

“Just like sort of guilty kind of”: The rhetoric of tempered admission in Youth Justice Conferencing

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Abstract

This paper presents the beginnings of a project on understanding how reconciliation is enacted in NSW Youth Justice Conferencing. These conferences are meetings during which a young person who has committed an offence has the opportunity to reconcile directly with the victim of the crime. The conferences seem agnate to genres such as interrogation, therapy and assessment. Focusing on the language of evaluation using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), we explain tempering, a resource that the young person uses to dissipate invoked prosodies of impropriety about their behaviour. Our examples of tempering are drawn from a conference broadcast by ABC Radio National. This conference was held due to vandalism of a vacant property by two young persons.

1 Background: Youth Justice Conferencing in NSW

Youth Justice Conferences in NSW are meetings between young offenders, victims, their supporters and selected community participants held as an alternative to formal proceedings for sentencing in the Childrens' Court. They are part of a larger worldwide 'Restorative Justice' reform movement (Braithwaite, 1989; Van Ness, Maxwell, & Morris, 2001). The Young Offenders Act NSW 1997 establishes a legislative framework for this alternative sentencing pathway for young persons who have committed certain types of offences. A youth justice conference is mediated by a convenor. The role of the convenor is to facilitate a "structured conversation" (Moore and McDonald 2000: 14) during which participants discuss the crime and how it has affected their relationships, with particular reference to the emotional and psychological impact that has been felt. The conference aims to specify an appropriate sentence for the young person, often some form of community service. Theorists define this type of sentencing as manifesting 'reintegrative shaming' (Braithwaite, 1989), that is, punishment that does not label the young person as a criminal but instead condemns their behaviour. It is 'reintegrative' in the sense that the process reconciles not just the young person and the victim, but the young person and their community.

The physical layout of a youth justice conference has different affordances to the formal structuring of a court proceedings. The conference is typically held in a circle formation (Figure 1). This configuration does not privilege any particular position within the space, unlike the magisterial bench of the Children's Court. The flattening of physical hierarchy also lessens the interpersonal distance between speakers. This may increase the likelihood that those participants will speak but also raises the interpersonal stakes. However, it is necessary to acknowledge that both courtrooms and conferences have formal and informal, and restorative and retributive elements (Daly, 2000). The discourse that occurs in Youth Justice Conferencing may be conceptualised along on a cline of 'restorativeness', that is, a continuum of restorative and retributive choices. The discourse is different to courtroom talk and, as an emergent genre, it is unclear the extent to which related genres such as evaluation genres (interviews, exams, assessments) and confessional genres (therapy, church confession, interrogation) contribute to the meaning potential.

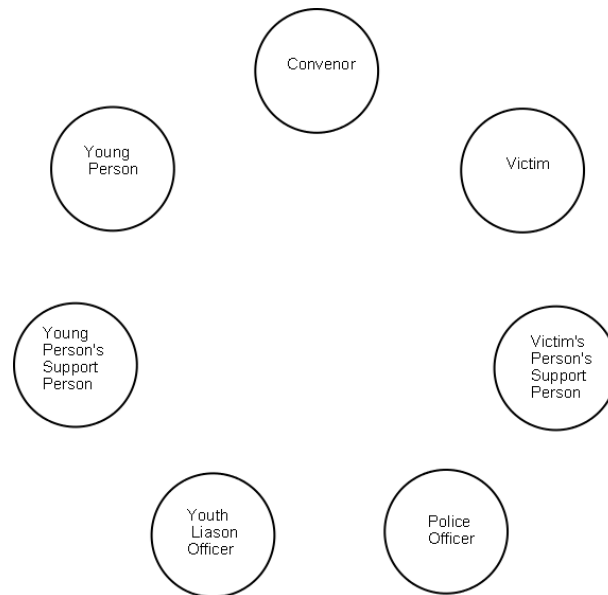


Figure 1 An example of the seating arrangement in a youth justice conference.

The text analysed in this paper is the transcript of a youth justice conference broadcast on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio National's Radio Eye program in a story entitled 'Offending Behaviour'¹. The conference dealt with the vandalising of a vacant house in a housing estate by two teenage boys, referred to as Young Person A (YPA) and Young Person D (YPD). The boys inflicted \$50 000 of damage on the property and after admitting their guilt, took part in a conference during which they were sentenced to 25 hours voluntary work and participation in sport at a Police Citizen's Youth Club (PCYC). This paper focuses on the recount phase of the conference, that is, the phase in which the two young persons give an account of the offence they committed. This phase is reproduced in the Appendix.

