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Green, C., DeBlare, C. & **Said, I. A.** (2021). Mindfulness and the Black Protestant Church: A culturally adapted group intervention for stress. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity.*

shodiya-zeumault, s., DeBlaere, C., Aiello, M., **Said, I.** & Davis, D. E. (2021) Responses to the Unite the Right Rally: Perceptions, stress, and the moderating role of interpersonal proximity. *Race and Social Problems*.

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SELECTED REFEREED PRESENTATIONS:

Said, I.A., DeBlaere, C. & Underwood, D. *A Randomized control trial: Shifting carceral attitudes through transformative and restorative justice interventions*. (2023) Lightning paper presentation at the Association for Women in Psychology 2023 Conference, Atlanta, GA.

Ho, L., Srijevantham, J., **Said, I.A.**, Shim, H. *Transformative Justice 101 with the devi coop* (2023) Featured Workshop presentation at the Association for Women in Psychology 2023 Conference, Atlanta, GA.

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JUST-ISH?: ALTERNATIVE JUSTICE ATTITUDES: A RANDOMIZED CONTROL TRIAL

by

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Under the Direction of Cirleen DeBlaere, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Responses to harm and crime in the United States typically utilize the criminal legal system's retributive approach, which often contributes to cycles of harm rather than facilitating healing (Davis, 2019; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). In response, alternative responses to harm like transformative and restorative justice are growing in popularity (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017). These approaches to justice are often conflated, but rarely compared (Nocella & Anthony, 2011). First, a systematic literature review of transformative and restorative justice utilizing a qualitative content analysis (QCA) identified the two interventions' definitions, comparisons, and perceived attitudinal outcomes. The major themes of healing for both justice processes and a distinct divestment from the current criminal legal system in transformative justice processes were identified. Second, a three-arm randomized control trial study design included a group that

received no intervention (control group), a transformative justice educational intervention, and a restorative justice educational intervention. Results indicated a decrease in endorsement of retributive justice attitudes after both alternative justice educational interventions (i.e., transformative and restorative justice). Additionally, the study did not find that victimization functioned as a moderator of the effect of educational interventions on attitudes towards retributive justice approaches. Further, this study found predictive outcomes of transformative and restorative justice educational interventions on actual decisions to choose restorative and transformative justice processes above the current criminal legal system.

INDEX WORDS: Alternative justice, transformative justice, restorative justice

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A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Counseling Psychology

in

The College of Education & Human Development

Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA

2023

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thank you to my parents, friends, and fellow program members that have supported me in so many ways throughout this process. I have special thanks to my advisor, Dr. Cirleen DeBlaere, for the freedom to focus this dissertation on a lesser-researched topic and for her support throughout my academic journey. I would also like to sincerely thank my committee members Dr. Elizabeth Beck, Dr. Catharina Chang, and Dr. Tamara Turner for the time, commitment, and effort that went into this project. I have the utmost gratitude for the devi co-op, a local Atlanta transformative justice and survivor defense organization that took me in and taught me the ways of transformative justice. Finally, thank you to the Queer and Trans communities of color I met on Mvskoke land (Atlanta, Georgia) that opened a window of community-led possibilities and introduced me to the world of Indigenous practices for alternative justice.

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1 AN ANALYSIS: TRANSFORMATIVE AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Introduction

The United States (U.S.) has the highest national prison population rate per 100,000 people in the world (Walmsley, 2018). Many of those within the prison system hold marginalized identities (The Sentencing Report, 2013). Both crime and justice are legally based (Trenczek, 2015); however, when laws do not apply to all people in the same way, gaps and discrepancies emerge in the way the “justice” system supports its users. “Crime” has been argued to be too narrow of a term to investigate the varying types of conflict and harm that occur within society, both interpersonally and systemically. A radical change in addressing harm is required for systemic change and healing (Kim, 2018). Therefore, to divest from the criminal legal system and for the uses of this paper, we will highlight harm rather than crime(s). Calls for changes in our harm responses have been put forward for decades, but many have turned to the more familiar systems for answers (i.e., criminal legal system, school system; Kim, 2020; Palmer & Gretak, 2017). However, these institutions perpetuate systemic oppression through stark disparities of who experiences actual consequences (i.e., individuals of color, LGBTQ+ individuals; Nellis, 2016; Palmer & Gretak, 2017). Therefore, “crime” remains “regulated not eradicated” (Martin, 1999). Alternative non-punitive approaches to harm must be explored to interrupt the systemic oppression that the criminal legal system directly endorses (Kaba & Hassan, 2019).

There has been significant public debate regarding the efficacy and aims of the criminal legal system (Coulling & Johnston, 2018; Kaba & Hassan, 2019). As the justice system does not provide justice to all, the *criminal justice system* will be referred to as the criminal legal system or retributive justice in this paper. The U.S. criminal legal system has roots in white racial

hierarchy (white supremacy) and patriarchy and, therefore, disproportionately harms those with less power within these systems (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020; Martin, 1999). Cycles of harm are persistent and preserved through the use of the legal and criminal system, often deepening wounds related to the original harm that led to them engaging the criminal legal system in the first place and creating new injustices (Davis, 2019; Coulling & Johnston, 2018). For example, prison sexual victimization is estimated to occur for an alarming 20% of the population of those incarcerated (Jones & Pratt, 2008). Thus, not only does the criminal legal system not heal harms that have previously occurred, but it also creates an environment in which additional harms are likely to take place. Given that other nations utilize the U.S. as a model of prison policies and practices, it is even more imperative that we create change in how we sanction responses to harm (Martin, 1999). Further, the use of the criminal legal system varies, with many individuals underreporting certain types of harm like sexual harm (Boutillier & Wells, 2018).

Criminal legal approaches are a disservice and will not heal the harms caused within those systems (Kaba, 2021). The dichotomy created when using legal terminology such as “victim” or “survivor”, “offender” or “perpetrator” labels can make it difficult to acknowledge the nuance in situations of harm (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). Therefore, this manuscript uses the terms the *person who was harmed* and the *person who harmed* (Kim, 2011); dehumanizing those that harm by labeling and flattening the multidimensional contexts of harm contributes to maintaining the cycle of violence by limiting the buy-in to healing and reconciliation processes for those who have harmed (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). This paper explored responses to harm that represent alternatives to the criminal legal system (i.e., transformative justice, restorative justice) to identify potential approaches that may better manifest true justice and healing when harm occurs.

Definitions of Transformative and Restorative Justice

The approaches that were examined in this study are *transformative justice* and *restorative justice*. Despite representing distinct constructs, transformative and restorative justice are terms that are commonly used interchangeably (Nocella & Anthony, 2011; Zehr, 2011). With their Native and Indigenous origins, transformative and restorative justice practices precede the current prison and legal system (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). However, their newfound mainstream popularity can be attributed to the public failure of the prison industrial complex (Davis, 2019). For this paper, *transformative justice* is defined as a response to harm that “involve(s) attempts to remove the underlying causes of harm and injustice” (Brown, 2019; Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Transformative justice aims for long-term approaches that prevent harm (Kaba & Hassan, 2019). Transformative justice's most common current utilization involves responses to domestic violence, sexual violence, and juvenile justice situations (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Kim, 2018). A brief example of this in a domestic violence scenario would work outside of systems of oppression (i.e., legal systems, foster care systems, non-profits) to provide resources and social support for children and the survivor parent. This example would also include using family and community members to house the parent who harmed while creating a future accountability plan to prevent this from happening again (Creative Interventions, 2019). Transformative justice has increasingly become popularized globally, led mainly by people of color (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Kim, 2018). Thus, transformative justice suggests that divestment is necessary from the systems that perpetuate harm in generating the solutions to address that harm (patriarchy, white racial hierarchy, capitalism; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020).

In this paper, *restorative justice* is described as restoration (repair of harm), accountability (acknowledged responsibility of harm), and engagement (community participation

in addressing harm; Zehr, 2015). Restorative justice interventions are judged on quality (“strength”) and fidelity (“integrity”) to core principles based on 1) reparation of harm to stakeholders 2) involvement of stakeholders in the RJ process, and 3) the restoration of stakeholders to increase accountability and empowerment (Gilbert et al., 2013). Restorative justice is often explained through the southern African term *Ubuntu* which states that “the individual exists only in relationship to the collective” highlighting its value of community (Davis, 2019, p. 17). It is important to note that although popularized as a response to harm, restorative justice also serves as a proactive connective practice for community members and does not require forgiveness (Davis, 2019). Thus, transformative justice radically addresses the root causes of harm, and restorative justice has a more conservative aim to return the person or community harmed to their original status pre-harm. Therefore, their approaches to harm are notably different. The former focuses on the systemic and institutional shifts necessary to avoid harm, and the latter on individual and community-level harm (Morris, 1999).

Although these definitions are provided for the sake of shared understanding in this manuscript, it is important to acknowledge that definitions of transformative justice and restorative justice are not without debate within the alternative justice field and definitions vary, typically regarding their proximity to the criminal legal system (Johnston & Coulling, 2018; Kim, 2020). This may be because both forms of justice have been described vaguely as a “way of life” and a way of healing, leaving ample room for interpretation (Ainley, 2017; Barnard Center for Research on Women, 2020; Zehr, 2015). Therefore, it is plausible that these constructs are best defined by the individuals and communities who practice and utilize them in their own necessarily unique ways. While change is critical, it is important to heed that prior well-intentioned reformist policies to the criminal legal system have not always fulfilled their

promises of decreased harm (Kim, 2020). More recently, calls for non-punitive approaches to addressing harm have grown exponentially (Fileborn & Veray-Gray, 2017) and have received some institutional support (i.e., schools, criminal legal system, etc.; Kim, 2020; Latimer et al., 2005). The 1970s were pivotal for the increased popularization of transformative and restorative approaches due to the parallel rise in activism (i.e., the battered women's movement and an increasingly progressive sexual assault climate; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020; Martin, 1999). However, although these movements led to a rise in extralegal responses like transformative justice (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020), there was also an increase in punitive legal responses (i.e., new laws passed and women's rights in state policy; Martin, 1999). Consequently, alternative justice responses remain in the minority when compared to the criminal legal system. It seems plausible that one factor that has hindered widespread understanding and adoption of transformative and restorative justice interventions is the lack of a clear definition of these terms. It is also possible that given the lack of consistency in these definitions, alternative justice interventions have been used and adopted under terminology that is not transformative or restorative justice.

In addition, there is a lack of research on transformative justice outcomes due to its definitional disinterest in involvement in institutions and the undocumented, volunteer-based nature of the work (Kim, 2018). Further, those that may hold transformative justice values have at times been categorized as weary of joining criminological research when government-funded (Madfis & Cohen, 2016). In contrast, the empirical findings that exist on restorative justice are very promising (Latimer et al., 2005; Rasmussen et al., 2018). Restorative justice outcomes often focus on recidivism rates, "victim" and "offender" satisfaction, and retribution (Goulding & Steels, 2013), which represent relatively straightforward measures compared to assessing transformative justice's aims of systemic change. Therefore, more research is needed to clarify

the definitions of, and attitudes towards, transformative and restorative justice as it may provide insight into their distinct benefits and potential impacts.

Purpose and Present Study

Out of the 326 million people in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021), six and a half million, or roughly 2% of people, were involved in some correctional services in 2018 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2021). The quickly emerging concepts of transformative and restorative justice provide hope and opportunity to decrease or eradicate these statistics. Despite this potential and the need for definitional clarity for both transformative justice and restorative justice, empirical research examining and comparing these definitions for uniqueness and overlap is lacking. In addition, little is known about the public's attitudes and preferences toward these alternative practices (Okimoto et al., 2012). Thus, research is needed to clarify perceived public attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice in tandem. Further, a review of the existing literature is necessary to understand the remaining gaps and the next steps for both research and practice.

Based on this need, the current study conducted a systematic literature review utilizing qualitative content analysis (QCA) to examine two primary research questions: (1) what are the definitional similarities and differences between transformative and restorative justice and (2) what are the perceived attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice practices. QCA was determined to be an ideal approach to address these research goals because it allowed me to examine the existing writing on these topics comprehensively to build knowledge (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Findings are organized by definitions of transformative justice, definitions of restorative justice, and comparisons between the two definitions. Further, this review examined perceived attitudes toward transformative and restorative justice. It is my hope that this study can

inform potential next steps for widespread implementation of and buy-in to these alternative practices.

Methodology

Search Procedures and Inclusion Criteria

Researchers conducted a systematic literature review using QCA (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) of peer-reviewed publications focused on both transformative and restorative justice to investigate the state of the combined literature. The specific aims of this analysis were to explore the operational definitions of these alternative approaches, comparisons between these definitions, and the perceived public attitudes toward transformative and restorative justice literature. The terms “ab(restorative)” AND “ab(transformative)” AND “ab(justice)” were searched in PSYCInfo, ProQuest: Criminal Justice Database, EBSCO Host: Criminal Justice Abstracts, and ProQuest: Social Services. These databases were chosen because of their use in previous literature reviews on transformative and restorative justice (Burns & Sinko, 2021; Ortiz, 2019; Todic et al., 202) and their listing as reputable sources of behavioral science, social science, and criminal legal resources. These previous literature reviews had different foci or were not within the scope of the current study; therefore, this study addresses a critical gap in the literature by combining psychological and legislative databases in the review of transformative and restorative justice approaches.

To be included in the analysis, articles first needed to include all three search terms in their abstracts to address my aim of comparing the definitions between transformative and restorative justice. Second, articles needed to discuss both transformative and restorative justice in the full text and define at least one of these constructs. Third, all articles needed to represent peer-reviewed journal articles published in English. After collecting an initial pool of articles for

inclusion, the body of each article was reviewed to ensure that the inclusion criteria were met. Articles that did not meet inclusion criteria after this full review were dropped from further analysis. The original search resulted in a total of 82 articles (see Figure 1). This search primarily included papers discussing and extending prior literature on transformative justice and restorative justice (Alexander, 2020). Twenty-one duplicate articles were then excluded. Upon reviewing abstracts, another 36 articles were removed due to their use of transformative as an adjective (e.g., “transformative potential” $n = 24$), incorrect publication medium (i.e., lecture, diary entry, article reply, dissertation, book review; $n = 10$), and publication language not being English ($n = 2$). Finally, nine articles were excluded based on full-text analysis due to the absence of the term “transformative justice” in the full text ($n = 7$), and lack of definitions of transformative and/or restorative justice ($n = 2$). This resulted in a final pool of 16 peer-reviewed articles. Journals of the articles included in this QCA can be found in Table 1.

Coding Team

The coding team consisted of two coders. The first author, Coder One, is a fourth-year student in an APA-accredited Counseling Psychology doctoral program. Coder One identifies as a 25-year-old, Black, Queer person with no current disabilities. Coder Two is a recent graduate of a Masters in Education in Counseling Psychology program. Coder Two identifies as a 27-year-old, Black, heterosexual, cisgender man with no current disabilities. Before data coding, coders engaged in a reflexive exercise examining their social identities and possible biases to the coding process and data interpretation. We determined how we may be partial towards positive interpretations of transformative and restorative justice based on our interest in criminal legal system alternatives, anecdotal indirect experience with criminal legal systems, and our own marginalized identities. We remained as close to the data as possible to address this potential

bias, often using short, direct quotes for initial codes to avoid biased interpretation and increased contextualization of the data (Finfgeld-Connett, 2014).

Research Methodology and Data Analysis

Analysis procedures utilized QCA, a common procedure in psychological research. Best practices in QCA methods, as articulated by Elo and Kyngäs (2008), and reporting procedures as discussed by Levitt and colleagues (2017) guided the study's method and analysis. QCA allows qualitative data to be systematically reviewed to identify key features of the findings (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Pavelka, 2016) that facilitate knowledge-building and the systematic synthesis of findings (Finfgeld-Connett, 2014). QCA is an iterative process that identifies patterns in the data to conceptualize phenomena (Levitt et al., 2018). Versions of content analysis have been widely adopted in social science (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) and legal research (i.e., statutory analyses; Hall & Wright, 2006; Silva & Lambert, 2015), providing interdisciplinary familiarity and an opportunity for widespread understanding. Consistent with best practice, the trustworthiness of analyses was addressed using memoing and ongoing conversations between the two coders (Elo et al., 2014). This memoing included documentation of reactions and conclusions of the shared data after independently coding (Creswell et al., 2017).

An inductive approach utilized three phases of analysis: 1) preparation, 2) organizing, and 3) reporting (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The first stage, preparation, includes identifying the unit of coding, level of detail, and content focus for the first round of initial codes. The second stage, organization, begins with initial coding for all aspects of the data, then combining initial codes to create categories for the data, and finally combining categories to create higher-order themes. The organizing phase results in the least amount of higher-order themes with the most parsimony to fully describe the raw qualitative data. The last phase of reporting includes creating definitions

for themes, also known as abstraction. In the preparation phase of this study, coders identified the focus and unit of analysis as identification of definitions, comparisons, and perceived attitudes of transformative and restorative justice. In the organizing phase of this study, these units of analysis were used to create open codes while inductively analyzing the data in the first round of reading. Then, coders collapsed similar initial codes to create categories ($n = 92$) in the next sequence of readings. Finally, coders collapsed similar categories to create well-saturated higher-order themes ($n = 15$; Finfgeld-Connett, 2014). In the reporting phase of this study, abstraction resulted in the creation of definitions of the themes of the data.

Coders used a reflexive log throughout the independent open coding process for questions or conflicts that arose. After independently open coding, coders met to discuss initial coded categories and review any questions or disagreements in coding. A consensus was reached for the minimal discrepancies that emerged in coding through collaborative meetings where codes were re-analyzed, resulting in unanimous agreement among coders. A total of 15 themes emerged, consisting of four transformative justice themes, four restorative justice themes, four themes that represented a combination of transformative justice and restorative justice, and three themes on perceived public attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice practices. Further, frequencies and percentages of each theme were reported to provide additional descriptive information on the prevalence of each theme.

Results

Article Characteristics

Of the 16 articles, seven were reviews, five were critiques, three were theoretical papers, and one was an empirical qualitative study. Articles that were reviews constituted as summarizing the pre-existing literature, articles that were critiques vocally noted biases and

limitations of either transformative justice or restorative justice, and theoretical papers spoke to the theory of transformative and restorative justice. These 16 articles were reviewed for definitions of transformative and restorative justice, comparisons between definitions of transformative and restorative justice, and perceived public attitudes about transformative and restorative justice. Of the 16 articles, two focused on transformative justice, five focused on restorative justice, and nine covered both equally (i.e., 40%-60% frequency of either form of justice). This resulted in a total of 15 themes that are organized below according to the aims of the research questions: (1) definitions of transformative justice, (2) definitions of restorative justice, (3) comparisons of definitions of transformative and restorative justice, and (4) perceived public attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice (see Appendix A). Although we identified more themes than is typical of many qualitative analyses, there are no specific guidelines within QCA for generating an ideal number of themes (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Themes that emerged from the data should contribute to novel insights from the literature (Lucas & D'Enbeau, 2013); therefore, more themes may be appropriate and justified. Furthermore, themes should communicate findings sufficiently independent of considerable explanation to create a comprehensive model of the study's findings, as is the case with the current investigation (Bazely, 2009).

Operational Definitions of Transformative Justice

We identified four themes for the definition of transformative justice. Overall, definitions of transformative justice in the literature included deinstitutionalization, acknowledgment of the roots of harm and impact of systems of oppression, highlighting the needs of marginalized individuals, and a foundation within communities. The most frequent theme of transformative justice was deinstitutionalization due to transformative justice processes occurring only outside

of systems. The second most frequent definitional theme was transformative justice's ability to focus on systems and root causes of harm, a distinctive component of transformative justice. The third theme was transformative justice's values to center marginalized identities within transformative justice processes. The final, least frequent theme was the need for transformative justice to be community-based. These themes of transformative justice were not debated among authors and were consistent with other literature (Kaba & Hassan, 2019).

Deinstitutionalization. ($n = 37$, 11.07%): At its core, transformative justice aims to abolish systems of oppression and rebuild new ways of interacting that do not preserve cycles of harm. Articles in this theme discussed the ways transformative justice has divested from systems of oppression as a whole, particularly the criminal legal system. Thus, in transformative justice, focus shifts from systems of oppression to community-led initiatives. Transformative justice posits that the criminal legal system is directly responsible for harm and systemic oppression. It asserts that by using criminal legal system interventions, the responsibility of harm is individualized and systemically perpetuated, which further colludes with problematic institutions (Drumbl, 2000; Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). As a practice that seeks community sovereignty, transformative justice challenges the authority and power of the criminal legal system (Kim, 2018; Kim, 2020). These authors emphasized that transformative justice does not believe in reform of the criminal legal system, but rather abolition and the decentering of institutions as a whole (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Kim, 2018). Therefore, this theme captured that transformative justice exists entirely outside of institutions (including non-profits) and is not dependent on organizations, though there is an acknowledgment that organizations may help with the movement's longevity (Kim; 2018; Kim, 2020).

