

THE INFLUENCE OF ATTITUDE: A SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF
REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING THEORY

by

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Abstract

John Braithwaite developed the theory of reintegrative shaming in 1989. His hope was to develop a theory that better explained the complexities of crime such as the age curve, and high number of male offenders. Building from Braithwaite's work, this thesis utilizes Reintegrative Shaming theory to explore how attitudes influence the reintegrative shaming process, and whether or not women, are more susceptible to shaming than men, as hypothesized by Braithwaite. It seeks to understand the role attitude plays in the reintegrative shaming process. This thesis hypothesizes that a reintegrative shaming punishment will positively impact an offender's attitudes towards law, deterrence, law enforcement officials, and so on. Further, Braithwaite hypothesized that interdependent and communitarian individuals will be more susceptible to the impact of punishment (shaming); this relationship is also tested. Using data from the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) in Australia, this thesis specifically studies the impact of sex and shaming punishment on attitudes towards the law and deterrence attitudes. In addition, information from RISE is used to test the relationships between interdependency and sex, and communitarianism and sex. The findings suggest mixed support for Reintegrative Shaming theory.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my beloved nieces Chloe and Madison and my beloved nephew Aiden, may you always dream big and chase after those dreams. I love you so much. Also, I would like to dedicate this work to the memory of my grandparents Pop, Grandma Mary, and Papa, and to my living Grandma Vi, who always encouraged me, believed in me, and loved me unconditionally and without whom I would not be standing where I am today.

CHAPTER 1 - Introduction

“Every society gets the kind of criminal it deserves. What is also true is that every community gets the type of law enforcement it insists on”—Robert Kennedy

In the waves of the fear of crime, Kennedy’s statement still stands true, although, many may not want to hear it. This quote suggests that society plays a vital role in shaping the law enforcement methods utilized and the type of criminal that arises in their society. It means that society and their reactions and demands are significant in understanding crime, law enforcement, and punishment. It also means that society is important in understanding criminals and why they choose to commit crimes. While the crime problem appears to be inescapable, according to this quote, it is a result of society itself.

Fear of crime creates a society in which people are more concerned about their personal protection and not about criminals and their rehabilitation. Societies, to some extent, are almost instructed to fear crime and fear becoming a victim and rarely are presented with the truth about crime and victimization. Societies are bombarded by fear of crime day in and day out, most generally through media outlets. This dramatization often leaves people wondering how to handle this “crime problem” and prevent victimization. Often, this curiosity results in the demand for overly harsh punishments and the incarceration of some offenders for a lifetime. It creates a demand for retribution no matter the cost. It seeks to make each offender an example to the rest and often, misses the underlying cause of criminal activity. While this seems rational to some, it becomes irrational when looking at the severe penalties that societies have come to insist upon, as well as their related psychological and monetary costs.

Often, the result selected by societies is the labeling and stigmatization of perceived offenders. The label of felon or sex offender, for example, becomes permanently attached to the individual and shapes the way the community interacts with that person, sometimes even regardless of the accused actually being convicted and sentenced. Sex offenders are asked to register their location so that their neighbors, and those living in the same city, know where they are and how to avoid contact with such offenders. Felons, in many states, lose some of their basic rights as citizens, such as disenfranchisement. These labels become who these individuals are and how they are allowed to interact.

Many theorists have discussed this issue of labeling and the impact it has on the individual and the behavior they chose to engage in later in life. Theorists have suggested that the deviant label often pushes offenders further into crime (Becker, 1963, Braithwaite, 1989, Elliot et al., 1979, Erikson, 1962 Lemert, 1967). This is theorized because labeled individuals often are not accepted back into non-deviant groups and thus, often find friends in other labeled individuals, who often are continuing to commit crime. The labeled offenders seek friendship with those who are in similar circumstances resulting in criminal subcultures.