2 Tempering the prosody of impropriety

Meanings that minimise, or temper, the apparent severity and intentionality of the Young Person's offence cluster in their talk. This clustering, which we refer to as a *syndrome* involves couplings of different types of appraisal resources (Martin & White, 2005) that contribute to this meaning. Martin (2000), who first introduced the notion of 'coupling' to explain discordant association between appraisal and appraisal targets in conversational humour, defines coupling as the binding of two meanings at any point along the cline of instantiation. A syndrome² is a pattern of multiple couplings, a coupling of couples, or a metacouple. A sustained cluster in a text is a syndrome because it characterises a phase of the text in the way that clusters of symptoms characterise a disease.

The resources deployed by the Young Person in the recount phase of the conference are tempering resources: they tone-down or efface attempts to ramp up negative JUDGEMENT. We may think of them as tools for diffusing particular evaluations, beating them out as if they were spot fires. Rather than propagation, these resources are involved in dissipation. Figure 2 is a high-level visualisation of the syndrome found in the discourse of the two young persons. Each circle represents a tendency to instantiate features of that particular node in the relevant system network. While lines connecting the circles are intended to suggest the interrelatedness of the meanings, they might be omitted for visual clarity. The limitation of a static 2D drawing of this kind is that logogenesis cannot be represented and hence we cannot capture information about the phase of a

¹ This transcript is publicly available at: <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/radioeye/crime/epis4.htm>.

² Syndromes are covered in more detail in Zappavigna, Dwyer, & Martin, 2007

text likely to contain particular couplings. Links that are in bold are intended to represent a co-instantiation that is more likely to occur. While beyond the scope of this paper, text visualisation techniques employing 3D networks are likely to be useful avenues for exploring how to represent syndromes.

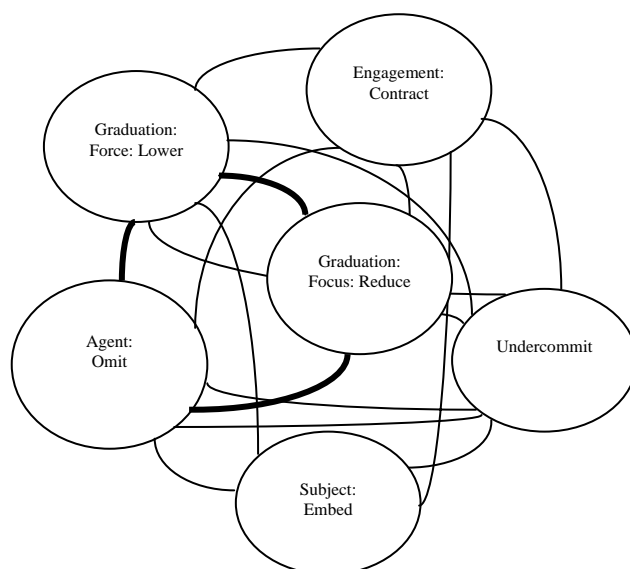


Figure 2 Tempering as an example of a syndrome

As Figure 2 suggests, tempering occurs in each of the metafunctions. The overall meaning is generated by the particular couplings that are instantiated across strata and across the systems within these metafunctions. Tempering in the TEXTUAL metafunction by the young persons often involved embedding a possible target of evaluation in a structure with reduced availability for contestation. For example it might be embedded with a nominal group or an embedded clause. As Halliday & Martin point out “you can argue with a clause but you can’t argue with a nominal group” (Halliday & Martin 1993: 39). In this way textual tempering allows the young person to dodge probing questions by generating fewer targets for direct evaluation.

Interpersonal tempering, as instantiated in this Youth Justice Conference, typically deployed resources of GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT. Graduation was used to tone down force and focus, reducing intensity and quantity, and blurring the boundaries of entities and processes. For example, while, in order to access a conference, a young person has admitted to the facts of their case, they may wish to grade the scope of their intentions and actions as minimal, within the constraints that those facts impose. In addition, opposing voices were distanced using engagement. For example, the young persons attempted to close down voices that had the potential to scale up the graduation.

Tempering of ideational meaning by the young persons typically involved an undercommitment about specificities of behaviour and phenomena such as the physical layout of the crime scene. In this form of tempering, agency may be reduced or omitted for a particular semantic group. For example, the young persons minimised the frequency with which they located themselves as the agent responsible for a material or mental process about the offence.

