignoring any differences in cell sizes. The method is thus independent of the cell sample sizes and 'can be thought of as testing variables in unbalanced datasets as if those data sets were actually balanced and orthogonal' (Hector *et al.* 2010: 312; Shaw and Mitchell-Olds 1993).

⁷The assumptions central to ANCOVA are: (1) randomization, (2) correlation of the covariate and the outcome variable, (3) statistical independence of the covariate and treatment variable, and (4) homogeneity of regression slopes. We conducted a preliminary analysis, available upon request from the authors, and found that these assumptions are generally supported by the data. In addition to the assumptions central to ANCOVA, the usual ANOVA assumptions—homogeneity of variance, normality and independence of scores—apply for ANCOVA as well.

TABLE 6 *Hierarchical two-way ANCOVA*

	Model 1: unadjusted			Model 2: adjusted			Model 3: adjusted			Model 4: adjusted + interaction		
	F	P	<i>d</i>	F	P	<i>d</i>	F	P	<i>d</i>	F	P	<i>d</i>
<i>Sources of variation</i>												
Conferencing	5.83	0.017	0.32	7.66	0.006	0.37 ^a	7.97	0.005	0.34	0.38	0.537	0.08
Age group							3.53	0.061	0.35	3.60	0.059	0.35
Crime effects				11.06	0.001		13.62	<0.001		13.91	<0.001	
Conferencing*age										4.42	0.037	
<i>Model summary</i> ^b												
R ²	0.025			0.070			0.084			0.101		
F statistic	F _(1,230) = 5.83*			F _(1,229) = 8.57***			F _(3,228) = 6.96***			F _(4,227) = 6.40***		
R ² change				0.045**			0.014 (p = 0.061)			0.018*		
Levine's test	F _(1,230) = 2.11			F _(1,230) = 2.90			F _(3,228) = 1.32			F _(3,228) = 1.96		

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

^aOn models 2–4, Cohen's *d* is based on comparing the marginal mean differences and standard deviations that are adjusted for crime effects as covariate.

^bThe R² change and its significance were computed using conventional OLS regressions (SPSS program, version 18), which enables us to customize *hierarchical* regression models. The OLS regressions produced on each step (i.e. model) R squares and F statistics that are *completely identical* to those reported here based on the *univariate* GLM procedure (SPSS program).

unadjusted effect). The age-group factor, added in model 3, did not alter the results. The effect of conferencing remained stable in its size and significance ($F_{(1,230)} = 7.97, p = 0.005$, Cohen's $d = 0.34$), and so did the significant association between crime effects and satisfaction ($F_{(1, 231)} = 13.62, p < 0.001$). Finally, in model 4, the main effect of conferencing loses its significance ($F_{(1,230)} = 0.38, p = 0.537$); the effect sizes of age group and crime effects are almost identical to those observed in model 3; and the conferencing*age group interaction is significant ($F_{(1,228)} = 4.42, p = 0.037$). Our findings therefore indicate that the effect of RJ conferences on victims' level of satisfaction varies by the age group of the victim.

We also conducted a simple effects analysis (adjusted for crime effects as covariate) in order to learn more about the nature of conferencing by age-group interaction. Within each group, we entered into the model the conferencing variable as a fixed factor and crime effects as covariate. Table 7 shows that, for the full sample of victims, conferencing had a significant beneficial effect (Cohen's $d = 0.36, p = 0.006$). Within the group of adults, the beneficial effect of conferencing is higher and medium in its size (Cohen's $d = 0.50, p = 0.001$). Within juveniles, however, conferences made victims slightly, and insignificantly, *less* satisfied compared with courts (Cohen's $d = -0.28, p = 0.406$).

In sum, our hypothesis is generally supported by the data: as practised in the RISE experiments, juvenile victims benefited less from RJ conferences compared with adults. The interaction effect is illustrated visually in Figure 1.

A Qualitative Analysis: The Experiences of Young Victims in RJ

To further understand the differences in satisfaction levels between adult and juvenile victims of conference cases, it was important to explore the lived experiences of young victims who participated in diversionary conferences in RISE.