Lemert (1967) referred to this process as secondary deviance— an individual “whose life and identity are organized around the facts of deviance” (41). When the individual becomes a “secondary deviant,” that individual becomes more likely to continue on in deviant patterns of behavior. They are labeled and continue on in the expected pattern of behavior. This deviant label becomes who they are and how they define themselves.

Hirschi (1969) hypothesized that when an individual lost connection in an area of what he termed the social bond, they were more likely to continue on in a deviant lifestyle. The break in the social bond could occur through loss of attachment, commitment, belief, or involvement and a break in any one of these could result in a life of deviant behavior. As long as the break in the social bond persisted, the individual was likely to continue in deviant patterns of behavior (Hirschi, 1969).

Becker (1963) identifies the labeling process as a “self-fulfilling prophecy...which sets in several mechanisms which conspire to shape the person in the image people have of him” (34). The individual begins to act in the criminal manner that has become expected of them. Thus, they fulfill the expectations society had of them by continuing on in a criminal lifestyle.

Although each of these theorists heralds their own theory, one thing becomes obvious: most scholars agree that a label of deviant can impact that individual and push them into further criminality. It can shape their life and become their defining mark.

In addition to the aforementioned theorists, there is more current research that analyzes the link between labels and crime. Chiricos, Barraick, Bales, and Bontrager (2007) researched the state of Florida and the labeling process involved there. In Florida, convicted felons can have adjudication withheld, which results in no label and the individual does not lose any civil rights. However, some felons are formally adjudicated and are subject to all the punishments and labels for being a convicted felon. Chiricos et al. (2007) found that being convicted of a felony

increases recidivism by 17 percent independent of the effects of all their other indicators (565). Additionally, Chiricos et al. (2007) found that being white, female, and being 30 years or older without any prior convictions significantly increases the likelihood of recidivism. The authors suggest this is because whites are less disadvantaged than other races to begin with, labeling is more destructive for females and at 30 these individuals have a higher stake in conformity than younger individuals. This study shows the detrimental effects that one label can have on the life of an adult.

However, labels do not just affect adult felons and sex offenders, juveniles are also subject to labels. Schools label some kids as a “good student” while others are “bad students.” Another common label is a “good kid” versus a “bad kid.” Even simple labels, such as these, can have a profound impact on the lives of youth. Additionally, juveniles who experience punishment through the criminal justice system become labeled as juvenile offenders. This mark often becomes their primary identifier. They are known by what they did and not who they are.

Bemburg, Marvin, and Craig (2006) found that “youth who experience juvenile justice intervention are significantly more likely to be members of a gang during successive periods relative to those who have no intervention experience” (77). Additionally, the deviant label plays a major role in the maintenance and stability of deviant behavior in the crucial period of early to middle adolescence (2006:82). Finally, Bemburg et al. (2006) suggest that “the effects of formal criminal labeling on peer networks during adolescence may play a substantial role in mediating the pejorative of official deviant labeling on the life course” (83). This research shows how one deviant label in life can have dire consequences for the individual during their lifetime. It can result in further criminality and even gang membership.

This is but one study on deviant labels that deals specifically with juveniles. This does not account for the effects labels have on adults, which is equally important as seen in the Chiricos et al. (2007) study. However, this study does acknowledge the fact that a label in adolescence can shape a lifestyle and so it is expected that adults, who are labeled, could see the same effect across their lifetime which is supported by the work of Chiricos et al. (2007). Most importantly, this study effectively shows that one label does matter; yet, societies still participate in the labeling process.

Interestingly, none of the aforementioned theorists and researchers has considered the impact a label can have on the individual’s attitudes. It has been found that an individual’s

perception of legitimacy of law and law enforcement can have a significant effect on later behavior (Murphy and Tyler, 2008, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). It was found that individuals, who view the law and law enforcement as legitimate, are less likely to reoffend. This is significant because it shows how punishment can have a direct impact on future behavior, without including the effect of a label. It stands to reason that individuals, who are labeled, are going to have more negative perceptions of the law and this could be contributing to their continuing on in a criminal lifestyle.