3 Tempering in the young persons’ recount of the offence

We now turn to specific examples of tempering, manifest as couplings of APPRAISAL, in the recount phase of the conference. Within this phase tempering afforded various benefits to the young persons: it assisted them in construing themselves as ‘small targets’ for negative evaluation and shaming, and it enabled them to diffuse the focus of blame in what was a very confronting interpersonal context. Consider, for example, a particular coupling that reoccurs in the talk of

Young Person D (YPD) in Extract 1. In this extract the ENGAGEMENT and ATTITUDE systems are coupled, or, more delicately, PROPRIETY is coupled with DENIAL.

Extract 1: An example of ENGAGEMENT: CONTRACT: DISCLAIM: DENY in the discourse of Young Person D (denial in **bold red underline**, propriety in **bold blue**).

...it affected my family a lot because it **wasn't** something that was expected of me to do, and it **wasn't** something I expected myself to do either, it just, it had happened and I **wasn't** thinking **right** at the time and I **don't** know why I done it and like, I look back now and I wish I had **never** done it and it made quite a bit of damage and ...it **wasn't** really a **good** thing that I done.

The coupling of these two systems is visualised in Figure 3.

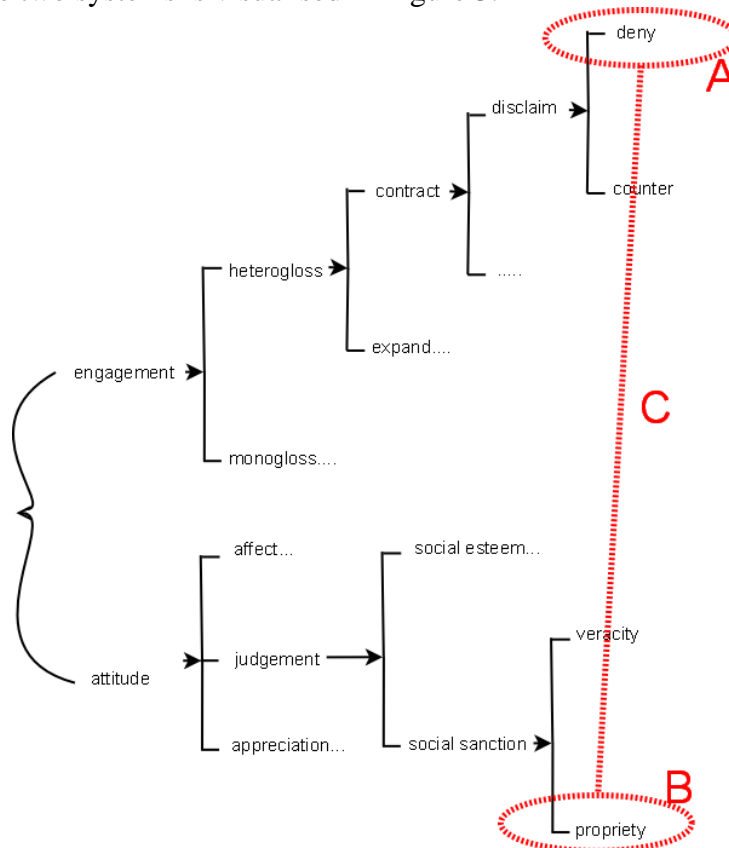


Figure 3 Coupling of DENY and PROPRIETY

This coupling of ENGAGEMENT and ATTITUDE co-occurs with other ways of dissipating impropriety. For example, it is associated with a toning down of FOCUS such as the following example:

They must think I am **a bit** of an influence on him.

Clause 1 Toned down FOCUS in the discourse of young person D

The coupling of DENY (A) and PROPRIETY (B) is in turn coupled with toned down FOCUS (D). However, the association is not only between D and C but is between A and D, and A and B (Figure 4). These interrelationships form a cluster and may be of varying strength.