Roots and Systems-Focused. ($n = 28$, 8.34%): This theme addresses the fundamental systems-lens within transformative justice that views and attempts to respond to harm (Kim, 2020). This systems-lens can be defined as acknowledging and investigating the impact systems of oppression have on transformative justice processes (e.g., How does racism and racial identity affect the dynamics of harm between a person of color and a White person?) Thus, these authors define transformative justice as an understanding of the impact of systems of oppression on interpersonal relations (Kim, 2020). In this, transformative justice seeks to transform individuals by transforming the impact of systems (Lambourne, 2009). For example, a community that responds to harm with transformative justice approaches will not utilize the criminal legal system, therefore shifting and decreasing the prison system's impact on its community members because members are not calling the police on each other. As a result, members may move more freely with less fear throughout their communities because of a divestment from the criminal legal system (Dixon & Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2020).

Thus, despite divesting in systems of oppression as highlighted in the previous theme, transformative justice acknowledges the impacts these systems can still have. Rather than placing full blame on the individual who harmed, transformative justice seeks accountability for personal behavior while simultaneously recognizing the responsibility of societal institutions that condone and perpetuate such harms through education and prevention (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017). By doing this, scholars posit that transformative justice investigates the underlying causes of harm or the roots that oppressive systems have planted in interpersonal relations (Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Many articles described transformative justice as both future and present-focused (Lambourne, 2009), seeking to prevent future harms of a similar nature from occurring with systemic changes that have longevity in their impact (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Martin,

1999). This systems-based approach can alter power dynamics in communities and shift the status-quo by creating sustainable interventions that ensure the harm cannot be repeated (Martin, 1999). For example, harm from a drunk driver in a local neighborhood may be addressed by transformative justice processes that result in outcomes of a community carpooling system, education on driving under the influence, and a buddy accountability system. Therefore, transformative justice can respond to harm even when the harm doer is not identifiable (e.g., cat-caller) because the entire community works to prevent the harm from occurring in the first place or again (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017).

Margins-Centered. ($n = 26$, 7.78%): This theme focuses on the definitional foundation of transformative justice as challenging systems of oppression by catering to those with oppressed social identities. These articles highlight that transformative justice centers on those with minoritized identities (Kim, 2018) and considers cultural factors that may affect individuals' perceptions of justice and healing (Kim, 2011). Further, transformative justice challenges and shifts cultural contexts and community values that are harmful to those with marginalized identities (i.e., rape culture; Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Walker, 2016). This cultural context is used to create unique approaches to addressing harm that consider the social identities of all involved and does not subscribe to a "one-size-fits-all" strategy (Eriksson, 2009; Lambourne, 2009). Transformative justice recognizes the impact of social identities and power relations in transformative process spaces to address potential identity-related harm components (Coulling & Johnston, 2018; Kim, 2011). Similarly, due to transformative justice's complete departure from the criminal legal system, it can support individuals that are harmed or oppressed by it, focusing on the marginalized identities that the criminal legal system targets (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Kim, 2018). In this way, compared to punitive practices that create fewer

opportunities for healing and disparities in the engagement of these opportunities, transformative justice is accessible to all and equitably offered (Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Therefore, a foundational aspect of transformative justice is its ability to center marginalized identities.

Community-Based. ($n = 21$, 6.29%): This theme included articles that described the importance of community engagement and participation in transformative justice. In line with its goals of deinstitutionalization, the only “system” in which transformative justice exists is within the community(ies) in which the harm occurred. This creates a more intimate setting for harm to be discussed with community stakeholders who have high buy-in to positive outcomes (Kim, 2018). These practices allow communities to become self-reliant regarding conflict and transformation, thus empowering them with the potential to self-govern (Kim, 2018; Kim, 2020). Transformative justice seeks to create new community norms that account for all community members, not just the majority (Eriksson, 2009). Therefore, scholars assert that community trust and participation are essential for negotiating justice aims (Kim, 2011; Kim, 2018) and the success of transformative justice (Ainley, 2017; Eriksson, 2009; Lambourne, 2009). Thus, articles suggest community justice is internally, rather than externally, defined and created (Ainley, 2017; Drumbl, 2000). Accordingly, transformative justice’s foundation in the community is imperative for its survival and success.

Articles in the four themes of this section focus on the radical aims of transformative justice. These aims require acknowledging and addressing harm at the root cause by simultaneously holding individual accountability and acknowledging systemic impacts of interpersonal relationships. By doing this, transformative justice looks beyond the harm as a stand-alone event and investigates the circumstances and systems that allowed the harm to

happen. Through this investigation, transformative justice inevitably centers marginalized identities and acknowledges the role of community culture.

Operational Definitions of Restorative Justice

We identified four themes of restorative justice in the literature, including its basis in the community, potential relations to the criminal legal system, aims of restoration to a status of pre-harm, and focus on the needs of all involved, particularly the needs of those harmed. The most frequent theme in this section was restorative justice's community-oriented approach. The second most frequent theme was restorative justice's ability to exist alongside systems of oppression, like the criminal legal system. The third most frequent theme was restorative justice's focus on restoration to pre-harm (i.e., getting the harmed party to return to their status before the harm). The least common theme in this section was that restorative justice was needs-based and centered processes on the individual harmed.

Community-Based. ($n = 19$, 5.67%): Restorative justice is described in this theme by its characteristic feature of including all those who have a stake in the harm committed. In restorative justice, those harmed, those who have done harm, and their communities/other stakeholders are involved in the healing process (Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Restorative justice believes that community healing requires community collaboration (Martin, 1999). Therefore, restorative justice seeks to empower all community members through community autonomy and addressing underlying community issues (Eriksson, 2009; Woolford & Ratner, 2010). By creating a shared narrative, restorative justice allows the community to share their truths (Drumbl, 2000). Thus, without community, restorative justice is not possible.

Acknowledgement and Critique of Proximity to the Criminal Legal System. ($n = 18$, 5.39%): Many articles in this theme listed a defining feature of restorative justice as its close

relation to the criminal legal system and criticized this component of some authors' definitions of restorative justice (Kim, 2020). Restorative justice processes often are activated through involvement of the criminal legal system. Several authors noted this defining feature of restorative justice and critiqued it as a potential violation of the participatory nature of restorative justice. In the restorative justice field, authors struggle with and highlight the debate for restorative justice to be practiced alongside or independently from criminal legal proceedings (Johnston & Coulling, 2018). Approaches to restorative justice that have linkages that overlap excessively with the criminal legal system are often denounced by restorative justice practitioners, further extrapolated in the discussion (Eriksson, 2009). Thus, according to scholars, this theme highlights the schism in the restorative justice community regarding its use and potential ultimate compliance with the criminal legal system.

Restoration to Pre-Harm. ($n = 16$, 4.79%): This theme captures restorative justice's aims to return individuals harmed to the state they were in pre-harm (Martin, 1999) in hopes to “make right” the harms caused (Ainley, 2017). Articles defined this as achieved using three parties (i.e., the person who has experienced harm, the person who harmed, and their respective communities) to address injury and collectively decide on the next steps for reconciliation (Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Restorative justice aims to return individuals to the status-quo before the injury occurred (Walker, 2016). In sum, this theme discusses the primary goal of restorative justice as a method to restore an individual to their pre-harmed state.

Person Harmed-Focused. ($n = 11$, 3.29%): Restorative justice involves the person harmed, the person who committed the harm, and their communities. However, in several articles, restorative justice was defined as a process that centers on the person harmed (i.e., survivor, victim). In this theme, authors focus on the importance of the person harmed and their

needs while also recognizing the appropriate parties required to meet those needs. Restorative justice is needs-based and therefore focuses on what individuals require to heal from the harm they have experienced or learn from the harm they have caused by using reconciliation and truth-telling (Ainley, 2017; Sullivan et al., 2006). Restorative justice programming often includes an educational component that informs the person who caused harm about the complex and multi-level communal impacts of their harmful behaviors (Kim, 2018). Therefore, restorative justice can look differently as the techniques and types vary greatly in practice (Woolford & Ratner, 2016).

These four themes align with scholar's defined principles of restorative justice (Zehr, 2015) and also highlight tension within the field. Through these themes, restorative justice encompasses community-based approaches to harm that focus on the harmed person's needs and return to pre-harm status. Restorative justice also can take place alongside or outside of the criminal legal system. Thus, restorative justice appears to focus on the issue at hand rather than root causes as evidenced by its focus on the person harmed and restoration to pre-harm.

Comparisons of Transformative and Restorative Justice

We identified four themes for comparisons of transformative and restorative justice. Overall, articles spotlighted transformative and restorative justice's ability to be appropriated, the productive tension that comparisons and critiques between the two camps can create, the capacity for complexity in nuance of harm, and the extensive overlap of the two, which resulted in a false dichotomy. The most frequent theme in this section was the potential for cooptation which discussed how both transformative and restorative justice could be misappropriated by institutions and individuals. The second most frequent theme in articles was productive tension between transformative and restorative justice camps that highlighted valuable distinctions

between the two approaches. The third most frequent theme was both approaches' capacity for complexity regarding responses to harm and creations of justice. Finally, the fourth and least frequent theme was a false binary of transformative and restorative justice suggesting that the two approaches are more alike than different. These four themes speak to the similarities and differences between transformative and restorative justice. Thus, the authors identified distinctions and overlap in this section.

Potential for Cooptation. ($n = 30$, 8.98%): This theme encapsulates the concern that cooptation of transformative and restorative justice practices is possible and problematic. Authors mainly addressed the potential for cooptation towards restorative justice practices as opposed to transformative justice approaches. However, with regard to transformative practices, although organizational support of transformative justice approaches is rarely funded, funded and state-run research can co opt transformative justice approaches (Kim, 2020). In these ways, both transformative and restorative justice terminologies can be weaponized and colonized without properly acknowledging their indigenous roots (Lambourne, 2009). Further, Kim (2020) discusses how cooptation can happen even within non-punitive justice movements. For example, restorative justice practitioners may use movement momentum from transformative justice advocates defining restorative justice as the more familiar, thus "safer" approach.

Authors posit restorative justice's increased liability to cooptation is a result of its already close ties to the criminal legal system (Woolford & Ratner, 2010), with some arguing that it is already appropriated (Madfis & Cohen, 2016). For example, some "restorative justice" programming may result in sentencing and jail time if the intervention is not deemed successful by the court (Kim, 2020), undermining the central component of voluntary engagement. Further, restorative justice is often used for less severe crime or youth crime (Woolford & Ratner, 2010),

sparking criticism that it has become a part of the criminal legal system itself. Through this state cooptation, there is also a risk of professionalizing restorative justice (Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Further, some authors propose that the growing popularity of restorative justice itself in the Western world is colonizing an indigenous approach (Lambourne, 2009). Thus, the more intertwined restorative and punitive, traditional western approaches to harm become, the more potential for cooptation.

Productive Tension. ($n = 18, 5.39\%$): In this theme, authors supported the debate between transformative and restorative justice practices, citing it as helpful for the movement. Opposing the notion that transformative justice and restorative justice create false dichotomies, authors suggested that the schism in the values of each is real and should be acknowledged and discussed. Several articles described the tension between transformative and restorative justice camps as more productive than any potential resolution (Braithwaite, 2000; Kim, 2020). Authors cited the preventative nature of transformative justice coupled with the retrospective nature of restorative justice, allowing each to challenge the other and encourage creativity in responding to harm (Kim, 2020; Madfis & Cohen, 2016). These articles describe contradiction as essential for movement and change towards shared goals, providing a starting place (Kim, 2020). Articles also highlighted the notion that social movements have room for critique (Kim, 2020); however, they also require action and solidity in their goals (Madfis & Cohen, 2016). Thus, articles in this theme support transformative and restorative justice as two distinct approaches that benefit from comparison.

Complexity and Nuance of Harm. ($n = 17, 5.09\%$): The articles in this theme described transformative and restorative justice's shared capacity for complexity regarding harms and responses to harms. Part of the healing nature of non-punitive approaches is their ability to hold

the intricacies of injury and conflict and create space for the complexity of justice in response. For example, transformative and restorative justice decrease or eliminate penal consequences for those harmed as well as the harm doer, thus promoting survivor autonomy (e.g., jail time in response to a person being harmed's self-defense, mandatory arrests; Kim, 2020; Martin, 1999). Unlike a uniform legal system approach, principles of transformative and restorative justice have the capacity for cultural considerations and social nuance (Drumbl, 2000; Eriksson, 2009). Additionally, contrary to the criminal legal system, which views justice as a binary (e.g., "winner"/"loser"), alternative forms of justice hold space for the multidimensionality of conflict situations (Coulling & Johnston, 2018).

Dehumanization of harm doers is common in punitive approaches to harm (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). Therefore, transformative and restorative justice often refer to the parties involved as *those who have been harmed* and *those who have harmed* to prevent further dichotomizing dynamics and labeling individuals within systems (Kim, 2018). Both transformative and restorative justice disrupt the criminal legal system's perspective of harm, shifting from an individual to a communal lens (Kim, 2018). In this theme, transformative and restorative justice's ability to protect those who are harmed by highlighting participation (i.e., no forced testimony, no involvement of police, invasion of privacy) provided space for the complexity of how harm can affect a community (Martin, 1999). Several articles discussed transformative and restorative approaches' ability to hold and account for tension, confusion, and layered complications as processes occur. Therefore, there are several benefits to transformative and restorative justice's willingness to approach harm so openly.

False Dichotomy. ($n = 11$, 3.29%): This theme covered the consideration of a false binary and unproductive tension between transformative and restorative justice. Some believe

that transformative justice uses principles of restorative justice and extends it by challenging and condemning the criminal legal system, thus highlighting the similarities between restorative justice and both the criminal legal system and transformative justice (Eriksson, 2009; Kim, 2020; Madfis & Cohen, 2016). Additionally, Sullivan and colleagues discussed the potential for individual transformation from restorative justice practices, further blurring the distinction between the two constructs (2006).

Several articles mentioned the unproductive nature of the comparison of transformative to restorative justice in this theme. These articles described transformative and restorative justice as equals (Madfis & Cohen, 2016). Although in opposition to the previous theme of productive tension of transformative versus restorative justice practices, this provides further insight regarding the schism of alternative justice scholars in definitions (i.e., articles in this theme argue that transformative and restorative justice are more similar than different, and the productive tension theme posits that they are more different than similar). Articles in this theme cited the tension that requires people to “pick one” version of alternative justice when they may already be unfamiliar and uncomfortable with options for non-punitive justice but appreciate its values (Kim, 2011). Transformative and restorative justice both value individualized and community meaning-making towards justice. Therefore, Lambourne (2009) states that this unnecessary tension between transformative and restorative justice camps refuses to acknowledge the potential overlap of individual approaches and perspectives to justice that may require aspects of both practices. Thus, the aforementioned tensions between the two camps of transformative and restorative approaches are fruitless when not used to further conversations regarding the advancement of the non-punitive justice movement. In sum, articles in this theme argued that the similarities of transformative and restorative justice override the distinctions between the two.

Four themes emerged from this QCA that suggested that not only are transformative and restorative justice alike and different in varying ways but that the tension regarding these differences helps advance the movement towards non-punitive practices. Articles in the theme of productive tension argued that transformative and restorative justice were two distinct constructs, thus comparison of the two is beneficial. Contrastingly, other articles stated that the comparison between transformative and restorative justice approaches was ineffective in promoting a movement towards the use and adoption of either practice. These articles in the false dichotomy theme stated that the overlap of transformative and restorative justice is too substantial to be compared and should rather be merged. Further, the potential for the appropriation of alternative justice practices was a concern present in both transformative and restorative justice comparisons. Thus, articles identified similar risks to the integrity and underlying goals of both interventions. Therefore, articles included in this study identify transformative and restorative justice as independent practices and approaches with significant overlap.

Perceived Attitudes Towards Transformative and Restorative Justice

We identified three themes from current literature addressing perceived public attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice. The first most frequent theme was healing, which encapsulated the strengths and potential for transformative and restorative justice. The second most frequently recurring theme was the general public's familiarity with retributive justice processes compared to transformative and restorative justice. The least frequent theme was the lack of guaranteed outcomes associated with alternative justice and burnout due to these processes' emotional effort and duration.

Healing. ($n = 54, 16.17\%$): The potential for healing and new approaches to addressing conflict was the most common attitudinal theme in the literature when investigating perceived

attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice. Overall, this theme had the highest frequency within all articles, symbolizing a promising future for transformative and restorative interventions. In this theme, attitudes towards transformative justice were optimistic about its promotion and potential for healing (Ainley, 2017). Furthermore, engaging in restorative justice practices was seen as an opportunity to resolve conflict and regain dignity, status, and empowerment for survivors (Ainley, 2017; Braithwaite, 2000; Coulling & Johnston, 2018). Articles perceived both transformative and restorative justice to have the capacity to provide personal and communal healing and accountability rather than punitive-based shame and blame (Sullivan et al., 2006).

Transformative justice and restorative justice provide hope for the future even if the aims feel distant in the present, leaving the possibility of a new emerging justice system (Madfis & Cohen, 2016). Many who know about their processes acknowledge the life-changing potential of these collective non-punitive justice practices (Ainley, 2017). These alternative approaches to justice have the potential to calm the fears of marginalized communities concerned about reporting community members because of potential identity-based consequences (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). Further, through extra-criminal legal system approaches to harm, the ability to heal is no longer at a financial cost for those who cannot afford it, increasing its accessibility due to the volunteer-basis of alternative justice processes (Martin, 1999; Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Non-punitive approaches to justice take a multifaceted approach to healing and challenge people's ideas about conflict (Eriksson, 2009; Lambourne, 2009). In turn, individuals learn how to address conflict on their own through negotiation training in these processes (Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Some authors describe these non-punitive justice methods as a return to what is natural (Kim, 2020), positing that these "true justice" practices better acknowledge the

complexity of humanity without punishment (Kim, 2018; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020; Martin, 1999). In this theme, transformative and restorative justice healing potentials are evident in perceived public attitudes towards these non-punitive processes.

Legitimization and Familiarity. ($n = 22$, 6.59%): This theme displays that a large part of the hesitance of individuals to use transformative or restorative justice practices is the fear of the unknown and the appeal of more formal justice processes. Therefore, some who may not be full supporters of the criminal legal system still rely on it because it is familiar. Public attitudes to contemporary criminal legal systems are mixed (Coulling & Johnston, 2018). A large part of community buy-in to the current criminal legal system is the symbolic pledge for systemic change evidenced by responsive legislation and policy (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Kim, 2020). Additionally, because Western socialization often equates jail time or legal consequences with “justice”, many are still invested in the criminal legal system (Martin, 1999). This familiarity with a pre-defined punitive version of “justice” brings skepticism and fear for other possibilities of addressing harm.

Several articles suggested that a combination of transformative, restorative, and punitive practices used in response to harm would be most beneficial (Drumbl, 2016; Lambourne, 2009). Indeed, although acknowledging the current criminal legal systems issues, some remain invested because of promises of reform (Kim, 2020). The symbolism provided by the “official” criminal legal system allows the process to feel more formal and satisfactory for some, despite the lack of true “justice” outcomes (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Martin, 1999). Further, some individuals worry that utilizing transformative or restorative justice approaches may leave questions regarding the credibility or genuineness of an individual’s transformation (Sullivan et al., 2006). In sum, while punitive, transformative, and restorative justice all leave gaps in potential

satisfaction, individuals may feel more comfortable utilizing the criminal legal system because they are well acquainted with its proceedings.

Burnout and Unsure Outcomes. ($n = 16, 4.79\%$): This theme addressed perceived negative public attitudes regarding the resources and outcomes of transformative and restorative justice. Resources and funding for non-punitive justice practices, particularly transformative justice, are sparse (Kim, 2020). This lack of funding and resources can lead to facilitator and community burnout when attempting to implement these community-based practices because they largely depend on volunteers, many of whom are often disabled women and queer people of color (Kim, 2020).

Placing such a heavy burden on already marginalized communities can negatively affect the longevity of groups supporting these practices (Kim, 2020). Moreover, transformative and restorative justice methods have been criticized as inaccessible, limited, and extremely lengthy (Coulling & Johnston, 2018; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). The combined lack of resources, need for significant emotional and temporal investment, and dependence on volunteer labor makes alternative justice practices challenging to engage. At times, the current criminal legal system meets the promises of immediate needs (e.g., shelters, hotlines), leaving questions for how alternative responses to harm can do the same with much less (Martin, 1999). Thus, a trade comes from the divestment from institutions in return for potential increased autonomy (Woolford & Ratner, 2010).