The findings of Murphy and Tyler (2008) and Sunshine and Tyler (2003) coincide with what Travis Hirschi (1969) discussed in terms of the social bond. He theorized that part of the social bond was belief. He hypothesized that when individuals behaved in non-normative ways, they were in a state of normlessness (1969). In other words, it is when individuals do not hold attitudes against law violation that they behave in a deviant manner. These findings are suggestive that more damage to the attitude of labeled individuals could be occurring and we are simply unaware of it.

Looking at all of these studies and the underlying theories, it is clear that one label can impact a lifetime. It can impact behavior, societal interaction, and attitudes of the labeled individual. In spite of this, societies, such as the United States, still utilize labels. The community continues to demand labels and severe punishments. The community rarely seeks to know if these punishments and labels are truly effective. So the question that arises is, “are these punishments and labels effective?”

Statement of the Problem

In 2008, the incarceration rate in the United States was 756 per 100,000 persons (Walmsley, 2008). This rate gives the United States the highest rate of incarceration in the world with the second highest rate being 629 per 100,000 in Russia. This shows the significant difference between even the two highest countries’ incarceration rates. This statistic affirms the conclusion that the United States relies heavily on punishing law violations through the use of incarceration. However, what this statistic does not take into account is that the individuals, who are incarcerated, if released, come out with the label of felon or ex-con. This label becomes their master status and often shapes their entire life within a community (e.g. employment opportunities).

In sharp contrast, in 2008, Australia reported an incarceration rate of 129 per 100,000 persons (Walmsley, 2008). This rate is significantly smaller than the rate of incarceration in the United States and Russia. These statistics led researchers to question what methods other countries, such as Australia, are relying on instead of incarceration. How are these countries maintaining social order? Is it possible that other countries have a different and perhaps better understanding of social control mechanisms that are successful? Is it possible that there is a way to punish effectively without attaching a permanent label to the offender?

One method that Australia has employed is restorative justice. Restorative justice seeks to repair and restore offenders and victims to one another and to the community. The goal is to acknowledge the harm caused and to mend the relationship between the victim and the offender as well as the relationship between the offender and his/her community. It serves to punish without adding a deviant label to the offender. By showing the offender how his/her actions have affected others in his/her community, they are held responsible without being permanently marked. Instead, they are reintegrated into their community and allowed the chance for a “normal” life (Braithwaite, 1989). Is it possible that this restorative justice process truly works better than the current social control mechanisms that are being utilized by the United States? This research will seek to better understand the underlying framework of restorative justice and the impact it has on offender attitudes.

Theoretical Framework

Reintegrative Shaming: A Brief Background

The basis of restorative justice is Reintegrative Shaming Theory (RST). John Braithwaite (1989) formulated Reintegrative Shaming Theory in 1989. The premise of this theory is that if a society used reintegrative shaming, that society will have less crime than societies in which disintegrative shaming is utilized. Reintegrative shaming involves a shaming punishment and then re-acceptance of the individual back into society as a full member without attaching a social stigma or giving the offender a criminal master ascribed status. The goal is always restoration.

The theory states that crime is reduced in societies that employ reintegrative shaming punishments. The reintegrative shaming punishment is meant to inform the offender of their violation but help them get back into society successfully. Braithwaite sees this method as reducing recidivism among offenders. This is largely because there is no label attached and the

individual becomes a full, normal (non-deviant) member of their society. Thus, they are less likely to join criminal subcultures or turn to a life of crime. The potential for research that this theory has had and continues to hold in criminology is enormous because much of the current research has been mixed. In addition, research, such as the current research, can be conducted to add additional elements to the theory to try to improve it.

Reintegrative Shaming Theory will serve as the theoretical basis for this thesis. Reintegrative shaming operates to reduce reoffending and encourage law-abiding behavior. Further, disintegrative shaming is theorized as shaming the offender, giving them a master deviant status often resulting in further deviance. Thus, reintegrative shaming is preferred over disintegrative shaming.