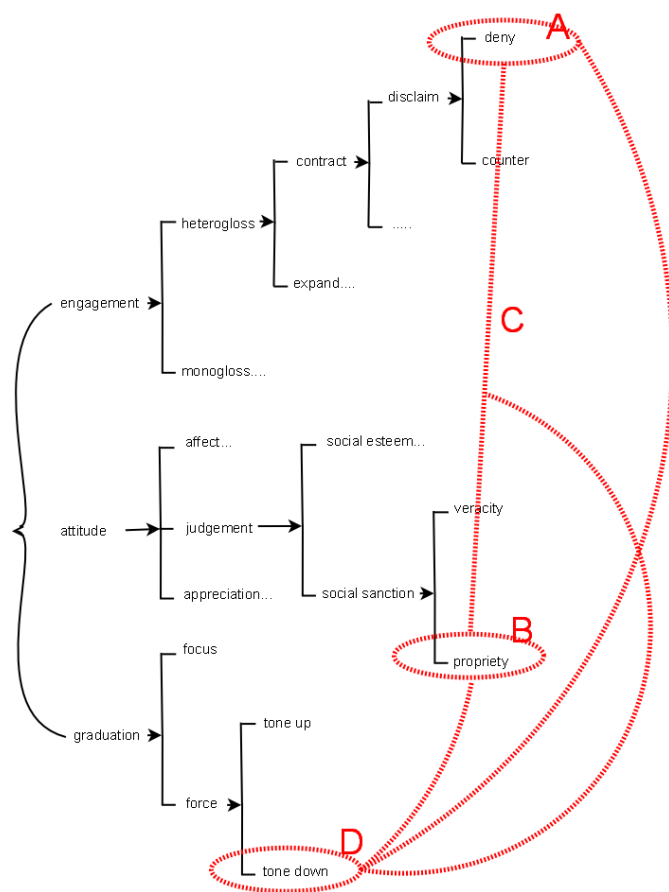


Figure 4 Clustering of DENY, PROPRIETY and TONED DOWN FORCE

If we consider again the different resources that the young persons uses in tempering impropriety, we find a syndrome that might be visualised as the interrelationships in Figure 5. This is identical to Figure 2 except that examples of instances have been included to aid explanation. If we adopt a computational metaphor, the visualisation might be thought of as a cluster of classes. Each system of tempering exists in relation to every other system because they co-construe a more complex dissipation of the prosody of impropriety. The systems are 'simultaneous' systems in the sense that they are linked by an 'and' relation based on the choices that have been made in the text.

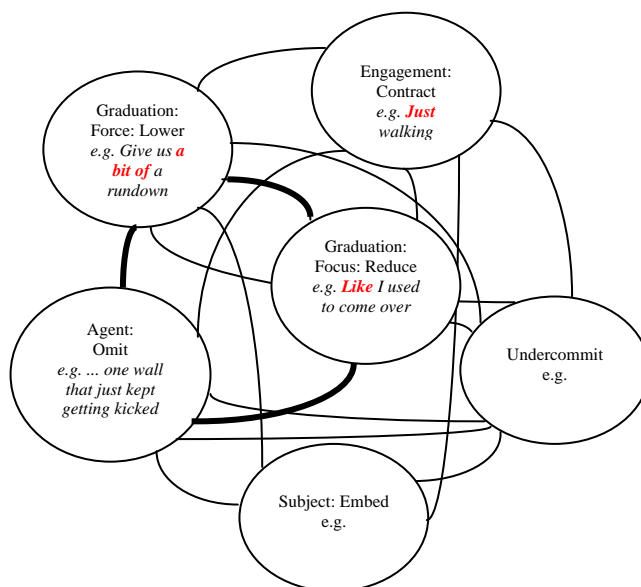


Figure 5 Tempering: an example of a syndrome

4 De-intensification: becoming a small target

The GRADUATION used by the young persons for the tempering function explained above is of reduced FORCE and reduced FOCUS. This countered swarms of intensification and swarms of clarification in the discourse of other participants that might inflate perception of the seriousness of the offence and the deliberateness of it perpetrators. For example, in Clause 1 (*They must think I'm a bit of an influence on him*), 'a bit' functions to grade the negative judgement of Young Person A. It deflates the notion that Young Person A has a frequent and persuasive negative impact on Young Person D. It is deployed by YPA in the context of invoked judgement by the YPD's parents when who evaluate their son's behaviour as uncharacteristic. Other examples of GRADUATION: FORCE: QUANTIFICATION: TONE DOWN are provided in Table 3 in the Appendix of this paper.

Reduced FOCUS is used in the conference to blur the boundaries of entities and processes. For example, reduced FOCUS: COMPLETION is used by the young persons in mitigating responsibility for the specificities of the offence. Rather than saying, "*We went to the house*", the young person says, "*We ended up at the house*". Here, the process is over before it has begun, and questions such as "*Why did you decide to go to the house rather than to school?*" are avoided.