TABLE 7 *Simple effects analysis*

	RJ conferences	Traditional courts	Cohen's <i>d</i>	F
All samples (N = 116 in each condition)	20.30 (0.540)	18.18 (0.540)	0.36	7.66 (p = 0.006)
Within adults (N = 98 in each condition)	20.50 (0.577)	17.64 (0.577)	0.50	12.18 (p = 0.001)
Within juveniles (N = 18 in each condition)	19.37 (1.39)	20.99 (1.39)	-0.28	0.707 (p = 0.406)

* The reported means and standard errors (in brackets) of overall satisfaction are adjusted for 'crime effects' as covariate.

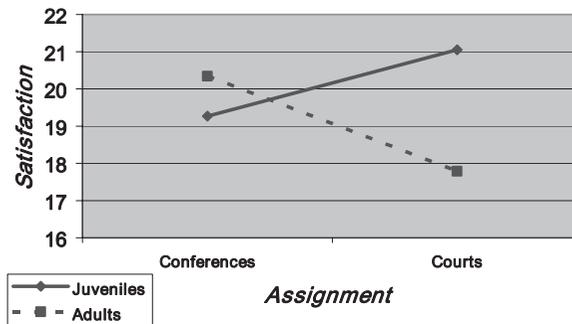


FIG. 1 Court assignment by age group: interaction effect

Because of the time that has passed since the actual conferences (10–15 years) and due to geographical distances, it was unrealistic to locate and interview those victims. The richness of the original dataset, however, provided valuable information to explore the dynamics at each process, which can perhaps shed light on the relative lower satisfaction of victimized youth with the conferences they were involved in. The qualitative analysis was based on repeated readings of each young victim’s file. The materials in the files included the first and second-wave interviews (including some answers to open-ended questions), police reports and RISE observers’ reports of some conferences. While most young victims were satisfied with the way in which their cases were handled, seven appeared having negative views of the process and its outcomes. Focusing first on the unsatisfying conferences, we identified the following distinct themes that are interesting from a child-inclusive perspective.

A. Parents deciding for their children. When the victim is under the age of 18, most jurisdictions require parents’ consent for their participation in legal processes, as was the case in Canberra. Consequently, and in contrast to adult victims, young victims depend on their parents in this important matter. Considering the importance of having a sense of control, it is reasonable to assume that the freedom to choose whether or not to take part in a face-to-face encounter with the perpetrator is crucial for young victims’ sense of satisfaction with the process. Indeed, some young conference victims whose parents made that decision for them were very unsatisfied, bitter and did not benefit from the process. For instance, Michael,⁸ a 13-year-old victim, joined his parents to

⁸All names have been changed.

a conference following a theft of his push bike, because, as he stated, ‘Dad said I had to go’. When asked about the conference shortly afterwards, Michael and his mother felt quite differently about it. Michael was unsatisfied and regretted that his case was dealt with through a conference. His mother, however, was satisfied with both the referral and the process itself. During the conference, Michael felt he had no control and that he was pushed into things he did not agree with, while his mother felt she had control, and was not intimidated, pushed or pressured in any way. Summing up, Michael thought the conference was unhelpful for him and said he would not choose this option again. His mother felt it was helpful and said she would prefer the conference option rather than the court.

B. Parents ‘taking over’ at the conference. A related issue similarly unique to juvenile victims is the domination of young victims by their own parents during the process. While it is natural for parents to talk on behalf of their children, it is also possible to imagine situations in which the parent’s participation contradicts the young victim’s wishes or interests. Moreover, since children need more explanations and encouragement to participate than adults (Melton and Limber 1992), facilitators might find it easier to speak directly with the parents during and before conferences. Parents may also volunteer their opinions more easily than their children. Yet, the literature on the importance of control and fairness suggests that turning to the parent instead of the juvenile might reduce the victim’s sense of inclusion and overall satisfaction with the process.

Seventeen-year-old Nigel, for instance, had been punched in the jaw by his teenaged neighbour. Nigel was consequently hospitalized, operated and had two plates and eight pins in his jaw. The observer’s notes portray a positive conference, but commented that the victim’s mother did most of the talking. Towards the end of the conference, the offender’s supporters suggested that the two shake hands—a gesture with which Nigel passively cooperated. At the interview, Nigel reported feeling dissatisfied, angry and suffering various physical harms, such as sleeplessness and headaches, which the conference did little to repair. He felt the conference had been ‘somewhat fair’ and that he could influence its outcomes, but, at the same time, said he felt awkward during the conference, regretted not being repaid and was dissatisfied with the outcome.