There is also an attitude of concern towards both transformative and restorative justice with regard to potential outcomes. The systemic change that transformative justice promotes is often nebulous and radical for some to comprehend (Kim, 2011). Moreover, these non-punitive processes in practice are rarely linear nor sweeping in the ways that some believe non-punitive

justice requires (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017). Both transformative justice and restorative justice require community investment and collaboration; therefore, if this community support diminishes, justice processes can remain unrealized (Coulling & Johnston, 2018). Additionally, the expectation of these approaches to be iterative, cyclical, and non-linear may turn potential users away (Kim, 2011). Thus, the concern regarding outcomes and potential burnout of transformative and restorative justice is prevalent in the literature.

The final three themes that emerged from this study highlight important components to consider regarding current perceived public attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice and potential opportunities to shift these attitudes. Given the resources required and often lacking, there is an overarching concern about the unofficial nature of alternative justice practices and their lack of guaranteed outcomes. Despite these concerns, there was an overwhelming belief in opportunities for growth and healing specific to alternative justice practices. Thus, although attitudes on transformative and restorative justice may be split, there is notable potential for these attitudes to increase in the endorsement of alternative justice based on the possibility of these interventions' outcomes.

Discussion

Despite the independently developing literature on transformative justice and restorative justice, there remains a need for definitional clarity of the constructs, comparisons of the two approaches, and an understanding of attitudes toward their use. The current study directly addressed these needs and conducted a QCA of 16 peer-reviewed articles. Some articles contradicted others (Lambourne, 2009), stating that restorative justice combined transformative and retributive justice techniques. In other articles, a lack of definition appeared helpful in encapsulating the diversity in how these practices are engaged. Overall, it seems most scholars

have come to a consensus that the definitions of both transformative and restorative justice must remain broad to remain accurate. However, the vagueness of these descriptions may lead to cooptation or internal debate. A new way of thinking about these alternative responses to harm may be helpful and provide more guidance for those that wish to use them. For example, Fileborn & Vera-Gray (2017) propose a new way to conceptualize rather than model approaches to conflict like transformative and restorative justice (i.e., kaleidoscope justice). Thus, definitions of transformative and restorative justice may have to remain multifaceted.

Deinstitutionalization was the most repeated theme for transformative justice definitions and the second-highest theme in the systematic literature review. This was the most apparent difference between definitions of transformative and restorative justice. This theme centralized the main aim of transformative justice as the avoidance of systems of oppression at all costs. Moreover, the deinstitutionalization of transformative justice makes it difficult to research due to the lack of governmental/institutional funding (Madfis & Cohen, 2016). This lack of information regarding transformative results leaves the potential for its empirical outcomes unrealized and inaccessible to others. Additionally, the goals of transformative justice are more arduous and broader than that of restorative justice (Ainley, 2017), making the potential of defining and concretizing it difficult (Braithwaite, 2000). In summation, transformative justice offers a radical approach to harm responses that seeks true community autonomy; however, the radical nature of it can also be stigmatizing and intimidating, resulting in less buy-in, fewer resources, and scarce empirically supported outcomes. Thus, some scholars argue that this abolitionist approach could generate hesitation among those interested in transformative justice principles but not in abolition specifically (Woolford & Ratner, 2010).

The second most common theme was transformative justice's focus on root causes of harm using a systems lens. This theme is consistent with the theme of deinstitutionalization as a way not to replicate the socialization of these systems of harm within interpersonal relationships. This aligns with community-based literature's delineation of transformative and restorative justice, defining transformative justice as "restorative justice plus social justice" (Save the Kids, n.d.). The third theme in defining transformative justice was a tendency to center marginalized identities. Again, in line with the first and second themes, not only does transformative justice seek to move away from and acknowledge impacts of institutions and systems of oppression, but in this theme, it actively fights the effects of these institutions and systems on interpersonal relationships. The final theme of transformative justice was its required community-based approach. Articles posited that transformative justice has radical goals to eradicate sources of harm and thus, allows for flexibility in approaches to harm while considering the systems that perpetuate the violence. Overall, these themes are consistent in the literature despite their potential ambiguity in practice.

With regard to restorative justice definitions, the most frequent theme was restorative justice's fundamental community-based approach. However, the second most recurring theme of proximity to the criminal legal system shared an almost equal frequency with the first theme. This highlights the tension within restorative justice believers of a basis in communities (i.e., schools, neighborhoods, churches) compared to a foundation more closely connected to the criminal legal system. One criticism of restorative justice as a false alternative to the criminal legal system is that many restorative justice programs are still state-controlled (Kim, 2018). Thus, the criminal legal system is used as a backup for "unsuccessful" restorative justice cases (Kim, 2020; Martin, 1999). Further, by including state agents in early restorative justice

proceedings (i.e., judges and lawyers), the role of the community is argued to be decentralized, and autonomy is decreased (Kim, 2018). This inclusion of the criminal legal system can take the responsibility and ownership of the conflict away from the true stakeholders in this process, thus becoming the property of the state (Johnston & Coulling, 2018). As a result, practitioners' and scholars' definitions of restorative justice appear to have more debate than transformative justice, particularly regarding their use alongside the criminal legal system. Restoration to a pre-harmed state was a close third in definitional themes of restorative justice, leaving the centering of the person harmed as the least common fourth theme. These final two themes highlight the individualized nature of restorative justice as they focus on the specific issue at hand more than systemic concerns.

The definitional themes of transformative and restorative justice according to the articles in this review suggest that while there is overlap in the goals of transformative and restorative justice definitions (i.e., a focus on healing rather than punishment; Kim, 2018; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020; Martin, 1999), each has defining features that make them distinct. Therefore, working definitions of both transformative and restorative justice were established through this QCA. Overall, articles defined transformative justice as an extralegal process engaging the harm doer, the person harmed, a facilitator, and their communities in shifting communal components to address current harms and prevent future harms from occurring. Scholars cumulatively defined restorative justice as an approach to harm as an individual-level occurrence with dialogue between the harm doer, the person or party harmed, a facilitator, and their communities, at times resulting from proceedings in the criminal legal system. Therefore, the main differences between these definitions are the activation point of alternative justice in the cycle of harm of the criminal legal system. The activation point for transformative justice never utilizes the criminal legal

system, and therefore never enters the cycle of harm of the criminal legal system. Whereas restorative justice takes a harm reduction approach at times introduced in the criminal legal system but exits the system thus stopping the systemic cycle of harm from continuing.

Articles highlighted several different components of transformative and restorative justice that displayed their distinct features. Transformative justice is a politic in resistance and response to the criminal legal system that holds shared values with restorative justice (Kim, 2018; Kim, 2020). Transformative justice is seen as having a more radical open-ended agenda than the less extensive, collaboratively created operational definitions of reconciliation resulting from restorative justice processes (Ainley, 2017; Braithwaite, 2000). However, unlike restorative justice, the expansive radical goals of transformative justice have been criticized for lack of realism, which may deter individuals from participating (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017; Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Alternatively, many articles posited that restorative justice does not create long-term or radical change because the systems that perpetuate harm are still intact (Walker, 2016). Scholars argue that this return to the status quo can continue everyday harm and reinforce oppressive systems (Braithwaite, 2000; Walker, 2016; Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Consequently, unlike transformative justice, restorative justice focuses more on the individual rather than the social identities or systems that affect that individual. Therefore, there are several distinctions between the aims and processes of transformative and restorative justice.

In looking at transformative and restorative justice comparatively, several similarities arose in the literature. The most prominent theme in comparison of the two non-punitive approaches was their potential for cooptation. Articles highlighted the risk of both practices being implemented in opposition to their values in several different ways. The risk of cooptation restorative justice was higher because of its pre-existing ties to the criminal legal system and

other institutions in general (i.e., schools). Zehr (1985) spoke to these fears, citing that cooptation could be avoided by limiting restorative justice to faith and community systems. Further, a reliance on transformative and restorative justice and divestment in the criminal legal system may dissuade systemic change from occurring (Woolford & Ratner, 2016). Therefore, the dangers of cooptation of both transformative and restorative justice are real and may have detrimental effects on the non-punitive justice movement if it transpired. Consequently, cooptation may result in the miseducation of transformative and restorative values resulting in mistrust of alternative justice approaches and a lack of use.

The second prevalent theme when comparing transformative and restorative justice was the complex and nuanced approach offered by both transformative and restorative justice. Articles that discussed this theme compared transformative and restorative justice to each other and to the oversimplified criminal legal system. In explanations of nuance, scholars argued that definitions of justice are different for all; therefore, flexibility and openness to these personal definitions of justice and reconciliation through harm responses is the most efficient way to achieve justice for all. The third most common theme throughout the systematic literature review was productive tension, highlighting a need for conflict between alternative justice practices and complexity within the struggle for non-punitive approaches to justice. This theme implied that tensions between transformative and restorative justice are beneficial and that there are distinctions between both. Finally, throughout this systematic literature review, the least common theme was the theme of a false binary resulting in unproductive tension, thus countering the theme of productive tension.

The most common theme throughout this systematic literature review was a theme of healing. This theme of perceived attitudes toward transformative and restorative justice discussed

opportunities for longevity within these interventions and community sovereignty. This indicates a potentially powerful future for these alternative justice approaches despite skepticism and critique. The second most common theme regarding attitudes toward transformative and restorative justice was legitimization and familiarity with the criminal legal system. These articles discussed that although attitudes towards non-punitive approaches to justice were hopeful in being autonomous from systems of harm, there was still a great deal of investment in the current criminal legal system because of the resources it possesses. Finally, the last theme regarding perceptions of transformative and restorative justice was the uncertainty of outcomes and worry about participant and facilitator burnout. Authors noted that these fears were not invalid while also challenging that success (i.e., justice) using transformative and restorative practices is possible with community engagement and investment. Overall, researchers reached the objectives of this study i.e., (definitions of transformative justice, definitions of restorative justice, comparisons of transformative and restorative justice, and perceived attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice) through this systematic literature review of transformative and restorative justice.

Limitations and Future Directions

Study limitations include the narrow search terms of “restorative,” “transformative,” and “justice” as some similar work may fall under language such as “community-based responses,” “community accountability,” “anti-carceral feminism,” or “peacebuilding” (Lambourne, 2009; Kim, 2018; Kim, 2020). Additionally, in this literature review, all three search terms had to be within the abstract to focus on the topic. Therefore, articles that included these terms in the full text and not in the abstract may have been overlooked. Dissertations were omitted in this systematic review and researchers did not explore gray literature due to a focus on peer-reviewed

published articles. Thus, there were limitations in the scope of this literature review.

Additionally, the possibility of overlooking concepts when coding articles was a potential limitation of this review; this was managed by memoing and reflexive logging (Finfgeld-Connett, 2014).

Empirical outcomes of alternative forms of justice, particularly transformative justice are lacking. It is noteworthy that all but two of the identified articles ($n = 14$) were non-empirical peer-reviewed critique or review papers. Therefore, further empirical studies combining transformative and restorative justice helped to understand the unique benefits and shortcomings of each in contrast. This, in part, is due to the rarity of transformative justice practices within institutions or organizations that would often conduct, and at times fund, research. Future studies may also benefit from the inclusion of additional research databases and journals to achieve a fully comprehensive review of the literature in all academic fields. Future directions for research include further investigation into the empirical outcomes of transformative justice compared to restorative justice (e.g., participant satisfaction, recidivism).

Additionally, the limited research investigating public attitudes toward responses to justice does not examine all three versions of justice: transformative justice, restorative justice, retributive (Okimoto et al., 2012). Therefore, empirical studies comparing self-reported attitudes versus concrete decisions toward transformative, restorative, and retributive justice would illuminate possibilities for increased openness to these practices (Okimoto et al., 2012). Further, knowledge regarding justice attitudes may provide insight into information concerning factors that may create successful interventions to increase openness to these alternative justice approaches. Relatedly, terminology in the field is consistently evolving which could require further updated research. For example, some alternative justice facilitators and advocates have

shifted toward the language of “claimant” and “respondent” in place of “person who was harmed” and “person who harmed,” respectively (Williamsen, n.d.). Clinical implications of the present study may help practitioners illuminate some of the barriers to understanding non-punitive approaches to harm and the potential for healing within alternative justice practices. Finally, more research on the outcomes and attitudes of transformative and restorative justice may impact policy and funding regarding said practices.

Conclusion

The results of this content analysis provide a summary of the psychological and legislative literature of three databases comparing transformative and restorative justice. Overall, articles have displayed definitional and value debates between transformative and restorative justice within them. Given the dearth of articles, transformative and restorative justice research has operated primarily independently of each other. Hopefully, this analysis provides further information on the overlap and differences of transformative and restorative justice and the current perceived attitudes towards each. Despite the shortage in literature, the fight for radical justice remains imaginative and resilient, similar to what the practice promotes in its users.

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2 ALTERNATIVE JUSTICE ATTITUDES: A RANDOMIZED TRIAL

Introduction

"How do we hold people accountable for wrongdoing and yet at the same time remain in touch with their humanity enough to believe in their capacity to be transformed?" -- bell hooks

Over the past forty years, there has been a five-fold increase in individuals in prisons and jails (The Sentencing Project, 2021). Racism within the criminal legal system is present and its presence is well-documented in prior literature (Davis, 2019). For example, African Americans' incarceration rates are five times that of White individuals, with the likelihood of one in three Black men being imprisoned in their lifetime if born in 2001 (Nellis, 2016). Prisons have been and always will be a business (prison industrial complex; INCITE, 2007). Scholars have noted that the criminal legal system is grounded in white racial hierarchy (i.e., white supremacy), patriarchy, and capitalism (Calathes, 2017). Some refer to the state of the current criminal legal system as dysfunctional (Davis, 2019), while others criticize it for its functional goals of intentional oppression (Kaba, 2021; Kim, 2020).

Beyond the existing disparities and overrepresentation of houseless and mentally ill individuals, and racial, sexual and gender minorities (LGBTQIA+ community) within the criminal legal system, prisons and jails are fertile ground for new harms to occur (Martell et al., 1995; Nellis, 2016; Novisky & Peralta, 2020; Snapp et al., 2015). For example, prison populations are at greater risk of mental illness, evidenced by a higher prevalence of self-harm and suicide, despite potentially more access to resources than those who are not incarcerated (Hawton et al., 2014; Kupers & Toch, 1999; Martell et al., 1995). In addition, incarcerated individuals are at increased risk of negative health effects (i.e., symptoms of physical health, mental health disorders, stress) due to direct victimization and witnessing violence within the

prison and jail system (Novisky & Peralta, 2020). To illustrate this further, institutional staff commit 60% of all sexual violence against incarcerated individuals (Department of Justice, 2013). Studies have shown that successful societal re-entry upon sentence completion is related to events experienced and witnessed in prisons and jails, highlighting the potential for trauma in these environments to increase individuals' rates of recidivism (Novisky & Peralta, 2020). This creates a cycle where individuals who are incarcerated are then harmed during sentencing only to return to jails and prisons. Because of these potential harms and identity-based risk factors for racial and sexual and gender minority communities (e.g., police brutality), utilizing the criminal legal system is often a prohibitive option for those with marginalized identities (Dixon & Piepza-Samarasinha, 2020; Ehrenfeld & Harris, 2020; Nellis, 2016; Snapp et al., 2015).

Due to the aforementioned increased risk of harm from prisons, alternatives to the criminal legal system are a matter of human rights (Marshall, 2018). Ironically, those who are currently or previously incarcerated often cannot vote for systemic change that affects them directly even after sentence completion, leaving those most incarcerated (i.e., racial, sexual, and gender minorities) disenfranchised (Cottrell et al., 2019). For instance, 48 states in the United States (U.S.) have voting restrictions for those with felony convictions (Chung, 2021). Thus, the democratic silencing of individuals may merit a divestment in the criminal legal system as a whole.

Given this gap in the rights of those convicted within the criminal legal system, alternative justice may provide a way for individuals to regain autonomy in ways of addressing harm (Kaba & Hassan, 2019). Although there is strong empirical support for alternative justice outcomes (restorative justice; participant satisfaction, restitution compliance, decreased recidivism; Kennedy et al., 2018; Latimer et al., 2005), there is a delay in many countries when it

comes to utilizing these practices (McAlinden, 2011). Moreover, when these practices are adopted, definitions of alternative justice are often vague, contradictory, or absent in legal policies (Silva & Lambert, 2015; Wood & Suzuki, 2016). Furthermore, state-led alternative justice initiatives that provide outlines of their use leave considerable room for interpretation in their implementation which can lead to errors in the practice and subsequent failure of alternative justice interventions within the criminal legal system (Silva & Lambert, 2015). Therefore, the next steps for the true implementation of alternative justice may constitute a departure from the criminal legal system by utilizing community accountability.

Despite a demonstrated need to divest from the criminal legal system, funding for incarceration has continued to increase over the years, with state expenditures at over 50 billion USD in 2019 (The Sentencing Project, 2021). Prisons have continued to be a business, with a 50% increase in imprisoned individuals in private prisons since 2000 and a four-fold increase in detainees in private immigration detention centers (Gotsch & Basti, 2018). This funding could be used for alternative justice practices to address “crime” and harm, given their volunteer nature and lack of government funding (Kim, 2020; Madfis & Cohen, 2016). Further, understanding harm beyond the context of crime may be beneficial as we consider alternatives to the criminal legal system. Crime can be described as a breach of the state, whereas harm is a breach of interpersonal relationships (Morris, 1999). This paper centers harm and responses to harm rather than “crime” or “law-breaking.” Therefore, this paper investigates and discusses two responses to harm, most commonly known as transformative justice and restorative justice.

Definitions of Transformative and Restorative Justice

Scholars argue that a change in society’s most popular approaches to harm is critically needed (Kaba & Hassan, 2019). However, definitions of these approaches to justice often vary in

the literature in the same way they vary in policy (Eriksson, 2009; Paul & Swan, 2018; Silva & Lambert, 2015). In other words, alternative justice definitions are diverse and vague in both scholarly settings and criminal legal contexts, with little detail regarding their interventional approach (Silva & Lambert, 2015). Moreover, although the terms transformative justice and restorative justice have sometimes been used interchangeably in prior literature, share Indigenous origins, and aim to address harm without punishment (Nielsen & Heather, 2008), they are distinct constructs (Nocella & Anthony, 2011).

In this paper, we define *transformative justice* as a response to harm and conflict that seeks healing and safety without perpetuating cycles of harm through the use of oppressive state systems (i.e., prisons, foster care, immigration, and involuntary psychiatric care; Kaba & Hassan, 2019). Transformative justice aims to make systemic shifts that prohibit such harm from happening in the future. Simply put, transformative justice is a way to address harm without using the prison industrial complex (police, prisons, and the legal system; Dixon & Piepzn-Samarasinha, 2020). Although this process has several popular terminologies like *community-based approaches* or *community accountability* (Creative Interventions, 2019), this paper uses the terminology of transformative justice. Thus, transformative justice asserts that every harm has deeper, systemic roots that must first be addressed to transform the contexts of harm and prevent them from occurring in the future (Morris, 1999). Transformative justice has been critiqued for its radical and nebulous goals to address harm outside of the criminal legal system, which some argue may lead to user inaccessibility (Kim, 2011). Further, it has also been criticized for its obscure calls for systemic change without concrete guidance on achieving such actions (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017).

Similarly, definitions of restorative justice vary, and there is debate within its subfield regarding its values and principles. This paper defines restorative justice components as described by Howard Zehr, a well-known restorative justice scholar. Zehr has often illuminated the difficulties of defining restorative justice and frequently defines it as a list of principles and practices (2015). Zehr describes the principles of restorative justice as three questions of that ask about the needs of the harmed, who was harmed, and the party(ies) responsible for meeting those needs (Zehr, 2015). In this study, we define *restorative justice* using Zehr's (2015) list of practices as a way to "put right" harms that include four parts: a focus on harms and needs, obligations (who is responsible for what), inclusion of stakeholders (person/people harmed, person/people who harmed, and their communities), and collaboration (engagement between and within the stakeholders). Therefore, restorative justice practices focus on harm rather than violation of rules and equally invest in all parties involved in the harm (Zehr, 2015). Comparatively to transformative justice, restorative justice has been criticized for its inability to address the systemic roots that may be at the core of many conflicts (i.e., racism within institutions and patriarchal processes; Nocella, 2011). Additionally, some scholars believe that restorative justice can be easily co-opted because of its proximity to the criminal legal system, shallow attempts at challenging retributive justice, and the impossibility of restoring the past (Morris, 1999). Regardless, for both transformative and restorative justice, definitions are often debated and largely up to interpretation (Johnston & Coulling, 2018; Kim, 2020). Thus, further research on these topics may remedy the lack of definitional agreement and the dearth of combined empirical literature investigating transformative and restorative justice.