This reduced GRADUATION works in conjunction with ENGAGEMENT resources to present the criminal actions from a minimalist perspective. For example, during the recount phase YPA lessens the apparent gravity of the offence by distancing voices that might suggest that the offence was premeditated. This is in part achieved through repetition of 'just' (Extract 2).

Extract 2: Instances of *just* in the recount phase of Young Person A (*just* in **underlined bold red**).

Convenor: And A, what about you, what happened for you on that day?

Young Person A: Same sort of thing, we were **just** walking around and walked up the path that the house was on and the door was just a bit open, we went in there. It was all dark and the windows were boarded up and so there was a few holes in the walls. We **just** started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls ...there's one wall that **just** kept getting damaged. We **just** seemed to be getting more into it as it went on ...and then before we knew it the police had arrived out the front. We tried to get out but we couldn't.
...I wish I **just**...went to school.

The specific propositions that these instances are attempting to distance are provided in column 3 of Table 1. Each contributes to the overall stance that the crime was not markedly deliberate – 'markedly' because the young person is not able to deny intention altogether.

Table 1 Instances of *just* in the recount phase and corresponding distanced voices.

Speaker	Talk	Distanced voice
[Young Person D]	just walking around	We were looking for trouble.
[Young Person D]	it just , it had happened	We intended to do it.
[Young Person A]	just walking around	We were looking for trouble.
[Young Person A]	and the door was just a bit open	We deliberately opened the door.
[Young Person A]	We just started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls	We intentionally punched and kicked holes in the walls.
[Young Person A]	there's one wall that just kept getting damaged	We inflicted a lot of damaged on a particular wall.
[Young Person A]	We just seemed to be getting more into it as it went on	We intentionally did a lot of damage.
[Young Person A]	I wish I just ... went to school	My intention was to commit a crime rather than go to school.

Such heteroglossic distancing is, however, also used for what might be seen as more positive effect. In order to increase the likelihood that participants will talk freely, the convenor uses 'just' to distance the voice that says that answering her questions is difficult or scary:

Extract 3: Use of *just* by the convenor.

Convenor: O.K. I'd like to **just** ask the families, the support people that have come to support you **just** to give their own thoughts and feelings on it, and we might **just** start with you, you can tell us what it was like for you.

Table 5 in the Appendix gives further examples of instances of *just* as it was used by all participants in the conference.

5 Tempering interpersonal responsibility

Under the NSW Young Offenders Act, in order to be eligible to attend a Youth Justice Conference the young person must have admitted guilt in relation to the offence. While the young person is by this definition 'guilty', the negotiation of guilt and responsibility does not end here. Within the conference, the Young Person has the challenging task of demonstrating contrition while not emphasising the severity or deliberateness of their actions. They also have to demonstrate this contrition in a manner that will be interpreted as genuine by the other participants. This requires the young person to draw upon a complex range of meaning-making resources that may significantly strain the *REPertoire* (Martin, 2007) of young persons from disadvantaged backgrounds. A repertoire is the semiotic resources in which an individual has competency through experience or exposure. An individual's repertoire depends upon a *RESERVOIRE*, that is, the entire system of resources that are potentially available. The young person's *REPertoire* will define the success with which they navigate in the charged interpersonal terrain of the conference as they engage with other participants who have *REPertoires* of differing scope.

Through a play of interpersonal mitigation and ideational concession the young persons in the conference manifest a syndrome of tempered responsibility. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) define the *AGENT* in a clause as the participant that causes the process to happen. This is an *IDEATIONAL* perspective on responsibility, but we might also employ an *INTERPERSONAL* lens. For example, we might consider what a speaker assigns as the *SUBJECT* in a clause. Both young persons show a tendency toward ideational 'minimisation', that is, moving themselves as semiotic entities out of the *AGENT* role and instead foregrounding other phenomena such as the state of the crime scene. For example, consider the following statement by YPA where he describes destroying the interior of the vacant house:

...there's one wall [[that just kept getting damaged.]]

The *AGENT* in this clause has been effaced and instead of an *ACTOR* enacting a *MATERIAL PROCESS* of inflicting damage, we have an *EXISTENTIAL PROCESS* about a wall with an embedded passive clause. The crime scene itself is described by the young person as creating conditions that invited the subsequent acts of vandalism:

[Young Person A] ...and the door was just a bit open...