C. Sensitivity to ‘the other’. People with disabilities and non-English speakers are only two examples of people of all ages who challenge RJ to address their special needs in order to make the process accessible and respectful for them. Leonard, a 17-year-old mentally disabled young man, had been punched in his head outside the nightclub he was attending. The observer commented that the conference was very poorly conducted and that the facilitator did not manage to support Leonard’s participation, although it seems that, in a better setting, he could have managed well. As part of the restoration plan, the offender was expected to invite Leonard for a meal at McDonald’s—despite the victim’s fear of him. At the following interview, Leonard expressed his dissatisfaction with the processes. He reported that he had not understood the process, that his views were not respected and that he was pushed to the decision that was made. He further stated that the conference was very unfair and he was not treated with respect. According to Leonard, meeting the offender at the conference was ‘a major upset, I would never do it again’. Following the conference, the observer reported that the McDonald’s meeting never took place; apparently, there was never any intention on the part of Leonard—or his mother—that this would happen, but they chose not to argue about it in the

conference. They evidently felt so disempowered by the time of the outcome agreement that they just wanted the conference to end.⁹

Another conference was held after 16-year-old Martin had been punched twice in his face by a 24-year-old man, an uncle of an 11-year-old boy known to Martin, whom he had previously pushed. The retaliating assault resulted in some serious injury in Martin's nose and he was later hospitalized for surgery.¹⁰ All parties had to wait outside the conference room together before its commencement—a situation that made Martin feel very uncomfortable. During the conference, the offender's family did not speak much English and spoke Cambodian to each other. The offender did not show any remorse and kept arguing that Martin was as responsible as he was for what had happened. In the subsequent interview, Martin stated that the conference was only somewhat fair and respected his rights 'a little'. He was very unsatisfied, very angry and bitter, regretted his case was assigned to a conference and would not choose to attend a RJ conference again.

D. Bad facilitation. The correlation between inadequate facilitation and the low 'restorativeness' of the process and hence participants' dissatisfaction has been argued before (see, e.g. Maxwell *et al.* 2004: 302). 'Bad facilitation' was probably one of the causes for the victims' negative experiences in several of the cases involving youth. The following provides an example: 17-year-old Dylan had been assaulted by another youth and attended the resultant conference with his parents. The facilitator did not manage to move the discussion toward a denunciation of the crime and allowed it to continue despite the fact that the offender's parents were not there, only five of his friends. Dylan's mother reported being very dissatisfied, explaining that there was no denouncing of the offence. Dylan himself reported that he felt too intimidated to speak freely at the conference, had no control over the way things went and could not correct any mistakes if there were any made at the conference. Dylan also said he felt awkward during the conference and that the process did not take any account of the effects of the incident on him.

The positive experiences of young victims in RISE

Notwithstanding the importance of exploring the themes emerging from the unsuccessful conferences, it is similarly important to learn from the positive experiences of young victims. Unfortunately, however, the information on the successful conferences was much less detailed. Typically, young victims stated that they were satisfied with the way their cases were handled, felt they had enough control over the process and were treated fairly, and stated that the process was helpful for them.

The following is a deeper examination of one conference that actually delivered the promise of a respectful, safe and fruitful restorative process. Gina was 17 years old when she was assaulted at school by Betty, a classmate and former friend. The assault left Gina physically and emotionally scarred and she consequently placed a restraining order on Betty, fearing she would assault her again. Both girls came to the conference with many supporters, including two friends supporting each. The conference was strikingly

⁹Communication with Heather Strang, 28 April 2003.