In addition, interdependency, communitarianism, and sex are viewed as making an individual more susceptible to shaming of any kind. Interdependency and communitarianism are both theorized as sources of connection to family, friends, significant others, and communities. It is a sense of mutual obligation. In terms of sex, Braithwaite (1989) theorizes that females have more intimate connections and, therefore, should be more susceptible to shaming of any kind.

The research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory has often been focused on singular aspects of the theory such as communitarianism, interdependency, or recidivism. Whether it is the concept of shame or interdependency, the results of these studies show mixed support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Largely, the results show the importance of the context within which the punishment takes place.

Tyler and colleagues (2007), for example, found that restorative justice conferences were not more likely than traditional proceedings to reduce recidivism but did find that females were more likely to view the law as being legitimate and were more concerned about how reoffending would affect their lives. Conferences consisted of a sit down talk between victim and offender where a resolution was made between the two and no label was attached to the offender. Another study conducted by Tittle and Botchkovar (2005) found mixed results about reintegrative shaming and future projections of crime. Specifically, they found reintegrative shaming was positively associated with future projections of crime for small theft and violence.

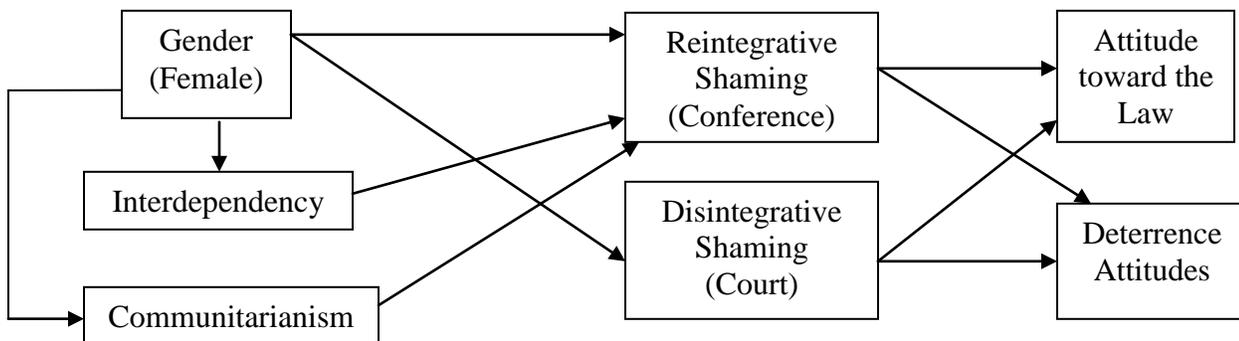
In addition to mixed findings, there are other elements of reintegrative shaming that need more research. A key element of Reintegrative Shaming Theory, that is often untested, is the role of sex in shaping the outcome of reintegrative or disintegrative shaming. Females are theorized

to be more interdependent and thus more susceptible to shaming (Braithwaite, 1989). Thus, it is to be expected that both the attitudes and the behaviors of females should be more affected than males after a shaming process. However, little research has been conducted to test this assertion. One group of researchers did find that females were less delinquent and more interdependent than males (Losoncz and Tyson, 2007). However, the findings did not examine the impact shaming has on the perceptions of law, law enforcement, and punishment. This is where this thesis will seek to further and expand the current understanding of Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

This research incorporates all of the key components of Reintegrative Shaming Theory: reintegrative shaming, disintegrative shaming, interdependency, communitarianism, and sex to accurately test the theory. It seeks to understand how sex, shaming punishment, interdependency, and communitarianism affect attitudes toward the law and deterrence attitudes—something that has yet to be tested.

As shown in Figure 1-1, I hypothesized that a shaming punishment, whether reintegrative or disintegrative, will significantly affect the offender’s attitude toward the law and deterrence attitudes. Deterrence attitudes are those attitudes individuals take towards future crime and punishment. In addition, as the figure shows, I hypothesize that females will show higher levels of interdependency and will, thus, be more susceptible to shaming. Therefore, females should show greater changes in attitude after shaming than males. Figure 1-1 depicts the key concepts and relationships that will be tested in this research.