The door is the *SUBJECT* in the above clause. This is characteristic of a patterning in the young person's discourse whereby targets such as themselves as culpable individuals, their intentions and their awareness of their actions are relegated to parts of the clause that are less available interpersonally for contestation, that is, parts of the clause other than the subject.

While this is a topic somewhat beyond the scope of this paper, the extent to which the young person construes themselves as responsible for their actions is also related to the level of *COMMITMENT* which they deploy. *COMMITMENT* is the extent to which the total meaning-making resources to which an individual has access are deployed in a given context (Martin, 2007). Some choices are more 'committed' than others. For example, the term 'Young Person' is less

ideationally committed than the term 'Offender' because the former does not infer a process that invokes negative JUDGEMENT (the act of committing an offence). The statement "I told him it was satisfactory" is more interpersonally committed than "I sort of went like yeah, it's kinda ok" due to the toning down of FOCUS in the latter.

6 Reintegration into community

Braithwaite's theory asserts that the type of shaming that the young persons have attempted to temper, as seen in the analysis in this paper, is 'reintegrative shaming'. This means that, while their behaviour is negatively evaluated, the young person is invited to reclaim membership of a particular social network or community:

Reintegrative shaming means that expressions of community disapproval...are followed by gestures of reacceptance into the community of law-abiding citizens. (Braithwaite 1989:55)

If youth justice conferences conform to Braithwaite's theory of reintegrative shaming then the AFFILIATION (Knight, 2007) that occurs in the conferences should centre upon creating evaluative bonds that reflect the attitudes of the community into which the young person is being re-socialised. Often, the victim of the crime is unable or unwilling to attend a conference and the convenor will call on the participants present to act as an invoked, imagined community of disapproval.

While they may attempt to temper prosodies of impropriety, and by so doing seem to reject membership of the evaluative communities manifest in the conference, the young persons construe their family as the a significant network into which they wish to be reintegrated. YPD described the importance of overcoming negative JUDGEMENT from his family and, in turn, evaluated the process of deflating such JUDGEMENT as creating stronger interpersonal bonds (Extract 4).

Extract 4: Reconstrual of the offence as positive bonding by Young Person D (EVALUATION in underlined bold red)

Police 2: The other good thing I've heard with yours though was your stepdad said it actually caused him to feel closer to you - even though there's friction, there's good.

D: Yeah I feel the same way about that - I think it has brought my stepfather and I together because it's a serious issue and it's a good thing to sort serious things out with family and get over it, and not be hated and disgusted at because of what they've done - it's been forgiven and forgotten and I feel a lot better about it, and after it I do feel a lot closer to him for it.

The apology that the young persons made near the end of the conference was directed mainly toward their families (Extract 5). It was expressed alongside a co-text of VERBAL and MENTAL PROCESSES involving those families. These occur in clauses speculating about the opinions of the families such as the second turn in Extract 5.

Extract 5: An expression of apology by the two young persons.

Young Person D: I'd like to add that what happened was a huge shock to me and my family and then to come home and discuss it for how many days later we discussed it and I'd like to apologise to the community and apologise and thank the police for their time, and apologise to my family for what I've done and how they've reacted to it and how I've affected them. I can see that I've done bad.

Young Person A: I'd like to say sorry to D's family as well. Like, I used to come over and stay at his house and when you do this they must think I'm a bit of an influence on him so...

Family was construed by the young persons as the GOAL in MATERIAL PROCESSES about the negative impact of the offence. Family was also the RECIPIENT of VERBAL PROCESSES of apologising. In the material process clauses the AGENT was often the crime via anaphoric reference rather than the young person (Table 2) and this in accord with the tendency to mitigate responsibility discussed in the previous section.

Table 2 Instances of 'family' in the text.

[Young Person D]	it affected my	FAMILY	a lot
[Young Person D]	I felt that it was more of an issue, between	FAMILY	
[Young Person D]	it's a good thing to sort serious things out with	FAMILY	and get over it,
[Young Person D]	what happened was a huge shock to me and my	FAMILY	
[Young Person D]	and apologise to my	FAMILY	for what I've done
[Young Person A]	I'd like to say sorry to D's	FAMILY	as well
[Young Person D]	I'd affected my	FAMILY	and myself and the community around me and the police
[Young Person D]	what we've done has made an impact on ourselves and our	FAMILY	

7 Conclusion

Within youth justice conferencing tempering is an important resource used by young persons for deflating appraisal prosodies that might augment shaming. These prosodies threaten to expose the young person to either increased questioning or to tone up negative evaluation. Tempering is a syndrome because it involves repeated couplings of particular meanings across the recount phase of the conference. These couplings cluster by contributing to more complex meanings in the phase, that is, meanings that cast the offender as less culpable and the crime as less severe.