¹⁰The conference was apparently so badly organized that it was one of the original study's examples of failed conferences, described in detail (Strang 2002: 146–8).

youth-led. Much of the discussion was about the rumours that led to the fractured friendship between the two girls. The participants also talked about the restraining order and how it affected everyone. Gina explained that it made her feel safe and, reacting to Betty's attempts to apologize, she stated 'I don't accept it'. At a certain point at which Betty repeatedly asked for her forgiveness and expressed her will to 'move on', Gina became very upset, left the conference room and was crying outside. Upon her return, the facilitator reiterated Betty's unacceptable action and Gina's hurt as a result. The conversation returned to the origin of the conflict and the name of a male, whom they were both friends with, came to light as the one who fuelled the rumours and amplified the tension between the girls. This was the turning point at which Gina finally made eye contact with Betty, body language became open and there was a noticeable drop in the tension. Both Gina and Betty agreed on the need to speak with that person and to tell him to stop making lies and gossiping. There were some jokes at this point and the atmosphere became humorous and friendly. Betty personally apologized to Gina, who accepted the apology, and the participants moved to constructing a restoration plan. The conference concluded with all parties happy with its outcomes.

Discussion

The data examined in this study were collected by Heather Strang and Lawrence Sherman from the Australian National University in 1995–2000. The RISE study showed that conferences were significantly more satisfying than court for both victims and offenders. The original study, however, did not explore the distinct results for victims of various ages and, accordingly, did not compare the experiences of adult and young victims involved in the study. The current analysis returned to the RISE data to address this question.

Our two-factor ANCOVA showed, first, that, for all victims, conferences were significantly more satisfying than courts, echoing Strang's (2002) conclusion. When we added crime effects into the model, we found that the covariate adjustment resulted in increased statistical power in the estimation of the effect of conferencing, and also that higher levels of harm caused by the offence are associated with lower levels of satisfaction with both courts and conferences (see also the inter-correlations in Table 5). These findings did not change when we added the age factor (juveniles/adults) into the model. Yet, in our forth and final model, we found that the effect of conferencing on victims' satisfaction varies by the victims' age group (i.e. statistically significant interaction effect) and that the main effect of conferencing becomes marginal and insignificant.

Explaining the conferencing*age group interaction, it is probable that, since crime effects were more noticeable among young victims, and since crime effects decreased victim satisfaction, young victims were less satisfied than adult victims with conferences. Indeed, in the simple effects analysis we conducted (Table 6), while conference adult victims were significantly more satisfied than court adult victims (Cohen's $d = 0.50$, $p = 0.001$), *young* victims assigned to conferences were slightly, and insignificantly (Cohen's $d = -0.28$, $p = 0.406$), less satisfied compared with young court victims.

Our findings regarding the negative correlation between the level of crime effects and level of satisfaction for all victims (both conferences and court) are somewhat surprising and call for further research. One possible explanation is that those who were seriously

harmed would be less satisfied with any process following their victimization, simply by the nature of their condition. On the other hand, one would expect that, since RJ offers symbolic reparation for victims, its benefits would be most appreciated by those who mostly need it. But perhaps those mostly harmed by crime are most vulnerable to anything that might go wrong in either court or conference, and therefore would be (very) satisfied only when conferences are practised in their ideal form. It would be interesting to further explore the relationship between the level of harm and level of satisfaction in other studies, focusing on different crimes, age groups and processes.

The main finding of our analysis, however, is that the effect of RJ conferences facilitated by the Australian Federal Police (AFP) on victims' satisfaction varied by the victim's age group. The difference was so substantial that the overall satisfaction level of young victims from conferences was a little lower than that of court young victims. In other words, the substantial benefits of RJ for victims documented in the RISE study and in many other studies did not materialize into higher levels of satisfaction for young victims and in fact made conferences a little less desirable than court for those victims. But the specific young victims' sub-group participating in RISE was mainly harmed by violence, while the adult victims' sub-group was mainly harmed through property crimes. This baseline difference led to variance in the *crime effects* covariate, which, in turn, was strongly correlated with decreased satisfaction with the process. One explanation, then, for the lower satisfaction score conferences received from young victims is the type of crime they have been victimized by. Perhaps the conferences led by AFP were more suitable for property victims than for violence victims. We cannot reach such conclusions because juvenile victims might be more severely affected by all crimes. Again, further research is needed to explore the correlation between the level of psychological and physical harm caused by different crimes and the satisfaction of both adult and young victims with RJ conferences.

In any case, beyond the crime effects differences, the qualitative analysis provides additional possible explanations for the lower scores given by young victims to conferences. After all, the seven cases that were marked here as the less successful cases involving juvenile victims undoubtedly shaped the statistics described earlier, given the small sample size.