Figure 1-1 Theoretical Model of Reintegrative Shaming and Attitude



As stated above, research has shown the impact that legitimacy can have on shaping the attitudes of those being punished (Murphy and Tyler, 2008, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). This is significant because it shows how punishment can impact the perception an individual has about law, law enforcement, punishment, etc. This has never been linked to reintegrative shaming. A reintegrative shaming punishment, in theory, should result in an individual being accepted back into society (Braithwaite, 1989). Thus, it stands to reason that reintegratively shamed individuals should have attitudes that are shaped positively towards the law, law enforcement and punishment. This idea has not been tested yet and this research will set out to do so.

Despite mixed findings, Reintegrative Shaming Theory continues to be used by criminologists. It has been argued that this theory is quite useful, but requires more testing. As such, this thesis' goal is to add to our understanding of Reintegrative Shaming Theory's potential for understanding crime and criminality.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the role of sex and attitude in Reintegrative Shaming Theory. One of the major contributions of this study is its examination of sex and the reintegrative shaming process. In particular, I ask, how does reintegrative shaming impact attitudes toward the law and deterrence across sex? Additionally, I ask, do women respond more strongly to shaming punishments than men? Finally, I pose the question, are women higher in levels of communitarianism and interdependency than men as the theory hypothesizes? It is hypothesized that communitarianism, interdependency, and reintegrative shaming will all significantly impact females more so than males. This will be examined through measuring changes in the attitudes of both males and females post reintegrative shaming or disintegrative shaming punishment.

The attitudes that will be investigated are attitudes towards the law and deterrence attitudes. Positive or negative attitudes towards the law and future deviant behavior have the potential to have a large impact on offender behavior as has been shown by researchers such as Murphy and Tyler (2008). Therefore, this research will seek to shed light on how reintegrative shaming works in the context of attitude change. It will seek to understand if and how a reintegrative shaming punishment impacts attitudes differently than a disintegrative shaming punishment.

Attitude change is an important component of Reintegrative Shaming Theory that has been largely overlooked. Prior research (Murphy and Tyler, 2008, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003) has

shown the impact an offender's perception of fairness or legitimacy of law and law enforcement agents has on future compliance or misconduct. This research suggests that by altering the perception of an individual's view of the law, their behavior can be changed either for better or for worse. This finding goes hand-in-hand with reintegrative and disintegrative shaming. Reintegrative shaming should lead to future compliance while disintegrative shaming can lead to future deviance. If reintegrative shaming is coupled with a change in attitude, it is theoretically sound to hypothesize that the individuals should significantly alter their behavior to be more compliant.

This research will add to the current literature by including these additional aspects to Reintegrative Shaming Theory. It will serve as a means to expand the field of application of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. It will examine whether or not Reintegrative Shaming Theory can shape the attitudes and perceptions of the offenders it treats. If it is found that attitudes are changed, especially for females, through reintegrative shaming punishments, this could have significant implications for future criminal justice policy. Thus, researching the role of attitude toward law and deterrence is important to developing a better understanding of Reintegrative Shaming Theory and, potentially, criminal justice policy.

Significance of the Study

This study provides an opportunity to further our understanding of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Additionally, this research tests the component parts of Reintegrative Shaming Theory to better understand if and how shaming works.

By specifically targeting the role of sex, I contribute to past research that has neglected this relationship (for exceptions see Losoncz and Tyson (2007), Svensson (2004) and Tyler et al. (2007). Minimal research has been conducted that specifically investigates if females are more susceptible to shaming than males as Reintegrative Shaming Theory hypothesizes. The other studies that have examined sex have looked at it as a secondary relationship. This study will put sex at the forefront. This study will test to see if females' attitudes are significantly impacted by the reintegrative shaming punishment more than males, which these other studies have not done. This will add to the research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory by bringing to light the role of sex in shaming processes.