Outcomes of Transformative and Restorative Justice

Similar to the lack of combined literature on transformative and restorative justice definitions, empirical literature combining transformative and restorative justice interventions is non-existent despite their conflation. Although pre-existing research supports restorative justice, no research was identified or accessible regarding the outcomes of transformative justice, especially in comparison to restorative justice outcomes based on the literature review. Research shows that 93% of minors that have experienced sexual assault, experienced it from someone they knew (Department of Justice, 2000). Thus, community dynamics may play a large role in experiences of harm. This suggests that further research regarding the outcomes of alternative justice practices that utilize community members may be beneficial in addressing intercommunal harm. Trials of alternative justice have been shown to decrease psychological distress and adverse emotionality in other countries like Canada (Wemmers, 2017). Unlike transformative justice, several outcomes of restorative justice have empirically examined victim satisfaction, concern for revictimization, fairness of process, and attitude toward offender (Boriboonthana, 2006).

Outcomes of restorative justice compared to retributive justice (i.e., imprisonment) indicate an increased ability to facilitate apologies, restitution, and change in offenders (Paul & Swan, 2018). Additionally, restorative justice programs report other positive outcomes, such as victim satisfaction, offender satisfaction, restitution compliance, and decreased recidivism (Kennedy et al., 2018; Latimer et al., 2005). However, most restorative justice work focuses on men and young offenders; thus, a more diverse sample may add to the literature regarding the use of alternative justice practices (Latimer et al., 2005). Finally, due to the high prevalence of mental illness and trauma in prisons and jails (Hawton et al., 2014), alternative justice may

provide a better option for individuals to heal and reflect in the community based on its principles of tending to community needs (Dixon & Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2020).

Attitude Towards Transformative and Restorative Justice

Despite alternative justice programs providing promising outcomes, the U.S. socially conditions many people to rely on the criminal legal system by fearing new ways to address harm and fearing harm itself (Huang et al., 2012; Kaba & Hassan, 2019). Attitudes are mixed regarding the use of the criminal legal system when considering imprisonment and sentencing (Cullen et al., 2000; Rosenberger & Callanan, 2012). Further, as crime severity increases, individuals often seek some aspects of retributive justice and many individuals are comfortable with a combination of restorative and retributive justice practices (Gromet & Darley, 2006; Van Camp & Wemmers, 2016).

More expansive thinking is required to imagine and create something better than the current system (Kaba, 2021). Thus, outcomes regarding transformative and restorative justice interventions are important; however, researchers must first better understand what may contribute to potential resistance to these practices (Paul & Swan, 2018). The *theory of planned behavior* (Ajzen, 1985; 2011) posits that attitude is a function of probability and perceived outcomes (Paul & Schenck-Hamlin, 2018). In other words, individuals' attitudes can provide important insight into individuals' behaviors. Investigating perceived attitudes and potentially shifting them is important, as many people have not envisioned the possibility of a world without the criminal legal system (Kaba, 2021). Attitudes toward the criminal legal system sway politics and policy regarding the judicial impacts of those within the system (Rosenberger & Callanan, 2012). To increase education, advocacy, and intervention effectiveness in responses to harm,

scholars posit that starting with attitude measurement and responding to these findings is a good first step toward the further implementation of alternative justice practices (Paul & Swan, 2018).

Previous research explored professional (Bazemore & Leip, 2000; Gavin & MacVean, 2018) and public attitudes toward restorative justice (Ahlin et al., 2017; Paul, 2015; Paul & Schenck-Hamlin, 2017; Paul & Swan, 2018; Roberts & Stalans, 2004). These studies found that there may be a decrease in punitive attitudes in the U.S. as a result of economic movements, and that resources, justice beliefs, perceived effectiveness, and a better understanding of alternative justice processes could increase individual's openness to them (Ahlin et al., 2017; Paul, 2015; Paul & Schenck-Hamlin, 2017; Paul & Swan, 2018). However, there is still minimal information regarding perceived attitudes toward restorative and transformative approaches to justice in tandem (Taylor & Bailey, 2021). The inherent overlap between restorative justice and the legal system (i.e., court-ordered restorative justice processes) has likely led to the familiarization and popularization of restorative justice practices compared to transformative justice ones (Kim, 2020). In general, attitudes toward restorative justice are supportive and aligned with public definitions of justice (Paul & Swan, 2018). Yet, a lack of empirical data regarding alternative justice attitudes that is inclusive of transformative justice persists. Therefore, the measurement of perceived attitudes and openness towards transformative and restorative justice is needed to understand the differences in public opinion and the applicability of alternative justice interventions to specific groups.

Fear of Crime and Past Victimization

Research that examines justice attitudes may merit a simultaneous investigation of past experiences with conflict to better understand what impacts these justice attitudes. Several studies have investigated factors that impact attitudes toward alternative justice practices like

past victimization. For example, research has shown that fear of crime (Costelloe et al., 2009) decreases attitudes of endorsement and openness towards restorative justice approaches (i.e., fear of crime increased endorsement of the ability of punishment to prevent future crime and that wrongdoing deserves punishment; Huang et al., 2012). Further, both a history of victimization and concern of future victimization have been found to increase openness toward retributive processes (Dolliver et al., 2021). Past victimization has been argued to be of particular import, given that individuals who have experienced harm are likely to be engaged in transformative and restorative justice practices (Dolliver et al., 2021). On the other hand, Van Camp and Wemmers (2016) found that accessibility to and education on restorative justice interventions positively impacted individuals' openness and attitudes toward these practices. However, to date, similar studies have not been conducted on attitudes toward transformative justice practices. Thus, it seems plausible that a history of victimization and concern for potential future victimization could mitigate the impact of an intervention intended to promote attitudes toward transformative justice and restorative justice approaches. Although victimization has not been studied as a moderator of political education as it relates to alternative justice, this investigation may reveal potential barriers (i.e., victimization) for political education interventions to better understand the real-life usage of such interventions with individuals with varying victimization levels.

Randomized Control Trials

Many studies investigating attitudes towards alternative justice focus on restorative justice alone and have not been inclusive of transformative justice. Further, a dearth of research explores openness towards transformative justice, restorative justice, and retributive justice in tandem. Using three educational intervention groups (control with no intervention, transformative just learners, and restorative just learners) contributes to the specific research

question regarding the comparison of openness towards retributive, transformative, and restorative justice (Juszczak et al., 2019). Thus, utilizing a randomized control trial study design to test intervention group differences is a strong fit to bridge this gap in the literature.

Randomized control trials are the gold standard for research (Hariton & Locascio, 2018). Randomized control study designs are some of the most rigorous research methods to examine potential cause-effect contexts producing high-quality findings (Bhide et al., 2018). Including an additional group in a randomized control trial study design to create a multi-arm trial study enriches statistical findings (Juszczak et al., 2019). Thus, the inclusion of a transformative justice educational intervention group in the study design adds to the literature, particularly because the empirical effects of an intervention targeting attitudes toward transformative justice are quantitatively understudied. Educational interventions have resulted in clinically significant findings regarding positively shifted attitudes toward alternative justice approaches (Ekunwe et al., 2010; Perelman, 2012). Further, case examples are a common way researchers investigate perceived attitudes toward alternative justice (Gromet & Darley, 2006). Past empirical use of hypothetical vignettes and educational interventions has provided insight into behavioral intention (Perelman, 2012; Robinson & Clore, 2001). Therefore, a combination of randomized control trials and case examples is a strong fit for this study. To provide a comparison group to test the effects of the educational intervention, a control group that received no treatment was utilized (Juszczak et al., 2019).

Present Study

Based on the literature reviewed here, the present study investigated the impact of an educational intervention on attitudes toward retributive justice and participants' intention to engage transformative, restorative, and retributive judicial processes. Extending research by Paul

and Swan (2018), this study also seeks to investigate components that influence attitudes toward retributive justice. To date, there were no studies to my knowledge that examined shifts regarding behavioral intention toward transformative justice. Increased understanding of perceived attitudes towards alternative justice may help practitioners adapt educational resources to positively shift these attitudes (Paul & Swan, 2018).

Further, victimization, inclusive of prior experiences with harm and concern about future harm, has been found to decrease individuals' endorsement of alternative approaches to harm (Costelloe et al., 2009; Dolliver et al., 2021). Given this relationship, it seems plausible that victimization could impact the link between educational intervention and outcomes. Therefore, the secondary aim of this study is to investigate the possible moderating role of victimization on the effects of alternative justice interventions on retributive justice attitudes. The two interventions used in this study are both three-part multimedia educational interventions for transformative and restorative justice independently. Both interventions consisted of a video defining the justice approach, a slide presentation describing the justice approach, and a case example of the justice approach in practice. I hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 1. There will be a significant difference in T1 and T2 scores on retributive justice attitudes for participants in transformative and restorative justice intervention groups, with scores being lower at T2. No change is anticipated for participants in the control group.

Hypothesis 2. At T2, participants in the transformative and restorative justice intervention groups will report significantly lower levels of retributive justice attitudes compared to participants in the control group.

Hypothesis 2a. Scholars argue that, due to its sweeping definitional focus on systemic goals, transformative justice may be a less accessible and more radical construct for some

individuals to integrate (Kim, 2011). Alternatively, restorative justice with its more circumscribed focus on individual-level justice may be a more understandable or approachable option (Gromet & Darley, 2006; Kim, 2011; Van Camp & Wemmers, 2016). Thus, I hypothesize that participants in the restorative justice intervention group will report significantly lower levels of retributive justice attitudes compared to participants in the transformative justice intervention group at T2.

Hypothesis 3. Victimization will moderate the link between both transformative and restorative justice interventions on attitudes toward retributive justice (Costelloe et al., 2009), such that the relationship between the intervention group and T2 attitudes toward retributive justice will be weaker at high levels of victimization (Huang et al., 2012). Inversely, the relationship between the intervention group and T2 attitudes towards retributive justice will be stronger at lower levels of victimization as an exploratory research question.

Hypothesis 4. There will be a relationship between assigned intervention group participants and their intention to behave on concrete justice choices. In other words, those in the control group will report a greater preference for retributive justice approaches compared to other approaches, and those in the restorative justice group will report a greater preference for restorative justice approaches compared to other approaches. As research has not been done on the effects on transformative justice interventions on preference for intervention, no hypothesis is proposed because this research question is exploratory.

Methodology

The present quantitative study utilized a three-arm randomized control trial design. Researchers collected all responses through an online *Qualtrics* survey with pre-existing and new quantitative measures and open-response qualitative portions. Aspects of both quantitative and

qualitative research in retributive and alternative justice studies are common (Broschuk, 2020; Gavin & MacVean, 2018). Reporting in this paper follows best practices for multi-arm randomized control trial studies (Juszczak et al., 2019) and qualitative studies (O'Brien et al., 2014).

Participants

Participants for this study were graduate and undergraduate students at a diverse Southeastern University using an online participant study recruitment pool as well as community members. Participants were recruited for this study between January 2022 and April 2022. To participate, individuals must be 18 years or older and speak English. Researchers used an online participant recruitment pool for undergraduate students enrolled in Counseling and Psychological Services courses (SONA) for recruitment to receive 1 credit, per pre-existing SONA crediting guidelines. Participants were also recruited through classes in law, social work, psychology, and counseling psychology courses within the same university. These participants were selected because of their potentially higher interest in mental health outcomes and law. General community members were also invited to participate in this study. These members were recruited through social media and had no incentives provided.

Participants were 533 individuals who were recruited through law, social work, psychology courses, social media, and a counseling psychology online participant pool. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 68 years ($M = 23.99$, $SD = 7.13$). The majority of participants were Black/African American ($n = 285$, 53.5%), White ($n = 102$, 19.1%), or Asian ($n = 99$, 18.6%). Additionally, 249 (46.7%) participants completed at least some college credit, 142 (26.6%) of individuals held an associate degree, and 73 (13.7%) participants held a bachelor's degree, and 66 (12.4%) responses endorsed holding a high school diploma or equivalent (e.g., GED). Regarding immigration status, 427 (80.1%) participants were born in the

United States and 106 (19.9%) participants were born in other countries. The majority of participants were first-generation 228 (42.8%) or not from a family of immigrants 208 (39.0%). Several participants that were either second-generation, third-generation, or unsure ($n = 37$, 6.9%; $n = 37$, 6.9 %; $n = 23$, 4.3%, respectively). The majority of participants were either Baptist ($n = 80$, 15%), Non-Religious ($n = 71$, 13.3%), Muslim ($n = 65$, 12.2%), Catholic ($n = 62$, 11.6%), or Church of Christ ($n = 55$, 10.3%). Most participants ($n = 378$, 70.9%) did not have a mental illness and almost all participants ($n = 497$, 93.2%) did not have another type of disability (i.e., sensory, mobility, or learning disabilities). The majority of participants were cisgender women ($n = 268$, 50.3%), heterosexual ($n = 417$, 75.4%), and Black ($n = 288$, 52.1%). Finally, the majority of individuals politically identified as Democratic ($n = 216$, 40.5%). Most participants did not have any direct personal experience ($n = 446$, 83.7%) in the criminal legal system and no indirect personal experience ($n = 320$, 60%) in the criminal legal system. Further information on participant demographics can be found in Appendix B in Tables B1-B16.

Procedure

First, participants were directed to accept or decline informed consent through a *Qualtrics* survey. Second, the website randomly assigned individuals on an equal basis (1:1:1; Aguinis, 1995) to the control group, the transformative justice group, or the restorative justice group. Third, participants were directed to a demographics questionnaire. Fourth, all participants completed measures to assess their attitudes toward retributive justice (Okimoto et al., 2012) and a general victimization measure (Titus et al., 2003). Fifth, participants were given the intervention based on their random assignment to the intervention group. Sixth, participants were then asked to complete the retributive justice attitudes orientation scale again (Okimoto et al., 2012) and participants reported their intention to use retributive, transformative, and restorative justice approaches when considering their own hypothetical harms. Finally, participants in the

transformative and restorative justice intervention groups provided information on their understanding of the intervention and components of the intervention that most influenced this understanding. A measure of attention to address potential errant responding was also utilized (Maniaci & Rogge, 2014). All measures and their items are listed in Appendix C.

Intervention

Participants were assigned to one of three intervention groups: a control group, a transformative justice intervention group, or a restorative justice intervention group. Participants in the control group received no justice-specific intervention but watched a non-related video about polar bears to mimic intervention group survey completion times as much as possible. Control group participants were shown all pre-test and post-test measures that intervention groups received. Each educational intervention group watched a brief video, completed an interactive educational module about their assigned justice method, and read through a case example on how that version of justice might be implemented. Evidence suggests that the consumption of pro-punitive media shifts attitudes toward a more supportive view of the criminal legal system (i.e., retributive justice; Rosenberger & Callanan, 2012). Conversely, it may be possible then to use a multimedia intervention espousing non-punitive responses to harm to shift attitudes to be less supportive of retributive methods of justice. The materials for these interventions can be found in Appendix D. The case example portions of the interventions do not mention the social identities of the individuals presented to prevent social biases in attitudes towards addressing the harm documented (Yudkin et al., 2016). Perceived severity of the offense may affect an individual's attitudes toward justice practices (Paul, 2015; Roberts & Stalans, 2004); therefore, both case examples included a low-level offense. Feedback was received for

these interventions from locally based transformative and restorative justice facilitators (Georgia State University and Devi Co-Op).

Participants in the transformative justice group watched a 10:29 minute video describing transformative justice by Barnard Center for Research on Women (2020). This video was chosen due to the prevalence of several seminal members of the transformative justice movement who have contributed to seminal literature in the subfield (e.g., Brown & Cyril, 2020; Kaba & Hassan, 2017; Mia Mingus of Creative Interventions, 2019). Thus, reliable information is provided that is pulled from their pre-existing literature. Then, participants were directed to a series of slides that discuss the principles of transformative justice. Finally, they were shown a self-created case example of transformative justice created by the researcher because of a lack of pre-existing case examples that identified transformative justice processes. This case example utilized values and principles of transformative justice as found in pre-existing literature.

Participants in the restorative justice group viewed a 12:58 minute video describing restorative justice by TEDx Talks (2019). This video was chosen because it embodies the principles of restorative justice and features Shannon Silva, a prominent restorative justice scholar (Silva & Lambert, 2015). After this, participants were directed to a series of slides that discuss the principles of restorative justice. Finally, they read an example of a case in which restorative justice was used modified from Dussich & Schellenberg (2010). This pre-existing case example of a restorative justice intervention was modified and shortened to further highlight the values and principles individuals learned in prior components of the educational intervention.

Measures

Prior studies examining attitudes towards transformative and restorative justice often develop their own measures based on the study population (i.e., general population, legal professionals, advocates, and students; Bazemore & Leip, 2000; Dahl et al., 2014; van Wyk,

2015). However, to maximize reliability and validity, the present study utilizes existing measures that are slightly modified to address the study's aims. Further, data regarding the effects of the specific components of the intervention (video, slides, and case example) in addition to individuals' understanding of their justice intervention were collected.

Demographic Questionnaire

Social identities and identity-based experiences were assessed using a 17-item demographic questionnaire. This questionnaire included items examining age, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, immigration status, disability status, socioeconomic status, political ideology, education status, and experience in the criminal legal system.

Attention Level

Participant attention (i.e., infrequency and inconsistency) was assessed using the 18-item Attentive Responding Scale-18 to promote data quality (Maniaci & Rogge, 2014). This scale consists of 6 infrequency items and 12 inconsistency items, 5 of these items are reverse coded. Participants responded to items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (*Not at all true*) to 4 (*Very true*). An example item is “I don’t like getting speeding tickets.” These items were administered throughout the presurvey and post-survey for all participants. Participants with scores above 6.5 meet the criteria for inconsistency, and scores over 7.5 meet the criteria for infrequency. This resulted in ($n = 37$) responses being omitted for either inconsistency, infrequency, or both for a final total of ($n = 496$). Researchers omitted these participants from analyses due to the positive effects on statistical power a previous study on restorative justice attitudes reported (Moss et al., 2019).

Retributive Justice Orientations

Researchers assessed participant attitudes or orientations of retributive justice utilizing a slightly modified version of the six-item retributive justice orientation subscale of the Retributive and Restorative Justice Orientations Scale (Okimoto et al., 2012). This scale was adapted in previous studies successfully (Gerber & Jackson, 2013). Participants respond to items on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Higher scores represent more positive retributive justice attitudes. An example of an item is “The only way to restore justice is to punish an offender.” Prior studies evidence strong internal consistency reliability with Cronbach’s alpha values .88-.89 in a university sample (Okimoto et al., 2012; Taylor & Bailey, 2021). Construct validity was evidenced by significant positive correlations between scores on this subscale with group-based dominance (a component of social dominance theory where individuals legitimize group-based inequality) for the measure’s subscales of Right Wing Authoritarian aggression (i.e., punishment and discipline) and submission (i.e., respect for authority) in a college population (Okimoto et al., 2012).

Simplicity of 5-point Likert-type scales can help to minimize participants’ frustration rates when completing surveys and increases the quality and rate of participant responses (Babakus & Mangold, 1992; Sachdev & Derma, 2004). Therefore, this study utilized this measure using both a five-point Likert-type scale at T1 ($n = 357$ $\alpha = .81$) and T2 ($n = 315$ $\alpha = .89$); and a seven-point Likert-type scale at T1 ($n = 176$ $\alpha = .86$) and T2 ($n = 165$ $\alpha = .90$) prior to removal of participants due to infrequent and/or inconsistent responses. Both versions of the scale performed similarly based on the review of Cronbach’s alpha values. Thus responses on the five-item scale were transformed to fit the original 7-point Likert-type scale for final analyses.

General Victimization

General victimization was measured by the 15-item General Victimization Index (GVI; Titus et al., 2003). This scale assesses general victimization through experiences of past victimization, trauma components, and concern about future victimization. Participants endorsed “Yes”/”No” responses, dummy-coded with higher numbers signifying increased victimization experiences. Responses were scored by adding the dummy-coded values (0 = No, 1 = Yes) for a total score with higher scores signifying higher victimization. Cronbach’s alpha for this scale ranged between .80 and .86 in outpatient and residential substance use treatment centers (Dennis et al., 2003; Funk et al., 2003). An example item of this scale is “Are you currently worried that someone might abuse you emotionally?” Additionally, the GVI has evidenced construct validity through positive correlations with self-reported days of being victimized in the past 90 days, emotional abuse, psychological distress, substance use disorders, recency of victimization, victimization frequency, and increased days in troubling traumatic memories in patients in residential treatment centers (Funk et al., 2003; Titus et al., 2003). In this study, Cronbach’s alpha was $\alpha = .85$ $n = 518$.

Effectiveness of Intervention Components

Effects of the specific intervention factors were analyzed using items created by the researcher. Only individuals that received an intervention complete these measures specific to the intervention group to which they were randomly assigned. These items assessed the importance of the influence of the three components of the intervention (i.e., video, slides, and case example). Participants were asked to rate the importance of each component of the intervention on their understanding of the specific justice approach using a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) (Nunnally, 1978). Examples of these items for the transformative justice group included, “The video was influential in my

understanding of transformative justice”, “The slides were influential in my understanding of transformative justice”, and “The case example was influential in my understanding of transformative justice.” Additionally, participants were asked to rank each component of the intervention “Please rank the importance of each part of the intervention on your understanding of transformative justice” and asked to rank *Video*, *Slides*, and *Case Example* amongst each other. Responses from these items were used for descriptive purposes.