Perhaps the most important observation that the qualitative analysis offers is the one relating to control, or the sense of lacking control, that surfaced in the unsuccessful conferences. In processes that follow victimization, having some degree of control over the procedure and its outcomes may provide a powerful coping tool for victims in their healing, and this is true for child victims as well. Teenagers in particular prefer primary control strategies—trying to affect the situation (LaMontagne *et al.* 1996). At the same time, low controllability makes coping more difficult for young victims; asserting control in relatively uncontrollable situations is worse still (Thurber and Weisz 1997: 516; Langer *et al.* 2005). The problem that young victims often face, however, is that, because of their limited experience in group discussion, adult–children power imbalances and their still evolving capacities, asserting a sense of control during the process becomes almost impossible. If a restorative process is in fact uncontrollable (e.g. when one of the participants dominates the discussion), then victims might be worse off, either because their efforts to assert some (primary) control are futile or because they perceive the process as uncontrollable in the first place. Whether it was the victim's own parents that dominated the discussion (Nigel's case) or made decisions for them (Michael's case), or other

adults such as the conference facilitator (Leonard's case) or the offender's supporters (Dylan's case), clearly, in at least some of the unsuccessful conferences, victims felt that they could not meaningfully influence the course of the conferences they participated in, and this might explain their dissatisfaction with the process.

Procedural fairness and respect for rights are also important for young victims and the qualitative analysis highlighted this assertion. This is no surprise considering that disempowered populations are more sensitive to having their procedural rights met (Gonzales and Tyler 2008). Leonard's anger and bitterness about his conference and his feeling that it was very unfair and that he was not treated with respect provide an anecdotal reminder that victims with special needs deserve and expect a fair process. Martin's case demonstrates how a failure to make specific arrangements such as the provision of a translator may be perceived as a procedural right violation. To treat victims with special needs (such as Leonard) or victims who do not speak the language of their offenders (such as Martin) with respect and fairness, conferences need to provide them with the extra help they need to overcome their difficulties and have an equal status in the discussion.

Finally, special attention should be given to support people coming along with young victims to conferences. The presence and active participation of support people can enhance young victims' ability to participate and might negate power imbalances (although supporters may unintentionally do just the opposite). The active participation of both Gina's and Betty's youth supporters helped Gina feel comfortable enough to insist on her needs until a genuine reconciliation occurred. Conversely, in Dylan's case, the absence of the offender's parents and the presence of five of his peers prevented any denunciation of the crime and made Dylan and his parents feel dissatisfied and angry about the process.

Conclusion

One of the major difficulties we faced in this analysis was the small number of young victims involved in the RISE study (only 36) and the unbalanced comparison group of adult victims (196). Another challenge was the higher rate of violent crimes experienced by young victims compared with the adult sample, which consisted mostly of property crimes. Using the two-factor analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) tool, however, made it possible to overcome the relatively small sample-size challenge and examine the effect of conferencing (compared with traditional courts), age group (being a juvenile or an adult victim) and conferencing by age-group interaction, on victims' level of satisfaction, adjusting for the effects of crime as covariate. Our analyses showed clearly that the effect of RJ conferencing on victims' level of satisfaction varies by the age group of the victim. That is, whereas RJ conferences made adults more satisfied than traditional courts (Cohen's $d = 0.50$), juveniles assigned to conferences experienced lower levels of satisfaction compared with juveniles assigned to courts (Cohen's $d = -0.28$). This means that, considering the substantial accumulated knowledge regarding the benefits of RJ (Latimer *et al.* 2005; Bonta *et al.* 2006; Sherman and Strang 2007), there is much to learn about how to make RJ more sensitive to juvenile victims' needs, vulnerabilities and wishes. In their ideal, RJ processes provide space for an egalitarian discussion in which all parties can speak freely and affect the outcomes. This indeed happened in most of the conferences in the RISE project. But, when conferences are not accommodated to

address the specific needs and wishes of disempowered victims, then they may result in feelings of disappointment, unfairness and lack of control—as was the case in some of the conferences described here, which resulted in very low levels of satisfaction. Considering the higher levels of physical and emotional harm that young victims in this sample endured resulting from the crimes committed against them, it is not surprising that they were particularly vulnerable to any unfair or dominating experience.