Finally, it focuses on the attitudes the reintegrative shaming process brings forth. It will allow us to see if the reintegrative shaming punishment has any impact on how individuals view the law and deterrence. The impact of reintegrative shaming on an offender's attitude has been left untested, to my knowledge. This will add to the current literature because it will show whether non-compliance or compliance behavior post reintegrative shaming could be shaped by the attitude the individual leaves the shaming punishment with.

Conclusion

Social control is an essential element of any society. It allows societies to be able to control the conduct of their members. However, societies choose how to enact this control in various ways. Each society, as Robert Kennedy said, gets the law enforcement it insists on. The United States, for example, utilizes incarceration more than any other nation in the world. Additionally, the United States utilizes the labeling of offender as outsiders, felon, or sex offenders, which often results in pushing them further into crime.

Australia, on the other hand, has begun to utilize restorative justice. This has resulted in Australia having a significantly lower level of incarceration than places such as the United States. The underlying framework of restorative justice is Reintegrative Shaming Theory. The theory of reintegrative shaming seeks to restore the offender to society after a shaming punishment has occurred. In addition, this theory seeks to restore the individual to their society as a full, non-deviant member instead of labeling them as a deviant or outsider. The theory of reintegrative shaming has been researched and found to have mixed results.

This study seeks to expand the theoretical knowledge of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Specifically, it attempts to understand how reintegrative shaming punishments shape the attitudes of offenders across sex. It will significantly add to the research by adding in the components of sex and attitude, as well as, furthering our current knowledge of the theory of reintegrative shaming.

Chapter 2 of this thesis discusses prior research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Additionally, this section will discuss research related to attitudes/perceptions and females and shame. Chapter 3 provides the details of the methods and data utilized. Chapter 4 provides a thorough discussion of the results. Finally, chapter 5 provides a discussion and conclusion that

incorporates key findings and the implications this research has for policy and finally, suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2 - Literature Review

Theoretical Orientation

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between attitude toward the law, deterrence attitudes, reintegrative shaming, and sex (female). Before this relationship can be analyzed, a base knowledge of Reintegrative Shaming Theory and prior research on it is necessary. The premise of Reintegrative Shaming Theory is that individuals, who commit a deviant act, can be dealt with in ways that are either stigmatizing or reintegrative. When reintegrative measures are used, the individual is less likely to engage in future delinquency and when stigmatic measures are used, individuals are more likely to engage in future delinquency. The theory will be laid out in more detail shortly. The basic concepts of the theory are shaming, reintegrative shaming, disintegrative or stigmatic shaming, interdependency, and communitarianism. The theory will be discussed followed by a discussion of each of these key terms plus additional concepts at use in this research. Then, research that has been conducted is discussed as it relates to the theory and the key components of the theory.

Core Assumptions

Braithwaite developed Reintegrative Shaming Theory (RST) because he believed the dominant theories of crime were lacking in their ability to explain general criminality. RST blends several of the dominant criminological theories that are often considered inconsistent with one another. Specifically, RST links control, subcultural, opportunity, labeling and learning theories. Braithwaite states that his theory enhances current knowledge by “integrating control, subcultural, opportunity and labeling theory into a cognitive learning theory framework organized around the partitioning of reintegrative shaming from stigmatization” (1989:53).

The core assumptions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory are: 1) crime is inherent in the act, not the actor; 2) crime is learned; 3) there is general consensus on what constitutes crime; and 4) law codifies this consensus (Braithwaite 1989). These assumptions are central to the process of shaming. Reintegrative shaming only occurs successfully when each of these assumptions is fulfilled. Also, it is assumed that individuals break the rules when their bond to society is weak or broken. When an individual has little or no connection to others in a society,

they are more likely to break the rules because they do not have anything to lose. This theory rests on the idea that shaming can be, and should be, used to prevent and punish criminal behavior in a society. This is due to the hypothesized ability of reintegrative shaming to punish an offense and maintain an individual's connection to their society. This, in turn, fosters a desire in the individual to remain obedient because the offender will know the ramifications of their actions for themselves, others, and the community.