Participants’ understanding of their specific intervention (i.e., transformative justice or restorative justice) was measured using a single-item measure. This measurement method displays strong criterion-related validity and reliability in prior research (e.g., Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2007). The item for those in the transformative justice group was “I feel like I understand transformative justice.” Participants were asked to rate this statement on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Additionally, participants were asked an open-response question “To the best of your understanding, how would you define transformative justice?”. The data collected from these items were used for descriptive purposes.

Justice Process Intention

Participants rated their intention and openness to utilizing retributive, transformative, and restorative justice process options from three unlabeled brief paragraphs, each detailing a justice process. These paragraphs can be found in Appendix D. The retributive justice and restorative justice process paragraphs were originally developed and utilized by Okimoto and colleagues (2019). As an extension of this work, a transformative justice process description was developed for this study. The transformative justice paragraph was modified from retributive and restorative justice paragraphs (Okimoto et al., 2019) using values of transformative justice according to transformative justice practitioners in the field. In each process description, participants were

asked to imagine how they would prefer to address harm in a situation where they were harmed. This measure explored participants' intentions of using either retributive, transformative, and restorative justice interventions in their own lives. Thus, this component provided an opportunity for a more applied investigation of attitudes and openness towards justice approaches when considering participants' own potential harms.

An additional extension of Okimoto and colleagues (2012) work is the use of a Likert-type scale response option, versus a forced-choice option, to assess endorsement of the justice process options. This allowed for a more nuanced examination of people's preference and can inform our understanding of the specific impact of the intervention types on justice attitudes and intentions. Participants were asked to rate the following statement, "Please rate the likelihood that you would use this intervention to address harm in your own life," on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) for each of the three scenarios.

Data Analysis Plan

Mixed repeated measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to examine Hypotheses 1, 2, and 2a. This analysis is a form of regression with categorical variables (Bakeman, 2005; Lamb, 2003). This analysis approach is appropriate for the present study because it can be used for cross-group mean comparisons when an intervention is utilized with multiple time points with plausibly high retention due to all data collected in one sitting (Heppner et al., 2015; Howell, 2012).

Regardless of the presence of an interaction, follow-up tests were conducted to explore in further detail how within-subjects factors affect retributive justice attitudes. Therefore, this repeated measures ANOVA explored time attitude differences for each group independently and time attitude differences for each group comparatively (i.e., main effects). Main and interaction

effects were examined and post hoc comparisons were analyzed as appropriate. Descriptive statistics of this analysis were collected including estimates of effect size and values for homogeneity of effects. Multivariate tests using Wilks' Lambda explored the significance of time overall without the consideration of group. Test of within-subjects factors used sphericity assumed F and significance values when looking at time and time*program.

Bonferroni corrections were applied to a post hoc pairwise comparison between the initial assessment and the follow-up after intervention. A Bonferroni test as a post-hoc analysis was also completed to see group differences. Partial eta squared showed the percentage of variance in dependent variables that can be explained by intervention group. Statistical significance was evaluated based on *p*-values and the magnitude of the significance was determined by effect size.

To test Hypothesis 3, the PROCESS macro (Hayes & Montoya, 2017) in SPSS version 23 (2015) was used to conduct moderation analyses. Analyses employed moderation Model 1 using a three-level categorical independent variable of intervention (i.e., control group, transformative justice group, restorative justice group), a continuous moderator variable (i.e. victimization), and a continuous dependent variable (i.e., attitudes toward retributive justice). Analyses used the *mcx* condition (i.e., which allows moderation with a categorical x variable; Hayes, 2017, July) to investigate moderation with a categorical independent variable (i.e., intervention group), continuous moderator (i.e., victimization), and continuous dependent variable (i.e., attitudes toward retributive justice; Hayes, 2022). An interaction effect was decomposed with values provided by PROCESS for the relationship between group one standard deviation below and above the mean and at the mean. Statistical significance was analyzed using *p*-values, and effect size (variance squared, r^2) displayed the magnitude of the significance.

Multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to examine Hypothesis 4. This analysis compared intervention groups with respect to intentions to use each justice approach. MANOVA is a suitable statistical analysis when investigating categorical independent variables and multiple continuous dependent variables often used in behavioral science research (Tonidandel & LaBreton, 2013; Warne, 2014; Zwick & Cramer). The three-level independent variable in this analysis was the randomly assigned educational intervention group, which was dummy-coded (control = 0, transformative justice = 1, restorative justice = 2). The three continuous outcome dependent variables were the intention to participate in retributive, transformative, and restorative justice interventions. MANOVA in this study design is a strong fit because there is less opportunity for drop-out from intervention as study participation is completed all in one sitting (Everitt, 1998). Significance of findings was determined using p values in SPSS using Wilks' Lambda values. Statistical significance of Wilks' Lambda values required additional tests using univariate ANOVAs (test of between-subjects effects and Tukey's HSD post-hoc) to find the estimated marginal means.

Power Analyses

Sample size was determined by conducting power analysis for the most complex analysis in the study (i.e., moderation). G-Power analysis assuming equal sample sizes per group and using the following parameters common in psychological literature: small effect size = 0.02; alpha = 0.05; $1-\beta = 0.80$ was conducted and indicated that a minimum of 395 ($n = 132$ per group) participants were needed to conduct the most complex analyses to detect effect for moderation (Aguinis, 1995; Cohen, 1992). To account for potential retention issues and varying data quality, data from additional participants were collected.

Results

Quantitative Results

Preliminary Analysis

For the generalized victimization index, a small number of values ($n = 15$) is missing (i.e., insignificant MCAR statistics), individual mean averages were used to replace missing values (Parent, 2012). Additionally, $n = 52$ participants did not continue on to complete Time 2 measures, and missing data were not replaced. Missing data were analyzed using Little's (1988) Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) to test for significance. Missing data analyses indicated that MCAR statistics for measures at Time 1 with no missing data and at Time 2 ($\chi^2 = (2, n = 481) .672 p = .715$) were not significant, confirming data were missing at random. Best practice guidelines regarding missing data were followed (Schlomer et al., 2010). Quantitative results were analyzed using the statistical software IBM SPSS Version 23 (2015) and Hayes' (2017 version 3.5) PROCESS macro. All statistical tests were two-tailed, and significance was represented by $p < .05$. Intervention groups were dummy-coded (0 = control group, 1 = transformative justice group, 2 = restorative justice group). Participants who do not complete items assessing inclusion criteria in the demographics portion of the survey were not included in the analyses. Per standard tolerance recommendations (e.g., Dodeen, 2003), participants who complete less than 80% ($n = 20$) of non-demographic survey items were excluded from the analyses. Additionally, given participant attrition rates ($n = 52$) participants did not complete any of the retributive justice scale at Time 2, leaving ($n = 444$) participant responses at Time 2.

Assumptions for within-between repeated measures ANOVA (i.e., mixed repeated measures ANOVA) include normal distribution of the residuals of the within-subjects and between-subjects model, homogeneity of variances (i.e., homoscedasticity), homogeneity of

variances-covariance matrices, and sphericity (Murrar & Brauer, 2018; Rutherford, 2001; Verma, 2015). Levene's test of equality of error variances tested the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups (SPSS), or, the homogeneity of variances. Non-significant Levene's test findings signified that the homogeneity of variances assumption is met ($p = .099 - .633$).

Assumptions for moderation were met including univariate normality, with skewness at -.205 for Time 1 of the retributive justice attitude scale, -.118 at Time 2 of the retributive justice attitude scale, and -.663 of the general victimization index. Univariate normality was met with kurtosis levels of .111 for Time 1 of the retributive justice attitude scale, -.297 at Time 2 of the retributive justice attitude, and -.451 for the general victimization index. This is indicated by values within (-2 and 2) for skewness and (-3 and 3) kurtosis values (George & Mallery, 2010). Additionally, Mahalanobis distance values confirmed that there was no presence of potential multivariate outliers. Cook's distance values were all less than one, indicating no potentially problematic multivariate outliers (Field, 2009). Homogeneity was tested using Box's M ($p = .070$) which did not violate homogeneity for the MANOVA (Murrar & Brauer, 2018). Non-significant Levene's test findings signified that the homogeneity of variances assumption was met ($p = .097 - .613$). Remaining assumptions for multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA; Warne, 2014) include linearity, which was tested using a scatterplot matrix for each group independently (Giles, 2013).

Hypothesis 1: Does Political Education Decrease Endorsement Attitudes of Retributive Justice?

A mixed repeated measures ANOVA was used to determine whether any change in retributive justice attitudes (dependent variable) occurred over time (i.e., T1 and T2). The mixed

repeated measures ANOVA model for Hypothesis 1, 2, and 2a was: 3(Group - Control, Transformative Justice, Restorative Justice) x 2(Retributive Justice Attitude T1, T2). In other words, this analysis assessed differences in retributive justice attitudes at T1 and T2.

The analysis had a total sample size of $n = 480$ with similar group sizes: control group ($n = 167$), transformative justice group ($n = 155$), restorative justice group ($n = 158$). The analysis revealed that mean retributive justice attitude scores differed significantly across the three groups ($F(1, 477) = 58.610, p < .001 \eta^2 = .109$) with a medium effect size (Mills & Shevlin, 2001). There was also a significant interaction effect of group x time, $F(2, 477) = 20.897, p < .001 \eta^2 = .081$. Therefore, retributive justice attitudes were dependent on intervention group (see Table B21). Bonferroni-corrected post hoc pairwise comparisons revealed significant differences in retributive justice attitudes between the initial assessment and the follow-up after intervention ($M = 28.141$ to $M = 26.174$, respectively, $p < .001$). Then, using Bonferroni-corrected multivariate tests, only transformative justice learners $F(1, 477) = 57.270 p < .001 \eta^2 = .107$ and restorative justice learners $F(1, 477) = 39.533, p < .001 \eta^2 = .077$ had a significant decrease in their mean retributive justice endorsement scores across time with large and medium effect sizes, respectively (Mills & Shevlin, 2001). In other words, scores for transformative and restorative justice shifted with intervention from ($M = 27.699$ to $M = 24.185$ and $M = 28.000$ to $M = 25.108$, respectively, see Table B18). Scores for individuals in the control group did not significantly change from T1 to T2. Thus, there was a significant decrease in endorsement of retributive justice between the means across time for only transformative justice learners and restorative justice learners, confirming Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2: Does Political Education Decrease Attitudes of Endorsement Toward Retributive Justice Compared to Those That do not Receive Political Education?

Using this analysis, tests of between-subjects effects investigated the effect the educational intervention group had on retributive justice attitudes. In other words, this analysis assessed if there is a mean difference in retributive justice attitudes by group at T2. This mixed repeated measures ANOVA was used to determine whether any change in retributive justice attitudes (dependent variable) occurs over time (i.e., T1 and T2) within and between each educational intervention group (i.e., control group, transformative, and restorative justice interventions). At Time 2, retributive justice attitudes in the control group were significantly higher than the levels reported by participants in the transformative justice and restorative justice groups (29.029 versus 24.184 and 25.107, $p < .001$, respectively, see Table B18). Therefore, political education reduced retributive justice attitudes of endorsement $F(2, 477) = 20.385$, $p < .001$ $\eta^2 = .079$, with medium effect sizes (Mills & Shevlin, 2001). Thus, Hypothesis 2 was fully supported.

Hypothesis 2a: Is Endorsement of Retributive Justice Lower in Those that Learn about Restorative Justice Compared to Those that Learn About Transformative Justice?

Mean scores for retributive justice attitudes of endorsement at Time 2 did not significantly differ between transformative and restorative justice groups (24.185 versus 25.108, respectively, $p = .262$). Thus, hypothesis 2a was not supported.

Hypothesis 3: Does Higher Victimization Weaken the Relationship Between Political Education and Attitudes Toward Retributive Justice?

To investigate the impact of victimization on the relationship between intervention and retributive justice attitudes, a simple moderation analysis (i.e., Model 1) was performed using PROCESS. A significant interaction effect was not found using values provided by PROCESS.

Thus, victimization does not moderate the relationship between political education intervention and retributive attitudes and Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Hypothesis 4. Is There a Relationship Between Type of Political Education and Intention to Use Justice Processes?

A MANOVA was conducted with a total sample size of 480 with similar group sizes: control group ($n = 167$), transformative justice group ($n = 155$), restorative justice group ($n = 158$). There was a significant difference in intention to use justice processes based on individual's political education, $F(6, 950) = 9.926, p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.885, \eta^2 = .06$. Thus, 6% of the variance among all dependent variables (intention to use retributive justice, transformative justice, and restorative justice) is accounted for by intervention group (i.e., control group, transformative justice group, restorative justice group). Upon further assessment, using between-subjects testing with Bonferroni corrections, political education had a significant effect on intention to use retributive justice processes ($F(2, 477) = 6.708, p = .001, \eta^2 = .03$), transformative justice processes ($F(2, 477) = 7.006, p = .001, \eta^2 = .03$), and restorative justice processes ($F(2, 477) = 22.406, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$). These significant results were then further investigated utilizing Tukey's HSD post-hoc testing.

These post-hoc analyses revealed that mean scores for intention to use retributive justice (i.e., the current criminal legal system) were significantly higher for the control group compared ($M = 5.180$) to the group that received the transformative justice education ($M = 4.620; p < .01$), and the control group compared to the group that received the restorative justice education ($M = 4.755; p < .05$). Means for intention to use retributive justice between transformative justice and restorative justice learners were not different. Additionally, mean scores for intention to use transformative justice processes were significantly lower for the control group ($M = 4.569$) when

compared to both groups that received political education interventions (i.e., transformative justice or restorative justice ($M = 5.129, p < .005$; $M = 5.095, p < .01$, respectively). Means for intention to use transformative justice processes between transformative justice and restorative justice learners were not different. Finally, mean scores for intention to use restorative justice processes were also significantly lower for the control group ($M = 4.102$) compared to both groups that received political education interventions (i.e., transformative justice or restorative justice; $M = 5.045, p < .001$; $M = 5.044, p < .001$, respectively). Means for intention to use restorative justice processes between transformative justice and restorative justice learners were not different. These differences are shown in Appendix B, Figure B1 and Tables B19-B22. Therefore, Participants in the transformative and restorative justice groups were similar regarding their preferences for transformative and restorative justice processes, and their lower openness to using the current criminal legal system. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported in that the control group had a greater preference for retributive justice approaches compared to other approaches.

Qualitative Results

Analysis of responses to the questions “To the best of your understanding, how would you define transformative justice?” and “To the best of your understanding, how would you define restorative justice?” Responses were only coded for participants who were placed in the transformative justice group and restorative justice group, respectively.

Data collected from open-ended responses were analyzed using inductive qualitative content analysis (QCA; Corbin & Strauss, 2007). This analysis fits the proposed qualitative questions because of its exploratory and systematic nature and ability to contribute to theory development (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Collection of qualitative data added to the meaning and

potentially complex findings of the quantitative data collected in this study (Gillborn et al., 2018). A coding team of two analyzed qualitative data. QCA requires three steps including preparation to identify the unit of coding, organizing to consolidate codes into themes, and reporting to define the themes that emerge from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

In the preparation phase, units of codes were identified as the smallest line of data that maintains the integrity of the data while still consolidating information. Data were first analyzed using exhaustive open coding in the organizing phase, which required line-by-line analysis of the two open-response items. Then, the resulting open codes were used to create larger higher-order codes to combine and consolidate the data. Finally, themes were created from the higher-order codes to fully consolidate the data as much as possible. These themes were defined using abstraction or reporting. If disagreements arose during the coding process, the coding team discussed the issue until a 100% consensus is reached. Coders created identity statements before accessing the data to discuss potential biases (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

Coders identified potential biases of transformative and restorative justice as better alternatives to the current criminal legal system in the U.S. This bias comes partially as a result of coders' immediate family members experiencing imprisonment through the criminal legal system. The first author, Coder One, was a fifth-year student in an APA-accredited Counseling Psychology doctoral program at the time of coding. Coder One identifies as a 26-year-old, Black, Queer person with no current disabilities. Coder Two is a recent graduate of a Masters in Education in Counseling Psychology program. Coder Two identifies as a 28-year-old, Black, heterosexual, cisgender man with no current disabilities. During coding, coders utilized reflexive logs and memos to ensure trustworthiness (Elo et al., 2014). Thus, the qualitative and

quantitative components of the proposed study may contribute to the literature regarding the potential impacts of educational transformative and restorative justice interventions on attitudes and potential modifications for future interventions.

Transformative Justice

There were four identified themes in responses defining transformative justice with 150 responses from participants who learned about transformative justice through their randomized intervention group. The most frequent theme for definitions of transformative justice was Resourcing and Community Cohesion. The second most frequent theme was Alternative Justice Frameworks and Processes. The third most frequent theme was Significant Change for Justice Processes. The least frequent theme was Uncertainty, Critique, and Misaligned Definitions. Four participants refused to respond to the question.

Resourcing and Community Cohesion. ($n = 125, 85.62\%$): Participants described transformative justice as community-based and victim-centered. When individuals learned about transformative justice processes, they defined it as a process that involves communication and opportunities for healing and safety. Participants also noted that transformative justice provides a cessation in the cycle of harm by investigating the root causes of the harm itself and shifting the conditions that allowed the original harm to occur. Additionally, participants identified that transformative justice utilizes resources outside of the criminal legal system that are community-driven. Further, participants highlighted that transformative justice leads to an increase in offender accountability and a subsequent deeper understanding for all parties of the harm that was caused.

Alternative Justice Frameworks and Processes. ($n = 122, 83.56\%$): After learning about transformative justice, participants categorized it as a framework and process for

approaching conflict that considers cultural contexts. Participants described this framework as one that was politically progressive, individualized/nuanced, and extralegal. They went on to outline that transformative justice was an iterative process, requiring multiple steps and an undergirding philosophy rather than specific parameters for each facilitation.

Significant Change for Justice Processes. ($n = 39, 26.71\%$): Participants described transformative justice as helpful in shifting policies and implementing change. They discussed the importance of the effective change that transformative justice provides. Participants labeled this change as a positive shift that can help to improve justice practices overall compared to the current criminal legal system. This theme notes a distinct difference in current criminal legal proceedings and transformative justice processes, noting the gravity of the shift from the carceral system to transformative justice.

Uncertainty, Critique, and Misaligned Definitions. ($n = 15, 10.27\%$): There was a small subset of participants that were unsure of how to define transformative justice. In these misaligned definitions, participants stated that to them, transformative justice could still involve working with the court system. Additionally, some participants described transformative justice as a “novel approach.” While the approach of transformative justice may have been new to them, the intervention noted the historical and indigenous roots of transformative justice.

Restorative Justice

There were four identified themes in responses defining restorative justice with 154 responses. The most frequent theme for definitions of transformative justice was Community Cohesion which described individuals describing restorative justice as collective solution-seeking. The second most frequent theme was Alternative Justice Frameworks and Processes.

The least frequent theme was Uncertainty, Critique, and Misaligned Definitions. Three participants refused to respond to the question.

Community Cohesion. ($n = 142, 94.04\%$): This theme addressed participants' tendencies to define restorative justice as a collaborative process that involved all parties. Participants described restorative justice processes as a collective approach to solution-seeking and response to conflict. Individuals that learned about restorative justice also highlighted that the process involves meetings and consistent communication with all parties involved (i.e., the person harmed, the person who harmed, and their communities). More specifically, participants noted that restorative justice practices are simultaneously survivor and offender focused.

Alternative Justice Frameworks and Processes. ($n = 91, 60.26\%$): Participants described restorative justice as an improvement to the justice system that utilizes a non-punitive, non-carceral, extralegal approach to conflict. Individuals described it as a more emotional, interpersonal, and micro level of justice that centers the people involved in the conflict or harm. Participants went on to define restorative justice as a system, philosophy, and multi-step process that takes effort and practice to successfully conduct. Further, participants noted the tendency for restorative justice to curate change, reduce harm, and restore trust and healing. The nuance of restorative justice was also characterized by using an approach of nuance and tailored approaches to conflict within the community.

Uncertainty, Critique, and Misaligned Definitions. ($n = 3, 1.99\%$): A small subset of participants incorrectly defined restorative justice as inherently punitive in nature. They described restorative justice as a form of corrective punishments, conviction, and carcerality. Most participants in this group understood restorative justice as an alternative form of penalty or punishment for offenders that navigated the criminal legal system.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to create brief educational interventions to teach participants about either transformative or restorative justice to subsequently lower endorsement of retributive justice practices, increase intention to use alternative justice processes, and increase understanding of alternative justice approaches. Results showed that brief interventions detailing alternative justice processes using multi-media were successful in lowering individuals' endorsements of retributive justice (Rosenberger & Callanan, 2012). Additionally, surprisingly, there were no significant differences in attitudes toward retributive justice for both transformative justice and restorative justice. This suggests that the radical nature of transformative justice (Kim, 2011) was not a barrier to reducing support for the use of police and policing.