To end on a positive note, Youth Justice Conferences, while contexts in which young persons may temper responsibility are also contexts in which feelings of responsibility for helping troubled youth resonate. For example, Police Officer 2 expresses feelings of ongoing responsibility (Extract 6).

Extract 6: Description of feelings of ongoing responsibility by Police Officer 2 (**EVALUATION in bold red; ENGAGEMENT underlined**).

Police 2: I'd just also want you to know that once the police finish at the job we actually don't forget about it... and I must say that, on the day, and after dealings I've had with both of you, it's very **positive**. So don't think that we think **little** of you, that's all I want you to know.

Convenor: I'd say that's a pretty big **vote of confidence**.

In this extract the police officer reconstrues their bond with the young person as positive. The police officer uses ENGAGEMENT resources to distance voices proposing that they do not care about the young persons once they have completed the process of charging them. This is seen in the repeated use of DENIAL coupled with positive EVALUATION (see underlining in Extract 6).

Systemic functional discourse analysis of the kind presented in this paper might offer researchers in criminology and legal theory a metalanguage for describing how specific phases of youth justice conferences function. The careful specification of generic phases that this kind of analysis affords may also be of use to training convenors. Future work, using video-recorded NSW youth justice conferences, will focus on describing further phases of the conference and considering how paralinguistic systems such as gesture and facial expression contribute to shaming the young person.

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Appendix A

Extract 7: The recount phase of the Radio Eye youth justice conference.

Convenor: And what I'd like to do now is to get you to tell us what happened on that day, what was going through your mind at the time, how you ended up in a vacant property and what you did and how you feel about it now and I might just start with you D, and you can just give us a bit of a rundown...

D: Well A & I, we'd skipped school and we were walking around and doing things, just walking around and we ended up at the house and we walked in there, the doors were open, we walked in and looked around and there was damage done to the place so we thought it was like ready to be demolished and ...one thing led to another and we started to kick in the walls and dismantle the place and...at the time I wasn't thinking of what we were doing.

I wasn't thinking of how it would affect the other people and the people who owned the place, but once the police had turned up I was shocked to find that we had been caught and that we had to now go through a lot of hassle to work it out and find out what had to be done and ...it affected my family a lot because it wasn't something that was expected of me to do, and it wasn't something I expected myself to do either, it just, it had happened and I wasn't thinking right at the time and I don't know why I done it and like, I look back now and I wish I had never done it and it made quite a bit of damage and ...it wasn't really a good thing that I done.

Convenor: And A, what about you, what happened for you on that day?

A: Same sort of thing, we were just walking around and walked up the path that the house was on and the door was just it bit open, we went in there. It was all dark and the windows were boarded up and so there was a few holes in the walls. We just started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls ...there's one wall that just kept getting damaged. We just seemed to be getting more into it as it went on ...and then before we knew it the police had arrived out the front. We tried to get out but we couldn't.

Convenor: How did you feel then?

A: Scared, worried...what me dad would think and that.

Convenor: And when you look back on it now, how do you feel about it?

A: I wish I just ... went to school. It's not worth all this trouble.

Convenor: Who do you think has been affected by this?

A: Everyone. Everyone here today. I was living with my dad at the time, now I live with mum because of that. Yeah.

Table 3 Examples of GRADUATION: FORCE: TONE DOWN in the text

[A's Mother]	Like he's been in	A BIT	of trouble at school
[A's Mother]	He's	A BIT	confused
[Convenor]	and you can just give us	A BIT	of a rundown
[Young Person D]	and it made quite	A BIT	of damage
[Young Person A]	the door was	JUST A BIT	open
[Young Person A]	they must think I'm	A BIT	of an influence on him
[Young Person A]	I felt	A BIT	uncomfortable to hear the victim's point of view
[Police Officer 2]	So we need to get	A LITTLE BIT	structured
[A's Mother]	and had	A FEW	hassles with the teachers
[Young Person A]	there was	A FEW	holes in the walls
[Young Person D]	Like me and my father we had	A FEW	arguments about it
[Victim]	There	WASN'T MUCH	left standing of the inside of the house
[Young Person A]	I haven't really given it	MUCH	thought