Many obstacles stand in the way of young victims who feel there is something wrong at a conference. Shyness, respect for adults, difficulty in finding the right words or simple inexperience in speaking up at a group discussion may all prevent young victims from raising an objection or insisting on their viewpoint. The stories emerging from the qualitative analysis illustrate that, when juvenile victims are involved, it might be helpful to invite a large number of young participants. It might also be helpful to sensitize all adult participants for the need to empower the young participants to speak up and express their views freely, even when their views are different from those of their supporters.

It is important to note that the current findings are based on a single study with particular characteristics. Conferences in Canberra were facilitated by police officers who varied in their level of training, views of RJ and facilitation capacities. In particular, the programme did not pay special attention to juvenile victims' unique needs, wishes and vulnerabilities, and the results are noticeable in the findings. Accordingly, this study provides a valid instrument to warn against 'standard' practice of RJ when young victims are involved. From the picture emerging, it is fair to conclude that, at a minimum, when young victims are involved, special measures should be taken to meet their special needs, in accordance with their age and wishes, and based on theoretical knowledge on child victims.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank Heather Strang from the Centre for Restorative Justice, Regulatory Institutions Network at the Australian National University for her ongoing and significant assistance throughout this project and for providing us with full access to the RISE dataset. David Weisburd from the Institute of Criminology at the Hebrew University contributed helpful comments on an earlier draft and we are thankful for his assistance as well. The theoretical background and the qualitative component in this paper draw largely on the first author's PhD thesis (Gal 2006)

REFERENCES

- AHMED, E., HARRIS, N., BRAITHWAITE, J. and BRAITHWAITE, V. (2001), *Shame Management through Reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ANGEL, C. M. (2005), *Crime Victims Meet their Offenders: Testing the Impact of Restorative Justice Conferences on Victims Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms*, dissertations available online at <http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3165634>.
- BONTA, J., JESSEMAN, R., RUGGE, T. and CORMIER, R. (2006), 'Restorative Justice and Recidivism: Promises Made, Promises Kept?', in D. Sullivan and L. Tifft, eds, *Handbook of Restorative Justice: A Global Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- BONTA, J., WALLACE-CAPRETTA, S., ROONEY, J. and MCANNOY, K. (2002), 'An Outcome Evaluation of a Restorative Justice Alternative to Incarceration', *Contemporary Justice Review*, 5: 319–38.
- BRAITHWAITE, J. (1989), *Crime, Shame and Reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BRICKMAN, P., RABINOWITZ, V. C., KARUZA, J. JR, COATES, D., COHN, E. and KIDDER, L. 'Models of Helping and Coping', *American Psychologist*, 37: 368–84.
- COCHRAN, W. G. (1947), 'Some Consequences when the Assumptions for the Analysis of Variance are Not Met', *Biometrics*, 3: 22–38.
- (1957), 'Analysis of Covariance: Its Nature and Uses', *Biometrics*, 13: 261–81.
- COLLINS, R. (2004), *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- COSSINS, A. (2008), 'Restorative Justice and Child Sex Offences', *British Journal of Criminology*, 48: 359–78.
- DALY, K., CURTIS-FAWLEY, S. and BOUHOURS, B. (2003), *Sexual Offence Cases Finalized in Court, by Conference, and by Formal Caution in South Australia for Young Offenders, 1995–2001*, technical report, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice. Griffith University.
- FINKELHOR, D. (2008), *Childhood Victimization: Violence, Crime and Abuse in the Lives of Young People*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- FOLGER, R. (1977), 'Distributive and Procedural Justice: Combined Impact of "Voice" and Improvement on Experienced Inequity', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35: 108–19.
- GAL, T. (2006), *Victims to Partners: Child Victims and Restorative Justice*. Canberra, Australia Australian National University, available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/47077>.
- GONZALES, C. M. and TYLER, T. R. (2008), 'The Psychology of Enfranchisement: Engaging and Fostering Inclusion of Members through Voting and Decision-Making Procedures', *Journal of Social Issues*, 64: 447–66.
- GOODMAN, G. S., TOBEY, A. E., BATTERMAN-FAUNCE, J. M., ORCUTT, H., THOMAS, S., SHAPIRO, C. and SACHSENMAIER, T. (1998), 'Face-to-Face Confrontation: Effects of Closed-Circuit Technology on Children's Eyewitness Testimony and Jurors' Decisions', *Law and Human Behavior*, 22: 165–203.
- GRAHAM, A. and FITZGERALD, R. (2006), 'Taking Account of the "To and Fro" of Children's Experiences in Family Law', *Children Australia*, 31: 30–6.
- GREENBERG, J. (1987), 'Using Diaries to Promote Procedural Justice in Performance Appraisals', *Social Justice Research*, 1: 219–34.
- HAYES, H. and DALY, K. (2003), 'Youth Justice Conferencing and Reoffending', *Justice Quarterly*, 20: 725–64.
- HECTOR, A., VON FELTEN, S. and SCHMID, B. (2010), 'Analysis of Variance with Unbalanced Data: An Update for Ecology and Evolution', *Journal of Animal Ecology*, 79: 308–16.
- HICKS, A. J. and LAWRENCE, J. A. (1993), 'Children's Criteria for Procedural Justice: Developing a Young People's Procedural Justice Scale', *Social Justice Research*, 6: 163–82.
- KOPER, G., VAN KNIPPENBERG, D., BOUHUIJS, F., VERMUNT, R. and WILKE, H. (1993), 'Procedural Fairness and Self-Esteem', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 23: 313–25.
- LAMONTAGNE, L. L., HEPWORTH, J. T., JOHNSON, B. D. and COHEN, F. (1996), 'Children's Perspective Coping and Its Effects on Postoperative Anxiety and Return to Normal Activity', *Nursing Research*, 45: 141–7.