Considering the theory of planned behavior, (Ajzen, 1985; 2011; Paul & Schenck-Hamlin, 2018) this change in attitude may result in changes in behaviors when it comes to participants' use of the current criminal legal system. Thus, this study provides a foundation of potential behaviors when individuals are introduced to brief political educational interventions. The individual-level divestment from the current criminal legal system may help to create systemic divestment from these cycles of harm.

It is also of note that, victimization, did not in fact moderate the relationship between political education intervention and retributive justice attitudes. This finding defied previously completed studies that showed an inverse relationship between the amount of victimization and openness to alternative justice processes (Costelloe et al., 2009; Dolliver et al., 2021). This finding could be encouraging in that it may suggest that there is potential for those who have

been harmed in the past to learn about alternative justice processes and potentially utilize them in their own lives to a similar extent as those who have not been harmed.

Additionally, MANOVA results revealed that those that learned about restorative justice and transformative justice were similarly less likely to use retributive justice processes in their own lives. This challenged the potential for transformative justice learners to resist divestment from the current criminal legal system as a result of the theoretically nebulous nature of transformative justice (Kim, 2011). Additionally, despite the less familiar conflict approach that transformative justice takes, requiring total independence from the criminal legal system, participants were still just as likely to shift in their openness to using alternative justice practices over the current criminal legal system (Kim, 2011). This finding challenges the previously defined obscure nature and unfamiliarity of transformative justice to new learners as a barrier (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017), and provides possibilities for transformative justice as an easily understandable, more concrete approach to conflict.

Qualitative results generally supported quantitative results in that individuals mostly understood the core tenets of transformative and restorative justice through a brief political intervention. The themes of transformative justice resounded with Resourcing and Community Cohesion as the most frequent theme, similar to restorative justice's theme of Community Cohesion. This suggests that community is a core concept of both alternative justice processes, in line with pre-existing literature (Kaba & Hassan, 2019; Zehr, 2015). Additionally, Alternative Justice Frameworks and Processes were the second most frequent theme in both transformative and restorative justice definitions among participants. This aligns with the tenets of both alternative justice practices as iterative proceedings (Kim, 2011). Finally, transformative justice's third theme of Significant Change for Justice Processes aligned with the vast goals of

transformative justice's principles of considering not only the past and present of conflict, but the future of it as well (Brown, 2019; Kaba & Hassan, 2019; Morris, 1999; Woolford & Ratner, 2010). Qualitative results for those that completed the transformative and restorative justice interventions heavily overlapped, with main differences of individuals identifying transformative justice as a process that inherently relies on community resources because of its divestment from the criminal legal system (Coulling & Johnston, 2018; Lenzen & Stahler, 2020).

For both transformative and restorative justice learners, there were a small number of participants who still identified the alternative justice processes that they learned about as inherently punitive. Societal considerations of living in the United States may play a factor in participants' reluctance to divest in punishment as it relates to conflict (i.e., the United State's reliance on the criminal legal system; The Sentencing Project, 2021). An additional portion of participants' misaligned definitions of both transformative and restorative justice was attributed to participants identifying these forms of justice as novel, rather than identifying their Indigenous roots (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020). Also, participants who received the restorative justice intervention were slightly less likely to critique it, improperly define it, and held more stability in their understanding of restorative justice compared to those that completed the transformative justice intervention when they attempted to define what they learned. This may also be attributed to restorative justice's concrete approach that allows ties to the current criminal legal system, unlike transformative justice's large goals (Gromet & Darley, 2006; Kim, 2011; Van Camp & Wemmers, 2016).

Limitations and Future Directions

At the time of the study, no current scales existed that investigated attitudes of retributive, transformative, and restorative justice in tandem. The creation of such scales may provide a

better understanding of how attitudes toward retributive, transformative, and restorative justice shift over time. Although the present study utilized pre-existing shortened case examples of retributive and restorative justice, research that creates shortened standardized case examples of retributive, restorative, *and* transformative justice may lead to less participant attrition and an increase in the literature investigating the three-justice processes simultaneously. Additionally, the current study utilized case examples of justice that were virtually “victimless” (i.e., stealing from a community pantry). Future research may benefit from exploring the impacts that differing levels of perceived offense severity have on individuals’ attitudes toward alternative justice practices, rather than solely low levels of perceived severity like the present study utilized (Gromet & Darley, 2006; Paul, 2015; Roberts & Stalans, 2004; Van Camp & Wemmers, 2016). Additionally, utilizing longitudinal study designs in future research on similar topics may provide insight into the long-term outcomes that occur over time (Hassett & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, 2013). Further, the present study used two versions (i.e., a five-point Likert-type scale and a seven-point Likert-type scale) of the retributive justice orientation scale (Okimoto et al., 2012). Although alphas were similar and group scores were not significant, consistent Likert ratings for the same measure are standard (Okimoto et al., 2012). Finally, participant fatigue did impact the number of responses received at Time 2 (i.e., $n = 533$ to $n = 481$). Thus, a shorter intervention may result in less participant attrition (McCambridge et al., 2011).

Scale creation for attitudes toward retributive, transformative, and restorative justice in tandem may help provide further psychometrically sound measures to investigate attitude changes over time when providing political education specific to justice processes. Investigations including more than one type of alternative justice in future studies using pre-existing measures

to build the literature provide foundations for specific research questions investigating causal relationships in RCTs (Bhide et al., 2018; Juszczak et al., 2019).

Clinical and Training Implications

Opportunities for training have flourished from these empirical results. The promising findings regarding political education and shifts in attitudes about and uses of alternative justice approaches provide a foundation to begin considering educational opportunities for Counseling Psychology students regarding rapidly popularizing alternative justice practices (Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017). Previous literature has suggested that the majority of client experiences that result from police involvement within therapeutic settings are negative (Jones et al., 2021). Thus, it may benefit helping professionals in training to have access to alternative methods of treatment that rely less heavily on policing and police. Not only do the results of this study demonstrate alternative justice's potential to be understood in a brief educational format, but also the ability of clients who are introduced to extralegal conflict approaches to better understand their options for moving forward from harm.

Counseling psychology programs may consider including information on alternative justice practices in ethics or advocacy courses given the nature and purpose of transformative and restorative justice. This updated pedagogy could allow clinicians in training to offer clients further informed consent when providing opportunities for “alternative treatments” like alternative justice that may be available and applicable for treatment (American Psychological Association, 2017). Additionally, a concept adjacent to transformative justice, “*transformative potential*,” utilized in educational programs may promote equity and combat the oppression of students in training programs (Anand & Hsu, 2020; Jemal, 2017).

There are several clinical implications from the results of this study. Pre-existing literature suggests that transformative justice requires “radical thinkers” to engage with transformative justice processes (Afuape & Oldham, 2022). However, brief political educational interventions were able to shift individuals' attitudes toward retributive justice *and* their intention to use alternative justice processes, suggesting radical thinking or identity may not be a pre-requisite. Transformative and restorative justice may allow for unique and more profound results when approaching conflict (Weissman, 2023). Some have described alternative justice practices like restorative justice as a push toward a more “comprehensive justice” approach that effectively addresses and manages emotions that result from conflict (King, 2008).

Although more research on alternative justice’s direct therapeutic outcomes is needed, this study has solidified the ease of understanding alternative justice as an approach to harm (Walters, 2015). Research has found restorative justice can encourage greater understanding, rehumanize parties involved in the harm, and can mitigate the impact of distressing emotional trauma (Walters, 2015). This directly supports goals outlined in the practice of psychotherapy that seek to help clients through the promotion of positive emotions and deeper self-understanding (Young, 2017). Thus, this study may provide an entry for clinicians to begin considering how alternative justice practices may be utilized in the therapeutic setting. Regardless, alternative justice processes continue to evolve and, thus, may be difficult to fully encapsulate in any one study (Gready & Robins, 2014).

Conclusion

This study bridges a gap in the literature by combining attitudes and openness toward retributive, transformative, and restorative justice in tandem. This study also provides further insight regarding attitudes toward the efficacy of educational interventions of transformative

justice specifically. Qualitative data that was collected highlighted avenues for possible intervention adaptation to ensure participant understanding and justice attitude shift. Further, the potential for these educational interventions to increase the adoption of transformative and restorative justice practices by the general public is of empirical interest. The results of this study highlight the untapped desire that many hold to learn about alternative justice practices. Subsequently, this study displayed the swift divestment from the criminal legal system and investment in transformative and restorative justice because of this knowledge. The findings of this study also inform efforts by transformative justice scholars to develop a measure of transformative justice attitudes. Overall, potential implications for this study are both empirically and clinically of interest to the alternative justice and helping field.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table A1. Summary of Articles for Transformative Justice (TJ) and Restorative Justice (RJ)

Publication	Article Type	Article Focus	Publishing Journal
Kim (2020)	Critique	Equal	Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work
Lenzen & Stahler (2020)	Review	Equal	Family & Intimate Partner Violence Quarterly
Coulling & Johnston (2018)	Empirical	Equal	Crime, Media, Culture Journal of Ethnic & Cultural
Kim (2018)	Review	Equal	Diversity in Social Work International Journal of
Ainley (2017)	Review	Equal	Transitional Justice
Fileborn & Vera-Gray (2017)	Empirical	TJ Focused	Feminist Legal Studies
Madfis & Cohen (2016)	Theoretical	Equal	Social Justice International Journal of
Walker (2016)	Critique	RJ Focused	Transitional Justice
Kim (2011)	Theoretical	TJ Focused	Social Justice Contemporary Justice
Woolford & Ratner (2010)	Critique	RJ Focused	Review
Eriksson (2009)	Review	Equal	International Journal of

			Transitional Justice
			International Journal of
Lambourne (2009)	Theoretical	Equal	Transitional Justice
			Contemporary Justice
Sullivan (2006)	Review	RJ focused	Review
			Contemporary Justice
Braithwaite (2000)	Review	RJ focused	Review
Drumbl, Mark (2000)	Critique	Equal	Punishment & Society
			Contemporary Justice
Martin (1999)	Critique	RJ focused	Review

Table A2. Definitions, Comparisons, and Attitudes of Transformative Justice (TJ) and Restorative Justice (RJ), Including Corresponding Number of Articles

Area of Theme	Theme	Characteristics of Theme
TJ	Deinstitutionalization (<i>n</i> = 13)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Abolition of prisons ■ Divestment in criminal legal system ■ Decentering institutions and organizations ■ Radical goals
	Roots and Systems-Focused (<i>n</i> = 12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Systems-lens ■ Acknowledgment of impacts of institutions ■ Acknowledgment of impacts of oppression ■ Systems hold some accountability in interpersonal relations ■ Shifting community power dynamics
	Margins-Centered (<i>n</i> = 8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Focus on marginalized groups ■ Shifting harmful cultural dynamics ■ Acknowledgement of the impact of

social identities on harm and healing

- Accessible to marginalized communities through divestment in the criminal legal system

Community-Based ($n = 7$)

- Community investment
- Community engagement
- Community self-reliance
- Community self-governance
- Creation of new community norms

RJ

Community-Based ($n = 9$)

- Community investment
- Community engagement
- Community collaboration
- Community empowerment
- Shared community narrative

Acknowledgement and Critique
of Proximity to the Criminal
Legal System ($n = 6$)

- Restorative justice has the ability to be used in institutions
- Debate regarding use of restorative justice alongside the criminal legal system
- Overlap between restorative justice

and criminal legal system

- Conflicting values with restorative justice and criminal legal system

Restoration to Pre-Harm

(*n* = 7)

- Return to pre-harm using stakeholders

- Return to status quo

Person Harmed-Focused (*n* = 7)

- Needs-based

- Person harmed prioritized, but aims to meet the needs of all

- Education of impacts of harm on community and individual

TJ & RJ

Potential for Cooptation (*n* = 8)

- Transformative justice has the potential to be weaponized as a less-safe alternative compared to restorative justice to remain close to the criminal legal system

- Restorative justice processes can be activated by the criminal legal system

- Potential for lack of voluntary engagement of restorative justice

because of criminal legal
consequences

- Vague definitions of processes leave substantial room for interpretation

Complexity and Nuance of Harm
(*n* = 9)

- Allows for multidimensionality of conflict situations
- Considers cultural influences and social nuance
- Provides space for survivor responses
- Promotes survivor autonomy
- Considers the communal effects of harm

Productive Tension (*n* = 5)

- Transformative and restorative justice are two distinct concepts
- Frames debate between transformative and restorative justice as constructive
- Contradiction between approaches is essential and helpful for movement
- Encourages creativity in responding to harm

<p>Perceived Attitudes Towards TJ & RJ</p>	<p>False Dichotomy (<i>n</i> = 7)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Invites critique as a means of advancement ■ Transformative and restorative justice are equal ■ Transformative and restorative justice are more alike than different ■ Dichotomizing these approaches refuses to acknowledge potential overlap of both practices ■ Unproductive tension of comparing both approaches
	<p>Healing (<i>n</i> = 14)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Optimism regarding transformative and restorative interventions ■ Opportunity to resolve conflict ■ Survivors regain dignity, status, and empowerment ■ Hope for the future

- Personal and communal accountability
 - Life-changing potential
 - “True justice”
- Legitimization and Familiarity
(*n* = 10)
- Transformative and restorative justice elicits a fear of the unknown
 - Formal justice processes have more appeal
 - Western socialization of definitions of “justice”
 - Punitive justice offers pre-defined concrete outcomes
 - Punishment for harm is satisfying for some, despite lack of justice
 - Potential for uncertainty regarding the genuineness of an individual’s transformation using non-punitive practices
- Burnout and Unsure Outcomes
(*n* = 9)
- Transformative and restorative justice practices lack resources
 - Both interventions need investment from community needed for

intervention success

- Longevity of both interventions is a barrier
- Sustainability of both interventions is a barrier
- Pre-assumed lack of linearity in healing and justice using alternative justice practices decreases buy-in and increases longevity

Table A3. Articles by Theme

Area of Theme	Theme	Corresponding Articles
Transformative Justice	Deinstitutionalization (<i>n</i> = 36)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Lenzen & Stahler, 2020 ■ Coulling & Johnston, 2018 ■ Kim, 2018 ■ Ainley, 2017 ■ Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017 ■ Kim, 2020 ■ Madfis & Cohen, 2016 ■ Woolford & Ratner, 2010 ■ Eriksson, 2009 ■ Lambourne, 2009 ■ Braithwaite, 2000 ■ Drumbl, 2000 ■ Martin, 1999
	Roots and Systems-Focused (<i>n</i> = 28)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Kim, 2020 ■ Coulling & Johnston, 2018 ■ Kim, 2018 ■ Ainley, 2017

- Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017
- Walker, 2016
- Kim, 2011
- Woolford & Ratner, 2010
- Eriksson, 2009
- Lambourne, 2009
- Drumbl, 2000
- Martin, 1999

Margins-Centered ($n = 26$)

- Coulling & Johnston, 2018
- Kim, 2018
- Ainley, 2017
- Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017
- Walker, 2016
- Kim, 2011
- Eriksson, 2009
- Lambourne, 2009

Community-Based ($n = 20$)

- Kim, 2020
- Kim, 2018
- Walker, 2016
- Kim, 2011

Restorative Justice

- Eriksson, 2009
 - Lambourne, 2009
 - Drumbl, 2000
- Community-Based (*n* = 19)
- Kim, 2018
 - Ainley, 2017
 - Woolford & Ratner, 2010
 - Eriksson, 2009
 - Lambourne, 2009
 - Sullivan et al., 2006
 - Braithwaite, 2000
 - Drumbl, 2000
 - Martin, 1999
- Acknowledgement and
Critique of Partnership with
Criminal Legal System (*n* =
19)
- Kim, 2020
 - Kim, 2018
 - Madfis & Cohen, 2016
 - Walker, 2016
 - Kim, 2011
 - Eriksson, 2009
 - Martin, 1999
- Restoration to Pre-Harm
- Lenzen & Stahler, 2020

(*n* = 14)

- Kim, 2018
- Ainley, 2017
- Walker, 2016
- Woolford & Ratner, 2010
- Braithwaite, 2000
- Martin, 1999

Person Harm-Focused (*n* = 10)

- Lenzen & Stahler, 2020
- Ainley, 2017
- Madfis & Cohen, 2016
- Woolford & Ratner, 2010
- Sullivan et al., 2006
- Braithwaite, 2000
- Martin, 1999

TJ & RJ

Potential for Cooptation

(*n* = 30)

- Kim, 2020
- Fileborn & Vera-Gray,
2017
- Madfis & Cohen, 2016
- Woolford & Ratner, 2010
- Lambourne, 2009
- Sullivan et al., 2006

- Braithwaite, 2000
 - Martin, 1999
- Productive Tension ($n = 18$)
- Kim, 2020
 - Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017
 - Madfis & Cohen, 2016
 - Lambourne, 2009
 - Braithwaite, 2000
- Complexity and Nuance of Harm ($n = 17$)
- Kim, 2020
 - Lenzen & Stahler, 2020
 - Coulling & Johnston, 2018
 - Kim, 2018
 - Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017
 - Eriksson, 2009
 - Lambourne, 2009
 - Drumbl, 2000
 - Martin, 1999
- False Dichotomy ($n = 11$)
- Kim, 2020
 - Fileborn & Vera-Gray, 2017

- Madfis & Cohen, 2016
- Kim, 2011
- Eriksson, 2009
- Lambourne, 2009
- Sullivan et al., 2006

Perceived Attitudes

Towards TJ & RJ

Healing ($n = 51$)

- Lenzen & Stahler, 2020
- Kim, 2020
- Coulling & Johnston, 2018
- Kim, 2018
- Ainley, 2017
- Fileborn & Vera-Gray,
2017
- Madfis & Cohen, 2016
- Walker, 2016
- Woolford & Ratner, 2010
- Eriksson, 2009
- Lambourne, 2009
- Sullivan et al., 2006
- Braithwaite, 2000
- Martin, 1999

Legitimization and Familiarity

(*n* = 18)

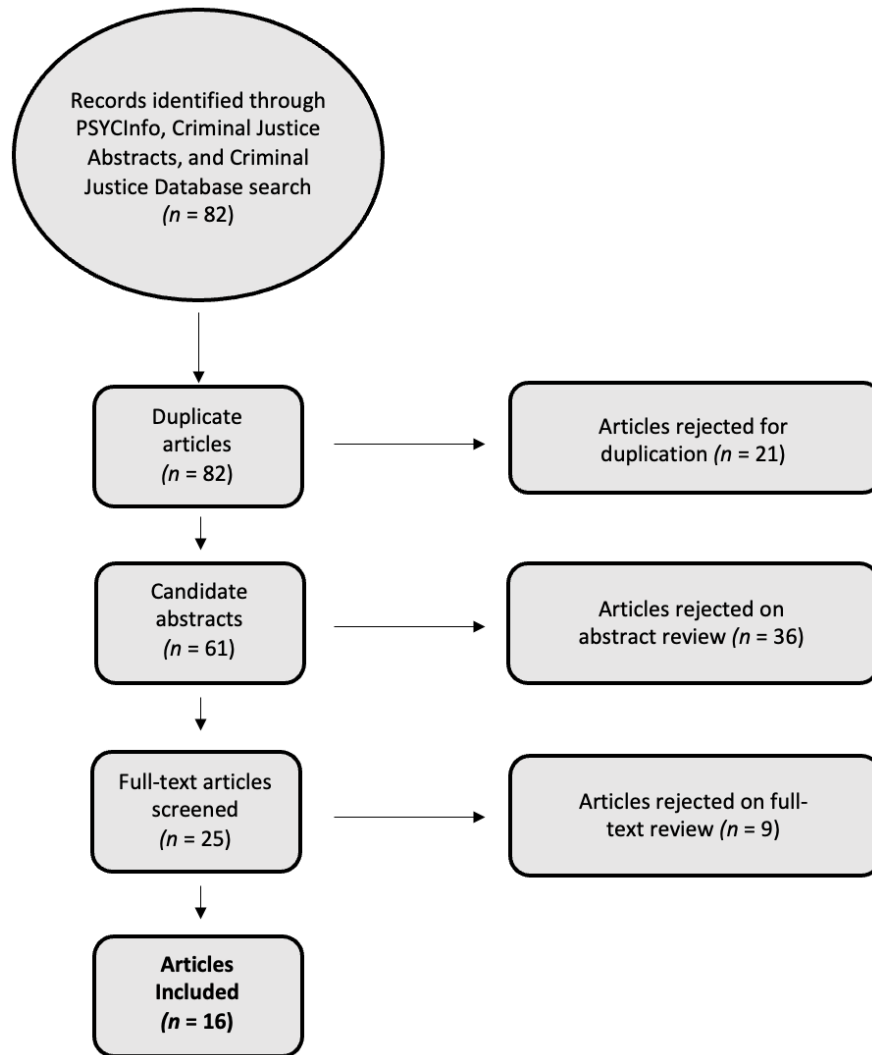
- Kim, 2020
- Coulling & Johnston, 2018
- Fileborn & Vera-Gray,
2017
- Drumbl, 2016
- Madfis & Cohen, 2016
- Walker, 2016
- Woolford & Ratner, 2010
- Lambourne, 2009
- Sullivan et al., 2006
- Martin, 1999