Table 4 Examples of GRADUATION: FOCUS: TONE DOWN in the text

[A's Mother]	I think he	SORT OF	doesn't know what to think at the moment
[D's Stepfather]	I hope for a cleansing	SORT OF	process where everyone gets the opportunity to download
[Young Person A]	same	SORT OF	thing
[Police Officer 1]	they might get a chance to deal with it in this	SORT OF	forum
[Young Person D]	and that	SORT OF	thing can cause a lot of trouble and problems between family members
[Police Officer 2]	and all that	SORT OF	thing
[Young Person A]	it's given me	A SORT OF	a shake, sort of thing, sort of wake up
[Young Person A]	I just feel sorry,	SORT OF	thing
[Police Officer 2]	if we got	SOME SORT OF	interest going in both of you
[Police Officer 2]	They've got boxing and all that	SORT OF	stuff running down there
[Young Person A]	don't feel threatened	SORT OF	thing
[Young Person A]	I don't mind doing	LIKE	, community service
[Young Person A]	or going and doing something	LIKE	that
[Young Person D]	if it's going to be	LIKE	, a long thing that I have to go through for years
[D's Stepfather]	At the moment they're	LIKE	open wounds
[Young Person D]	it was	LIKE	ready to be demolished
[Young Person D]	and	LIKE	, I look back now
[D's Mother]	it's not in character for him to do something	LIKE	that
[D's Mother]	and doesn't get involved in anything	LIKE	this ever again
[Young Person A]	-	LIKE	, moved homes
[Young Person D]	it's	LIKE	A said
[Convenor]	I'd suggest something	LIKE	20-25 hours
[Young Person D]	or doing some,	LIKE	doing bakery or something like that.
[A's Mother]		LIKE	he's been in a bit of trouble at school
[A's Mother]		LIKE	he doesn't want to upset me
[A's Mother]		LIKE	he's um...he's been a lot more helpful around the house and a lot better within himself, his attitude
[Young Person D]		LIKE	me and my father we had a few arguments about it
[Young Person A]		LIKE	I used to come over and stay at his house
[Young Person D]		LIKE	taking them out on weekends or

			weekdays and helping them out
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Table 5 Instances of 'just' in the text.

[A's Mother]	I	JUST	said 'Why?'
[A's Mother]	I	JUST	couldn't understand why.
[A's Mother]	I	JUST	think it will be good for him.
[Young Person A]	Being in the same room as the people that I've	JUST	caused all that damage for and that
[Convenor]	So we'll	JUST	clear that up first
[Young Person D]	I've	JUST	been worried if it's going to be like, a long thing that
[Young Person D]	I've	JUST	been worried about that fact of it
[Convenor]	I might	JUST	start with you D
[Convenor]	and you can	JUST	give us a bit of a rundown
[Young Person D]		JUST	walking around
[Young Person D]	it	JUST	, it had happened
[Young Person A]		JUST	walking around
[Young Person A]	and the door was	JUST	it bit open
[Young Person A]	We	JUST	started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls
[Young Person A]	there's one wall that	JUST	kept getting damaged
[Young Person A]	We	JUST	seemed to be getting more into it as it went on
[Young Person A]	I wish I	JUST	... went to school
[Convenor]	and	JUST	hear what happened from your point of view
[Convenor]	I'd like to	JUST	ask the families, the support people that have come to support you just to give their own thoughts and feelings on it
[Convenor]	and we might	JUST	start with you
[A's Mother]	I	JUST	wanted to know what really went on
[D's Mother]	And I s'pose it's	JUST	a whole lot of mixed feelings from sorrow and sadness and what went wrong and anger, and a whole mixed bag of feelings there
[D's Mother]	and	JUST	
[Young Person A]		JUST	get it out
[Young Person A]	I	JUST	feel sorry, sort of thing
[Police Officer 2]	The other thing that I	JUST	wanted to bring up was how the others around there were feeling
[Police Officer 2]	I'd	JUST	also want you to know that once the police finish at the job we actually don't forget about it
[Police Officer 2]	With that, I	JUST	want to say to everyone involved that everyone makes mistakes
[A's Mother]	I think it's	JUST	admitting that your children have made a mistake
[Young Person D]	it wasn't	JUST	her that had been affected
[Convenor]	and	JUST	work it off
[Police Officer 2]	I'd like	JUST	
[Young Person A]		JUST	wanted to get back out of there and home
[Young Person A]		JUST	can't wait till it's over.