- LANGER, D. A., CHEN, E. and LUHMANN, J. (2005), 'Attributions and Coping in Children's Pain Experiences', *Journal of Pediatric Psychology*, 30: 615–22.
- LATIMER, J., DOWDEN, C. and MUISE, D. (2005), 'The Effectiveness of Restorative Justice Practices: A Meta-Analysis', *The Prison Journal*, 85: 127–44.
- LAZARUS, R. S. and FOLKMAN, S. (1984), *Stress, Appraisal and Coping*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- MAXWELL, G. and MORRIS, A. (2001), 'Putting Restorative Justice into Practice for Adult Offenders', *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 40: 55–69.
- MAXWELL, G., KINGI, V., ROBERTSON, J., MORRIS, A. and CUNNINGHAM, C. (2004), *Achieving Effective Outcomes in Youth Justice: Final Report*. Ministry of Social Development, New Zealand.
- MELTON, G. B. and LIMBER, S. P. (1992), 'What Children's Rights Mean to Children: Children's Own Views', in M. Freeman and P. Veerman, eds, *The Ideologies of Children's Rights*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- MILLER, G. A. and CHAPMAN, J. P. (2001), 'Misunderstanding Analysis of Covariance', *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 110: 40–8.
- MORGAN, J. and ZEDNER, L. (1992), *Child Victims: Crime, Impact and Criminal Justice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MORRISON, B. (2007), *Restoring Safe School Communities: A Whole School Response to Bullying, Violence and Alienation*. Sydney: Federation Press.
- PENNELL, J. and BURFORD, G. (1995), *Family Group Decision-Making: New Roles for 'Old' Partners in Resolving Family Violence: Implementation Report*. Technical Report 1. Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- (2000), 'Family Group Decision-Making: Protecting Children and Women', *Child Welfare*, 79: 131–58.
- ROTHBAUM, F. M., WEISZ, J. R. and SNYDER, S. S. (1982), 'Changing the World and Changing the Self: A Two Process Model of Perceived Control', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42: 5–37.
- SHAPLAND, J., ATKINSON, A., ATKINSON, H., CHAPMAN, B., DIGNAN, J., HOWES, M., JOHNSTONE, J., ROBINSON, G. and SORSBY, A. (2007), *Restorative Justice: The Views of Victims and Offenders. The Third Report from the Evaluation of Three Schemes*, Ministry of Justice Research Series 10/08, Crown Copyright.
- SHAPLAND, J., ATKINSON, A., ATKINSON, H., DIGNAN, J., EDWARDS, L., HIBBERT, J., HOWES, M., JOHNSTONE, J., ROBINSON, G. and SORSBY, A. (2008), *Does Restorative Justice Affect Reconviction? The Fourth Report from the Evaluation of Three Schemes*, Ministry of Justice Research Series 10/08, Crown Copyright.
- SHAW, R. G. and MITCHELL-OLDS, T. (1993), 'Anova for Unbalanced Data: An Overview', *Ecology*, 74: 1638–45.
- SHERMAN, L. and STRANG, H. (2007), *Restorative Justice: The Evidence*. London: The Smith Institute.
- SHERMAN, L., STRANG, H., ANGEL, C., WOODS, D., BARNES, G. C., BENNETT, S., INPKEN, N. and ROSSNER, M. (2005), 'Effects of Face-to-Face Restorative Justice on Victims of Crime in Four Randomized, Controlled Trials', *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1: 367–95.