Burnout and Unsure Outcomes

(*n* = 17)

- Kim, 2020
- Lenzen & Stahler, 2020
- Coulling & Johnston, 2018
- Kim, 2018
- Ainley, 2017
- Fileborn & Vera-Gray,
2017
- Madfis & Cohen, 2016
- Kim, 2011
- Martin, 1999

Figure A1. Selection of Articles following PsycInfo, ProQuest: Criminal Justice Database, EBSCO Host: Criminal Justice Abstracts Database Search, ProQuest: Social Services Abstract



Appendix B

Table B1. Gender Demographics Descriptives

Gender	<i>N</i>	%
Agender	6	1.1
Androgyne (Feminine and Masculine)	31	5.8
Bigender (Two genders)	4	0.8
Cisgender Man (Assigned Male at Birth)	216	40.6
Cisgender Woman (Assigned Female at Birth)	268	50.3
Genderqueer (Nonbinary, combination of any and all genders)	5	0.9
Transgender Woman	3	0.6
Transgender Man	1	0.2
Two-Spirit (Cultural mix of genders used to identify in Native American groups)	1	0.2
Other	11	2.1

Table B2. Sexual and Romantic Demographics Descriptives

Sexual and Romantic Identity	<i>N</i>	%
Asexual	18	3.4
Aromantic	6	1.1
Bisexual	36	6.8
Demisexual	7	1.3
Gay	17	3.2
Heterosexual	413	77.5
Lesbian	18	3.4
Monogamous	37	6.9
Pansexual	12	2.3
Polyamorous	3	0.6
Queer	10	1.9
Questioning	16	3.0
Don't Know	11	2.1
Other (Open Response)	4	0.8

Table B3. Racial/Ethnic Identity Demographics Descriptives

Racial/Ethnic Identity	N	%
Indigenous/Native American	4	0.8
Alaska Native	1	0.2
Asian	99	18.6
Black/African American	285	53.5
Hispanic	55	10.3
Latine	21	3.9
Native Hawaiian	2	0.4
Other Pacific Islander	2	0.4
White	102	19.1
Other or Multiracial	20	3.8

Table B4. Level of Education Demographics Descriptives

Highest Level of Education	N	%
High school graduate or equivalent (e.g., GED)	66	12.4
Some college credit, no degree	249	46.7
Associate degree	142	26.6
Bachelor's degree	73	13.7
Master's degree	2	0.4
Doctorate degree	1	0.2

Table B5. Participant Immigration Status Demographics Descriptives

Born in the U.S.	N	%
Yes	427	80.1
No	106	19.9

Table B6. Family Immigration Status Demographics Descriptives

Did your family immigrate?	N	%
1 st generation immigrant (at least one parent was not born in the U.S.)	228	42.8
2 nd generation immigrant (at least one grandparent was not born in the United States)	37	6.9
3 rd generation immigrant (at least one great grandparent was not born in the United States)	37	6.9
Unsure	23	4.3
I do not come from a family of immigrants	208	39.0

Table B7. Religious Identity Demographics Descriptives

Religious Identity	N	%
Anglican (Episcopal)	3	0.6
Baháí	3	0.6
Baptist	80	15.0
Buddhist	19	3.6
Caodaiist	1	0.2
Catholic	62	11.6
Church of Christ	55	10.3
Congregationalist (UCC)	1	0.2
Friend (Quaker)	1	0.2
Hindu	14	2.6
Jain	1	0.2
Jehovah's Witness	3	0.6
Jewish	7	1.3
Latter-day Saint (Mormon)	1	0.2
Lutheran	1	0.2
Methodist	12	2.3
Muslim	65	12.2
None	71	13.3
Orthodox	12	2.3
Pentecostal	17	3.2

Presbyterian	12	2.3
Rastafari	4	0.8
Reformed	1	0.2
Seventh Day Adventist	2	0.6
Sikh	1	0.2
Taoist	2	0.4
Unitarian Universalist (UU)	2	0.4
Pagan	2	0.4
Yazidi	1	0.2
Agnostic	44	8.3
Atheist	35	6.6
Other-Christian	38	7.1
Other (Open Response)	38	7.1

Table B8. Religious Clothing Demographics Descriptives

Do you wear religious clothing of any kind?	N	%
Never	374	70.2
Sometimes	130	24.4
About half the time	11	2.1
Most of the time	8	1.5
Always	10	1.9

Table B9. Mental Health Demographics Descriptives

Do you have any mental illnesses?	N	%
No	378	70.9
Yes, diagnosed by a licensed professional or doctor	70	13.1
Yes, diagnosed by some other professional	7	1.3
Yes, self-diagnosed	39	7.3
Unsure	63	11.8

Table B10. Other Disability Status Demographics Descriptives

Other Disability Status	N	%
No	497	93.2
Yes, diagnosed by a licensed professional or doctor	34	6.4
Yes, diagnosed by some other professional	2	0.4
Yes, self-diagnosed	2	0.4

Table B11. Disability Type Demographics Descriptives

Disability Type	N	%
Sensory disability	5	0.9
Mobility disability	6	1.1
Learning disability	11	2.1
Other disability (Open Response)	15	2.8

Table B12. Political Affiliation Demographics Descriptives

Political Affiliation	N	%
Democratic	216	40.5
Independent	67	12.6
Republican	53	9.9
Liberal	101	19.9
Libertarian	18	3.4
Unsubscribed	121	22.7
Other political response (Open Response)	35	6.6

Table B13. Direct Personal Experience with the Criminal Legal System Demographics Descriptives

Direct CLS Experience	N	%
Yes, I have personal experience in the criminal legal system (incarceration)	25	4.7
Yes, I have personal experience in the criminal legal system (court proceedings without incarceration)	70	13.1
No	446	83.7

Table B14. Type of Experience in the Criminal Legal System Demographics Descriptives

Type of CLS Experience	N	%
A defendant (person accused of a crime)	63	11.8
A plaintiff (person accusing the other party of a crime)	9	1.7
A defendant and a plaintiff	9	1.7
Neither a defendant nor a plaintiff	16	3.0

Table B15. Indirect Personal Experience with the Criminal Legal System Demographics Descriptives

Indirect CLS Experience	N	%
Yes, I have indirect experience in the criminal legal system (incarceration)	140	26.3
Yes, I have indirect experience in the criminal legal system (court proceedings without incarceration)	112	21.0
No	320	60.0

Table B16. Type of Experience in the Criminal Legal System Demographics Descriptives

Type of Indirect CLS Experience	N	%
A defendant (person accused of a crime)	139	26.1
A plaintiff (person accusing the other party of a crime)	26	4.9
A defendant and a plaintiff	52	9.8
Neither a defendant nor a plaintiff	29	5.4

Table B17. Mixed Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance – Test of Within-Subjects Factors on Retributive Justice Attitudes

Source	df	MS	F	p	Partial Eta Squared
Time	1	979.845	58.610	<.001	.109
Time * Group	2	349.353	20.897	<.001	.081
Error	477	16.718			

*Sphericity Assumed

Table B18. Pairwise Comparisons of Time (Pre vs. Post-intervention) and Group on Retributive Justice Attitudes

Group	(I) Time	(J) Time	Mean difference (I-J)	SE	95% CI:	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Control Group	1	2	-.343	.447	-1.222	.537
Transformative Justice Group	1	2	3.515*	.464	2.602	1.222
Restorative Justice Group	1	2	2.892*	.460	1.988	3.796

* = The mean difference is significant at the .001 level

Figure B2. Willingness to Use Alternative Justice Processes Based on Intervention Group

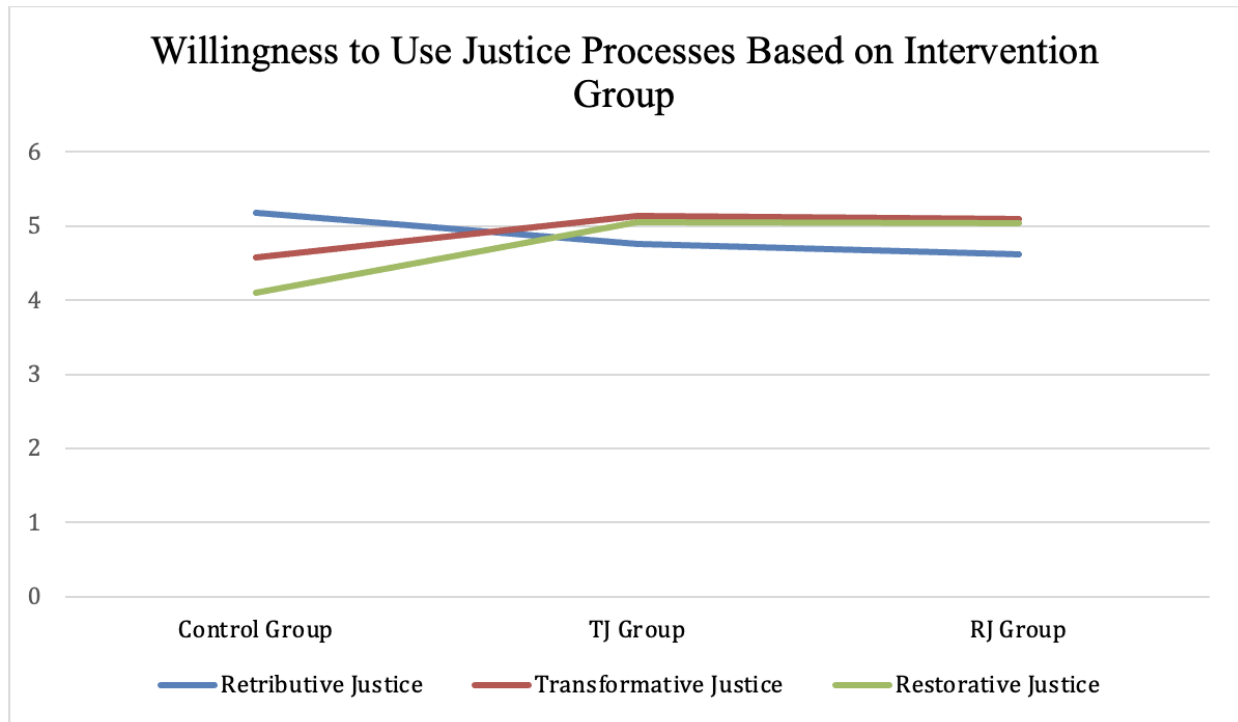


Table B19. Means, Standard Deviations and Statistics Tests Related to Justice Process Intentions for the Three Intervention Groups

Justice Process	Group	M	SD	N
Retributive Justice	Control Group	5.18	1.432	167
	Transformative Justice Group	4.75	1.407	155
	Restorative Justice Group	4.62	1.407	158
Transformative Justice	Control Group	4.57	1.604	167
	Transformative Justice Group	5.13	1.394	155
	Restorative Justice Group	5.09	1.534	158
Restorative Justice	Control Group	4.10	1.531	167

Transformative Justice Group	5.05	1.364	155
Restorative Justice Group	5.04	1.503	158

Table B20. Multivariate Tests on Intention to Use Justice Processes (all significant at $p < .05$)

Effect	Λ	F	df ₁	df ₂	p
Intercept	.042	3617.579	3	475	<.001
Group	.885	9.647	6	950	<.001

Table B21. Significant F-tests for Univariate Follow-Up Test

Effect	MS	F	df ₁	df ₂	p
Retributive Justice Intention	13.928	6.708	2	477	<.001
Transformative Justice Intention	16.097	7.006	2	477	<.001
Restorative Justice Intention	48.412	22.406	2	477	<.001

Table B22. Post-hoc Multiple Comparisons by Intention to Use Justice Processes and Group

Justice Process Intention	(I)	(J)	Mean difference (I-J)	SE	95% CI:	
	Group	Group			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Retributive Justice Process	1	2	.42*	.161	.04	.81
		3	.56*	.160	.18	.94
	2	3	.13	.163	-.26	.53
Transformative Justice Process	1	2	-.56*	.169	-.97	-.15
		3	-.53*	.168	-.93	-.12
	2	3	.03	.171	-.38	.45
Restorative Justice Process	1	2	-.94*	.164	-1.34	-.55
		3	-.94*	.163	-1.33	-.55
	2	3	.00	1.66	-.40	.40

* = The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

1 = control group, 2 = transformative justice group, 3 = restorative justice group

Appendix C

Attentive Responding Scale-18 - Maniaci & Rogge (2013)

FIRST HALF OF ITEMS AS THEY WOULD BE PRESENTED IN A STUDY:

In general...	Not at all TRUE	A little TRUE	Some- what TRUE	Mostly TRUE	Very TRUE
I am an active person	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy the company of my friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't like getting speeding tickets	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I look forward to my time off	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find it easy to open up to my friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am a very considerate person	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy the music of Marlene Sandersfield	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I spend most of my time worrying	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Occasionally people annoy me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My favorite subject is agronomy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I am a happy person	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't like being ridiculed or humiliated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am a very energetic person.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am a lively person	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I love going to the DMV (Department of Motor Vehicles)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It frustrates me when people keep me waiting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy relaxing in my free time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

SECOND HALF OF ITEMS AS THEY WOULD BE PRESENTED IN A STUDY:

In general...	Not	A	Som	Mos	Ver
	at	little	e-	tly	y
	all	TR	wha	TRU	TR
	TR	UE	t	E	UE
	UE		TR		
			UE		
I have an active lifestyle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I like to spend time with my friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I enjoy receiving telemarketers' calls	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
It feels good to be appreciated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
It's easy for me to confide in my friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I always try to be considerate of other people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I'd rather be hated than loved	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I worry about things a lot	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
Sometimes I find people irritating	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I'd be happy if I won the lottery	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I am usually happy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
My main interests are coin collecting and interpretive dancing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I have a lot of energy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
I tend to be pretty lively	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
It's annoying when people are late.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					
In my time off I like to relax	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<hr/>					

Demographics

1. How do you currently describe your gender identity?
 1. Agender (Genderless)
 2. Androgyne (Feminine and Masculine)
 3. Bigender (Two genders)
 4. Cisgender Man (Assigned Male at Birth)
 5. Cisgender Woman (Assigned Female at Birth)
 6. Genderqueer (Nonbinary, combination of any and all genders)
 7. Transgender Woman
 8. Transgender Man
 9. Two-Spirit (Cultural mix of genders used to identify in Native American groups)
 10. Other: _____ (Open Response)

2. How do you currently describe your relationship and/or sexual orientation?
 1. Asexual
 2. Aromantic
 3. Bisexual
 4. Demisexual
 5. Gay
 6. Heterosexual
 7. Lesbian
 8. Pansexual
 9. Polyamorous

10. Queer
11. Questioning
12. Don't Know
13. Other: _____ (Open Response)

3. What is your race/ethnicity?

1. American Indian
2. Alaska Native
3. Asian
4. Black/African American
5. Hispanic
6. Latinx
7. Native Hawaiian
8. Other Pacific Islander
9. White
10. Other or Multiracial _____ (Open Response)

4. What is your family income?

1. \$ _____
2. Unknown/Prefer not to state

5. What is your age?

1. 18-24
2. 25-34
3. 35-44
4. 45-54

5. 55-64
 6. 65-74
 7. 75-older
6. What is your highest level of education?
1. No schooling completed
 2. Elementary school to 8th grade
 3. Some high school, no diploma
 4. High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)
 5. Some college credit, no degree
 6. Trade/technical/vocational training
 7. Associate degree
 8. Bachelor's degree
 9. Master's degree
 10. Applied or Professional degree
 11. Doctorate degree
7. What is your major or program of study?
1. Psychology
 2. Counseling Psychology
 3. Clinical Psychology
 4. Law
 5. Social Work
 6. Other _____ (Open Response)
 7. Not currently in an educational program

8. If you are seeking a degree, what degree are you currently seeking?

1. Associate of Applied Science (AAS)
2. Associate of Arts (AA)
3. Associate of Science (AS)
4. Bachelor of Applied Science (BAS)
5. Bachelor of Architecture (B.Arch.)
6. Bachelor of Arts (BA)
7. Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA)
8. Bachelor of Fine Arts (BFA)
9. Bachelor of Science (BS)
10. Master of Business Administration (MBA)
11. Master of Education (M.Ed.)
12. Master of Fine Arts (MFA)
13. Master of Laws (LL.M.)
14. Master of Public Administration (MPA)
15. Master of Public Health (MPH)
16. Master of Publishing (M.Pub.)
17. Master of Science (MS)
18. Master of Social Work (MSW)
19. Doctor of Business Administration (DBA)
20. Doctor of Dental Surgery (DDS)
21. Doctor of Education (Ed.D.)
22. Doctor of Medicine (MD)

23. Doctor of Pharmacy (Pharm.D.)
 24. Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)
 25. Doctor of Psychology (Psy.D.)
 26. Juris Doctor (JD)
 27. Other _____ (Open Response)
 28. Not currently seeking a degree
9. Were you born in the United States?
1. Yes
 2. No
10. Do you come from a family of immigrants?
1. 1st generation immigrant (at least one parent is an immigrant)
 2. 2nd generation immigrant (at least one grandparent is an immigrant)
 3. 3rd generation immigrant (at least one great grandparent is an immigrant)
 4. Unsure or unapplicable
11. What religion do you identify with?
1. Anglican (Episcopal)
 2. Bahá'í
 3. Baptist
 4. Buddhist
 5. Caodaiist
 6. Catholic
 7. Christian Scientist
 8. Church of Christ

9. Confucianist
10. Congregationalist (UCC)
11. Friend (Quaker)
12. Hindu
13. Jain
14. Jehovah's Witness
15. Jewish
16. Latter-day Saint (Mormon)
17. Lutheran
18. Methodist
19. Muslim
20. None
21. Orthodox
22. Pentecostal
23. Presbyterian
24. Rastafari
25. Reformed
26. Seventh Day Adventist
27. Sikh
28. Taoist
29. Unitarian Universalist (UU)
30. Wiccan (Pagan)
31. Yazidi

32. Agnostic

33. Atheist

34. Other: _____(Open Response)

12. Do you wear religious clothing of any kind?

1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. About half the time
4. Most of the time
5. Always

13. Do you have any mental illnesses?

1. No
2. Yes, diagnosed by a licensed professional or doctor
3. Yes, diagnosed by some other professional
4. Yes, self-diagnosed
5. Unsure

14. What mental illnesses do you have? (Shown if option 1 or 5 was not endorsed on Question 13)

1. Alcohol/Substance Abuse/Dependence
2. Anxiety Disorders
3. ADHD/ADD
4. Depression
5. Eating Disorders
6. Generalized Anxiety Disorders

7. OCD
8. Panic Disorder
9. PTSD
10. Schizophrenia
11. Seasonal Affective Disorder
12. Social Anxiety Phobia
13. Depersonalization Disorder
14. Dissociative Disorders
15. Sleep and Wake Disorders
16. Autism Spectrum Disorders
17. Personality Disorders
18. Other Mental Disorders: _____ (Open Response)

15. Have you been diagnosed with any disability or impairment?

1. No
2. Yes, diagnosed by a licensed professional or doctor
3. Yes, diagnosed by some other professional
4. Yes, self-diagnosed

13 (b). Which of the following have been diagnosed?

- a. Sensory disability
- b. Mobility disability
- c. Learning disability
- d. Other disability _____ (Open Response)

11. Is English your first language?

1. Yes
2. Yes, bilingual
3. No

12. What is your political affiliation?

1. Democratic
2. Independent
3. Republican
4. Liberal
5. Libertarian
6. Unsubscribed
7. Other political view _____ (Open Response)

13. I have direct personal experience with the criminal legal system

1. Yes, I have personal experience in the criminal legal system (incarceration)
2. Yes, I have personal experience in the criminal legal system (court proceedings without incarceration)
3. No

14. In my personal experience with the criminal legal system I was... (Shown if option 3 was not selected on Question 13)

1. A defendant (person accused of a crime)
2. A plaintiff (person accusing the other party of a crime)
3. A defendant and a plaintiff
4. Neither a defendant nor a plaintiff

15. I have indirect experience with the criminal legal system (i.e., experience through a family, close friend, significant other)

1. Yes, I have indirect experience in the criminal legal system (incarceration)
2. Yes, I have indirect experience in the criminal legal system (court proceedings without incarceration)
3. No

Retributive and Restorative Justice Orientations - (Okimoto et al., 2012)

1. As a matter of fairness, an offender should be penalized.
2. The only way to restore justice is to punish an offender.
3. Justice is served when an offender is penalized.
4. Only a punishment restores the justice disrupted by an incident.
5. For the sake of justice, some degree of suffering has to be inflicted on an offender.
6. An offender deserves to be penalized.