- SHERMAN, L. W. and BARNES, G. ((1997)), 'Restorative Justice and Offenders' Respect for the Law', RISE Working Paper No. 3, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University.
- STRANG, H. (2002), *Repair or Revenge: Victims and Restorative Justice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- STRANG, H., SHERMAN, L., ANGEL, C., DANIEL, W., BENNETT, S., NEWBURY-BIRCH, D. and INKPEN, N. (2006), 'Victim Evaluations of Face-to-Face Restorative Justice Conferences: A Quasi-Experimental Analysis', *Journal of Social Issues*, 62: 281–306.
- THIBAUT, J. and WALKER, L. (1975), *Procedural Justice: A Psychological Analysis*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- THURBER, C. A. and WEISZ, J. R. (1997), "You Can Try or You Can Just Give Up": The Impact of Perceived Control and Coping Style on Childhood Homesickness', *Developmental Psychology*, 33: 508–17.
- TYLER, T. R. (1988), 'What Is Procedural Justice: Criteria Used by Citizens to Assess the Fairness of Legal Procedures', *Law and Society Review*, 22: 103–35.
- (1990), *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- TYLER, T. R., SHERMAN, L., STRANG, H., BARNES, G. C. and WOODS, D. (2007), 'Reintegrative Shaming, Procedural Justice, and Recidivism: The Engagement of Offenders' Psychological Mechanisms in the Canberra RISE Drinking-and-Driving Experiment', *Law & Society Review*, 41: 553–86.
- UMBREIT, M., COATS, R. B. and VOSS, B. (2001), 'The Impact of Victim–Offender Mediation: Two Decades of Research', *Federal Probation*, 65: 29–35.
- WADE, A. (2002), 'New Measures and New Challenges: Children's Experiences of the Court Process', in H. L. Westcott et al, ed, *Children's Testimony: A Handbook of Psychological Research and Forensic Practice*. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons.
- WHITCOMB, D. (2003), 'Legal Interventions for Child Victims', *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 16: 149–57.
- ZEHR, H. (1990), *Changing Lenses: A New Focus for Crime and Justice*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.

Appendix

Appendix: A Statistical Coding and Description of Variables

Variables	Coding	Description
<i>Outcome</i>		
Level of satisfaction	0 = Least satisfied 31 = Most satisfied	Outcome variable. Composite scale representing victims' level of satisfaction of the process, indicated by eight Likert-type items (alpha reliability = 0.866)
<i>Predictors</i>		
Court assignment	1 = Conference 0 = Court	Treatments. Binary variable coded 1 for victims whose cases were assigned to conferences (treatment) and 0 for court victims (comparison group)
Age group	1 = Juveniles 0 = Adults	Grouping factor. Binary variable coded 1 for juveniles (below the age of 18) and 0 for adults (aged 18 and above)
Court x Age	1 = Adults—court 2 = Adults—conference 3 = Juveniles—court 4 = Juveniles—conference	Interaction variable. Represents each of the four groups created by the 2x2 factorial design
Crime effects	0 = Least affected 3 = Most affected	Covariate. Continuous, normalized scale that indicates the level of perceived physical and psychological harm caused by the offence (nine yes/no items, alpha reliability = 0.804)