General Victimization Index - (Titus et al., 2003)

The next questions are about things that other people may have done to you.

Please answer the next questions using yes or no.

Has anyone ever:

a. Attacked you with a gun, knife, stick, bottle, or other weapon?

1 Yes

0 No

b. Hurt you by striking or beating you to the point that you had bruises, cuts, or broken bones or otherwise physically abused you?

1 Yes

0 No

c. Pressured or forced you to participate in sexual acts against your will, including your regular sexual partner, a family member, or friend?

1 Yes

0 No

d. Abused you emotionally; that is, did or said things to make you feel very bad about yourself or your life?

1 Yes

0 No

e. About how old were you the first time any of these things happened to you?

">__">__"> Age

Were you under 18?

1 Yes

0 No

Did any of the previous things happen:

f. Several times or over a long period of time?

1 Yes

0 No

g. With more than one person involved in hurting you?

1 Yes

0 No

h. Where one or more of the people involved was a family member, close family friend, professional, or someone else you had trusted?

1 Yes

0 No

j. Where you were afraid for your life or that you might be seriously injured?

1 Yes

0 No

k. And result in oral, vaginal, or anal sex?

1 Yes

0 No

m. And people you told did not believe or help you?

1 Yes

0 No

Are you currently worried that someone might . . .

n. Attack you with a gun, knife, stick, bottle, or other weapon?

1 Yes

0 No

p. Hurt you by striking or beating or otherwise physically abuse you?

1 Yes

0 No

q. Pressure or force you to participate in sexual acts against your will?

1 Yes

0 No

r. Abuse you emotionally?

1 Yes

0 No

Judicial Process Choice - (Okimoto et al., 2012)

Retributive Justice Process: As the victim, you decide whether or not to press charges. A case is presented by the state on your behalf, presenting the details of the offense and the extent of the harm caused to you. The judge then makes an objective decision and assigns an appropriate punishment for the offender given the severity of the crime and how that transgression hurt you. The offender must comply with the judge's decision, even if they do not agree to the punishment.

Transformative Justice Process: You and the offender (as well as members of the community) are brought together in a discussion about the offense without involving the criminal legal system. Together, you, the offender, and your communities have the opportunity to express your views and emotions and discuss the transgression. Based on the results of this interaction, you and the offender are encouraged to decide together on what actions are appropriate to take to ensure the harm does not happen again. This includes changing or providing rules or resources of the communities that you both are in so that other individuals are not affected by the same harm in the future.

Restorative Justice Process: You and the offender (as well as members of the community) are brought together in a discussion about the offense. Together, both you and the offender have the opportunity to express your views and emotions and discuss the transgression. Based on the results of this interaction, you and the offender are encouraged to decide together on what actions are appropriate to take, if any. Punishment may be part of the justice decision but does not have to be.

Justice Process Intentions

“Please rate the likelihood that you would use this intervention to address harm in your own life.” 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Asked for all three justice process choices.

Intervention Components (Understanding and Influence)

Transformative Justice Group:

1. The video was influential in my understanding of transformative justice.
2. The slides were influential in my understanding of transformative justice.
3. The case example was influential in my understanding of transformative justice.
4. I feel like I understand transformative justice.
5. Please rank the importance of each part of the intervention on your understanding of transformative justice
 - a. Video
 - b. Slides
 - c. Case Example
6. To the best of your understanding, how would you define transformative justice? (Open Response).

Restorative Justice Group:

1. The video was influential in my understanding of restorative justice.
2. The slides were influential in my understanding of restorative justice.
3. The case example was influential in my understanding of restorative justice.
4. I feel like I understand restorative justice.
5. Please rank the importance of each part of the intervention on your understanding of restorative justice

- a. Video
 - b. Slides
 - c. Case Example
6. To the best of your understanding, how would you define restorative justice? (Open Response).

Appendix D

Control Intervention

- **Video**
 - The Life of a Baby Polar Bear - Ep. 4 | Wildlife: The Big Freeze – National Geographic – 10:59
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9vgnXRypc4o>

Transformative Justice Intervention

- **Instructions:**
 - Throughout this study you will receive a series of concentration and understanding checks to ensure you are paying attention. You will complete a series of measures including demographics forms and your perspectives on transformative justice. Transformative justice is a practice to address interpersonal harm outside of the criminal legal system. You will receive a three-part educational intervention on transformative justice and will be asked what your understanding of transformative justice is after each part. First, you will watch a video on transformative justice. Next, you will read through an interactive slideshow on definitions of transformative justice. Then, you will read a case study on transformative justice in practice. Finally, you will then complete another series of measures on what you learned.
- **Video:**
 - What is Transformative Justice? by Barnard Center for Research on Women - 10:29
 - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-_BOFz5TXo&t=6s

- Pamphlet/Interactive:
 - Definition of Transformative Justice:
 - Transformative justice “seeks to provide people who experience violence with immediate safety and long-term healing and reparations while holding people who commit violence accountable within and by their communities” (Generation FIVE, 2007).
 - Transformative justice aims to make systemic shifts that prohibit such harms from happening in the future. Simply put, transformative justice is a way to address harm without the use of the prison industrial complex.
 - Transformative justice believes that every crime has deeper, systemic roots that must be addressed to transform the contexts to stop the crime from happening in the future.
 - Values of Transformative Justice
 - Transformative justice does not believe in using the criminal legal system to address crime or harm.
 - To participate in transformative justice practices, one must be voluntarily engaged in the process.
 - Acknowledgment of the impacts of systems of oppression is imperative for transformative justice to be successful.
 - Principles of Transformative Justice
 - “Survivor safety, healing and agency” (Kaba & Hassan, 2019)
 - “Accountability and transformation of those who abuse or cause harm” (Kaba & Hassan, 2019)

- “Community response and accountability” (Kaba & Hassan, 2019)
- “Transformation of the community and social conditions that create and perpetuate violence - systems of oppression, exploration, domination, and state violence” (Kaba & Hassan, 2019)
- Image Describing Transformative Justice
 - <https://savethekidsgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Transformative-Justice-in-Action-3.jpg>



■



TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE

Definitions of Transformative Justice



SAFETY

■ Transformative justice “seeks to provide people who experience violence with immediate safety and long-term healing and reparations while holding people who commit violence accountable within and by their communities” (Generation FIVE, 2007).



SYSTEMIC SHIFTS

■ Transformative justice aims to make systemic shifts that prohibit such harms from happening in the future.



CYCLES OF HARM

■ Transformative justice believes that every crime has deeper, systemic roots that must be addressed to transform the contexts to stop the crime from happening in the future.



ORIGINS

■ Transformative justice principles and practices have roots in Native and Indigenous cultures (Lenzen & Stahler, 2020)



TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE

Values of Transformative Justice



NO PRISONS

■ Transformative justice does not believe in using the criminal legal system to address crime or harm.



VOLUNTARY ENGAGEMENT

■ To participate in transformative justice practices, one must consent to be in the process



UNDERSTANDING SYSTEMS

■ Acknowledgment of the impacts of systems of oppression in creating climates where violence can occur is imperative for transformative justice to be successful



COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

■ "Community response and accountability"
(Kaba & Hassan, 2019)



TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE

Principles of Transformative Justice



SURVIVOR-CENTERED

- "Survivor safety, healing and agency" (Kaba & Hassan, 2019)
- 20.2% of people who have perpetuated relationship violence disclose having experienced relationship violence (Coker et al., 2014).



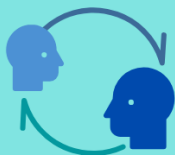
ACCOUNTABILITY

- "Accountability and transformation of those who abuse or cause harm" (Kaba & Hassan, 2019)



CHANGING SYSTEMS

- "Transformation of the community and social conditions that create and perpetuate violence - systems of oppression, exploration, domination, and state violence" (Kaba & Hassan, 2019)



COMMUNITY CARE

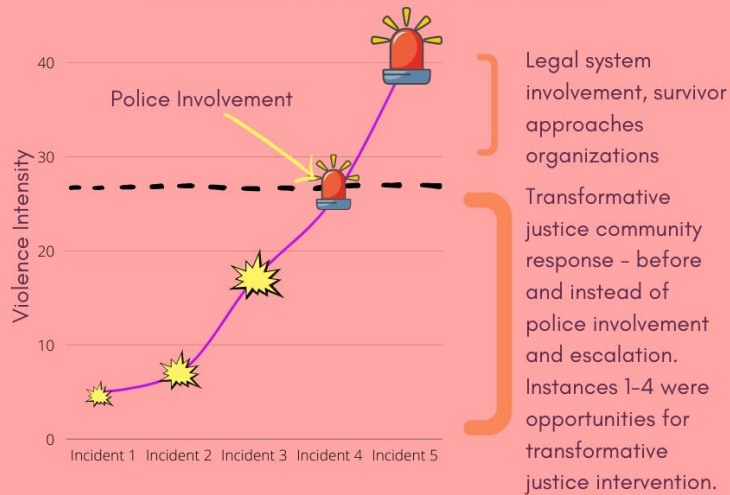
- Transformative justice NOT cancel culture. Transformative justice is collectivist healing that utilizes the community as a first responder in harm rather than police or advocates.

ELEMENTS OF TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE



<https://savethekidsgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Transformative-Justice-in-Action-3.jpg>

TRAJECTORY OF HARM



Paraphrased from Mia Mingus and Image idea and content copied from The Devi Coop

- Case Example:

Ash committed several fraud and property offenses. These offenses included Ash vandalizing (graffiti) and stealing from a local community center. Ash committed the offenses with co-offenders, and at the time, Ash was intermittently living on the streets. Ash claimed they were stealing to feed themselves and clothe themselves. This case was not referred to the criminal legal system after the community center chose the option to use transformative justice interventions rather than sentencing. In order to support the growth of Ash, the community center members, and their communities' wellbeing the decision was made to engage in transformative justice. Transformative justice facilitators conducted several conversations to prepare Ash and the harmed party independently for the procedures of a transformative justice intervention. During the discussions, the facilitator noted that Ash appeared to present with little remorse and a limited sense of responsibility for their offenses.

After a few months of preparation, the day had come for both parties (Ash and the community center director) to meet to participate in the transformative justice meeting. Facilitators reminded Ash and the harmed party that this process may be long and would be helpful to have at least one support person from each of their communities to be present at the meeting. In planning and preparing for the process, facilitators discussed the process of transformative justice, and the potential outcomes and risks of engaging in this process and outlined a safety plan to decrease potential risk (e.g., scheduling social support for Ash after the process, preparing an accountability plan for Ash).

First, the facilitator highlighted the differences and similarities in social identities (i.e., race, gender, religion, etc.) that Ash and the community center had in order to acknowledge and consider the power dynamics of the interaction. Then, all parties discussed the impacts of

the Ash's behavior and shared their truths regarding the situation. Several people outside of Ash and the community center director came to represent different parties and effects of the harm done. Although Ash was living on the streets, their father came as their support person to hold them accountable. Additionally, a frequent community center user and volunteer joined the transformative justice intervention as well to represent the community affected by Ash's behavior. Ash's father discussed the impacts of their offending on the family, which included concerns about Ash's mental health, stolen goods potentially being brought into the family home, and concerns for Ash's younger siblings. Ash's father shared that he wanted Ash to move back into the family home so that they did not need to steal. Ash began to cry as their father pleaded with them and told them that he loved them.

In the next session, both parties shared their goals for the end result of transformative justice with community input. Ash's self-created goals included agreeing to apologize to center members, volunteer at the center, read and follow instructions for community services, and contact community members when they had questions. The community center's self-created goals were to increase community center hours to be open more frequently and to have an emergency hotline to call if community members had questions.

The representative from the community center discussed how Ash's offending had adversely affected the center by damaging a local resource for those that needed it. Community members that volunteered their time to clean off graffiti to the club structures and chattels, repair the shed door and wire fence, and replace damaged chairs and tables and sound system discussed how unfair it was for them to have to clean up Ash's mess. After hearing the impacts of the vandalism on the community and Ash's family, Ash realized that they made a poor decision and caused a lot of harm for a service that they could have utilized

rather than stealing from. To ensure this never happened again, within the neighborhood community, all current and future new neighborhood members were required to learn about the types of vandalism and agree to group norms to join the community. The conference concluded with Ash agreeing to undertake four sessions of volunteer work at the community center.

Ash completed the volunteer work at the community center within one month of the conference. The following is an excerpt from the community center representative: “Ash completed the volunteer work as we agreed at the conference. They worked over two weekends, were very enthusiastic, and very proud of what they achieved. They revitalized the garden area which was a strip of garden. They also removed weeds & dead plants & moved loads of mulch to cover the garden. I also got them to remove some other graffiti to show them how hard it was to remove. They also helped set out the Men’s Shed building site. Once the Men’s Shed is complete, they will be invited back to the site to see how everything looks when completed. They were a delight to work with, seems settled & contented in their job.” The community center has now invited Ash back to the club as a long-term volunteer. Ash has not re-offended in the three months since the conference. They also are no longer associating with their co-offenders and have secured full-time employment. Ash, the community center members, and the support members agreed on the shared goals, holding themselves accountable and using their communities for accountability as well. They planned to check in after 3 months to see the progress of these goals.

Restorative Justice Intervention

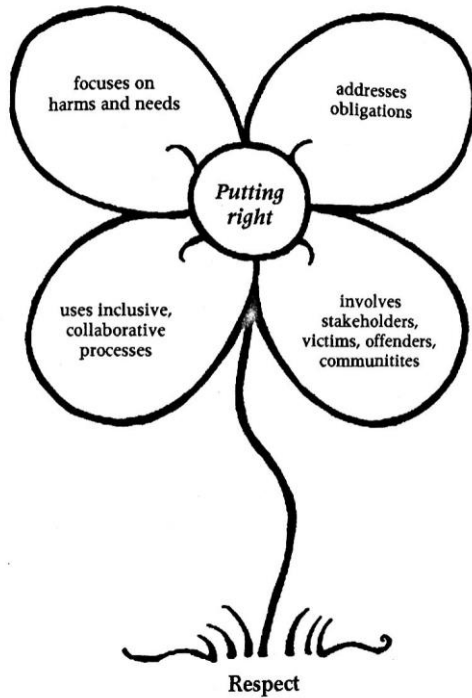
- Instructions:
 - Throughout this study you will receive a series of concentration and understanding checks to ensure you are paying attention. You will complete a series of measures including demographics forms and your perspectives on restorative justice. Restorative justice is a practice to address interpersonal harm outside of the criminal legal system. You will receive a three-part educational intervention on restorative justice and will be asked what your understanding of restorative justice is after each part. First, you will watch a video on restorative justice. Next, you will read through an interactive slideshow on definitions of restorative justice. Then, you will read a case study on restorative justice in practice. Finally, you will then complete another series of measures on what you learned.
- Video:
 - How restorative justice could end mass incarceration | Shannon Sliva | TEDxMileHigh - 12:58
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPA-p6UUDl4>
- Pamphlet/Interactive:
 - Definition of Restorative Justice:
 - A way to “put right” conflict that incorporates a focus on harms and needs, obligations (who is responsible for what), stakeholders (person/people harmed, person/people who harmed, and their communities), and

collaboration (engagement between and within the stakeholders (Zehr, 2015)

- Values of Restorative Justice
 - Justice must address harms and resulting needs of those who are harmed
 - Those who harm have an obligation to those they have harmed
 - Those involved and impacted by crime should be involved as much as possible in outcomes
 - Collaborative outcomes are preferred over imposed outcomes
 - As much as possible, processes should be tailored to the needs and cultures of the people involved
 - Justice should balance concern for all parties involved
- Questions of Restorative Justice (Zehr, 2015)
 - Restorative Justice: Who has been harmed? What are their needs? Whose obligations are these?
 - Criminal Legal System: What laws have been broken? Who did it? What do they deserve?
- Principles of Restorative Justice (Zehr, 2015)
 - Crime is fundamentally a violation of people and interpersonal relationships
 - Victims, offenders, and the affected community(ies) are the key stakeholders in justice
 - Violations create obligations and liabilities



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Zehr, 2015 p. 47



RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Definitions of Restorative Justice

MAKING THINGS RIGHT



■ A way to “put right” conflict that incorporates a focus on harms and needs, obligations (who is responsible for what), stakeholders (person/people harmed, person/people who harmed, and their communities), and collaboration (engagement between and within the stakeholders (Zehr, 2015))

INVOLVED STAKEHOLDERS



■ An opportunity for conversation involving all stakeholders involved or impacted by an injustice (Braithwaite, 2004)

FLEXIBLE ENVIRONMENT



■ Restorative justice can happen within or outside of the criminal legal system (Van Ness, 2016)

ORIGINS



■ The term “restorative justice” was originally coined in-text by Albert Eglash in 1957, but restorative justice has roots in Native and Indigenous cultures (Maruna, 2014).



RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Values of Restorative Justice



NEEDS-BASED

■ Justice must address harms and resulting needs of those who are harmed and justice should balance concern for all parties involved



OBLIGATION

■ Those who harm have an obligation to those they have harmed



COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

■ Those involved and impacted by crime should be involved as much as possible in outcomes



COLLABORATION

■ Collaborative outcomes are preferred over imposed outcomes



CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

■ As much as possible, processes should be tailored to the needs and cultures of the people involved



RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Questions & Principles of Restorative Justice



RESTORATIVE QUESTIONS

■ Who has been harmed? What are their needs? Whose obligations are these?



RELATIONSHIPS

■ Crime is fundamentally a violation of people and interpersonal relationships (Zehr, 2015)



COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

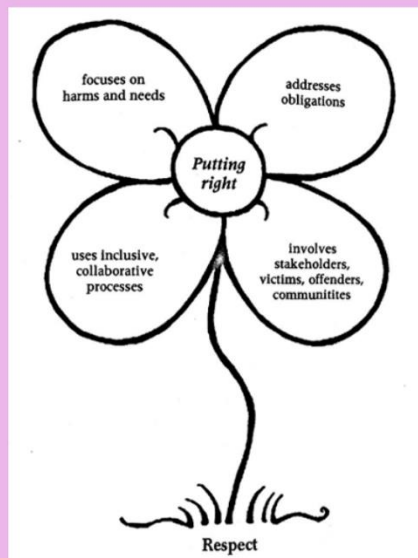
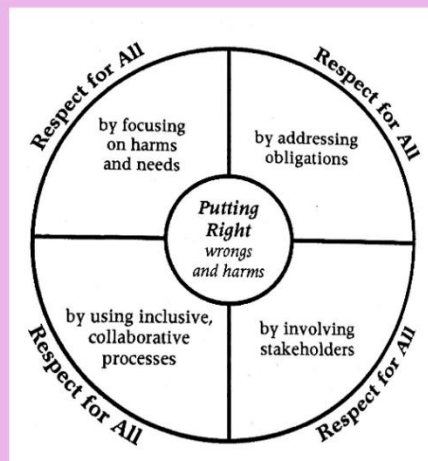
■ Victims, offenders, and the affected community(ies) are the key stakeholders in justice (Zehr, 2015)



HARM = RESPONSIBILITY

■ Violations create obligations and liabilities (Zehr, 2015)

ELEMENTS OF RESTORATIVE JUSTICE



- Case Example

Department of Child Safety, Youth and Women. (n.d.). *Restorative Justice Case Studies*.

Department of Children, Youth Justice and Multicultural Affairs (DCYJMA). Retrieved from <https://www.cyjma.qld.gov.au/resources/dcsyw/about-us/performance-evaluation/program-eval/restorative-justice-case-studies.pdf>.

Ash committed several fraud and property offenses. These offenses included Ash vandalizing (graffiti) and stealing from a local community center. Ash committed the offenses with co-offenders, and at the time, Ash was intermittently living on the streets. Ash claimed they were stealing to feed themselves and clothe themselves. This case was a court-ordered restorative justice order (RJO) after the community center chose the option to use restorative justice interventions rather than sentencing. Restorative justice facilitators conducted pre-conference meetings to prepare Ash and the harmed party independently for the procedures of a restorative justice intervention. During the pre-conference meeting, the convenor noted that Ash appeared to present with little remorse and a limited sense of responsibility for their offenses. After a few months of preparation, the day had come for both parties (Ash and the community center director) to meet to participate in the restorative justice meeting.

Several people outside of Ash and the community center director came to represent different parties and effects of the harm done. Although Ash was living on the streets, their father came as their support person to hold them accountable. Additionally, a frequent community center user and volunteer joined the restorative justice intervention as well to represent the community affected by Ash's behavior. Ash's father discussed the impacts of their offending on the family, which included concerns about Ash's mental health, stolen goods potentially being brought into the family home, and concerns for Ash's younger siblings. Ash's father shared that

he wanted Ash to move back into the family home so that they did not need to steal. Ash began to cry as their father pleaded with them and told them that he loved them.

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