Key Concepts of Reintegrative Shaming Theory

Shaming

Shaming is a central component of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Shaming is defined as “all social processes of expressing disapproval which have the intention or effect of invoking remorse in the person being shamed and/or condemnation by others who become aware of the shaming” (Braithwaite 1989:100). Shaming is the condemnation of the act through either formal or informal agents, or sometimes both. Shaming can come from any outside referent such as parents, teachers, peers, or coworkers. In order to be effective, Braithwaite (1989) argues shaming must occur at the societal level, meaning there needs to be community involvement in the shaming process.

Societal shaming serves three purposes: it gives content to the socialization of children on a day-to-day basis which provides the morals that build consciences, it reminds parents about the range of evils which they need to moralize their children against, and it takes over the socialization after children leave their parents and school (Braithwaite 1989:77-78). The use of shaming allows parents, teachers, etc. to instill societal values in children which, in turn, should produce obedient citizens in adulthood. However, it is not just parents and teachers who can use shaming. Braithwaite acknowledges shaming can occur through gossip, media (e.g., newspapers, television, etc.), parents, peers, and adversarial proceedings.

Shaming can be either reintegrative or disintegrative. Reintegrative shaming involves shaming the individual and then bringing that individual back into “normal” society. A prime example of reintegrative shaming often occurs within the family. A child may misbehave and be punished with a time out or a spanking, which is the shaming portion. Then the parent comes in to explain to the child the wrongfulness of the act and hug them or affirm the child in a similar way and allow the child to return to the family as a respectable/non-deviant member, which is

the reintegrative portion. Another example of a reintegrative shaming punishment that is often used in research is the conference. The reintegrative conference involves police, victim, offender and supporters. It allows for a dialogue between each of the parties to discuss the harm caused, settle upon an appropriate punishment, and allow the offender to be affirmed as a good person. The conference as a reintegrative shaming punishment will be utilized in this research.

Disintegrative shaming involves shaming the individual and labeling them as an outsider. The individual is no longer a part of “normal” society but is instead a “deviant” or “bad person”. The title of criminal becomes their master status. An example of this is when an offender commits a crime such as burglary and is sent to prison. This is the shaming portion. Then, the individual is released but has the permanent mark of felon attached to their name. This becomes their defining identity to society. This is the disintegrative portion of the shaming. A typical disintegrative shaming punishment that is used in research is the traditional court proceeding. It doesn’t allow for much, if any, dialogue from the offender and a punishment is simply handed down. The traditional court proceeding will be used in this research as the disintegrative shaming punishment.

Braithwaite (1989) hypothesizes that reintegrative shaming results in societies with lower crime rates and disintegrative shaming results in higher crime rates. This is because reintegrative shaming allows the individual back into society as a full member. It reconnects them and, theoretically, creates a desire to maintain those attachments through appropriate behavior. Disintegrative shaming pushes the individual out of society, labels them as an “outsider,” and often pushes the offender into criminal subcultures. The more widespread these criminal subcultures are, the more access the individual has to continue on in a criminal lifestyle. Here it is important to note that shaming, whether reintegrative or disintegrative, is employed to deter crime. Shaming is never intentionally meant to push individuals towards crime. Braithwaite (1989) views reintegrative shaming as resulting in less recidivism whereas disintegrative shaming would result in more.

Shaming that is stigmatizing makes criminal subcultures more attractive and results in higher crime rates. These subcultures are more attractive to disintegratively shamed individuals because, in some sense, these groups reject those that are rejecting them. Additionally, the criminal subcultures are attractive because the disintegratively shamed individual is often cut off from other interdependencies. These groups provide situations in which to learn criminal

behavior from others, learn neutralizing techniques for crime, and techniques of crime (Braithwaite, 1989). Criminal subcultures, according to Braithwaite (1989), teach offenders how to be better at crime and deal with any guilt they may be feeling. This is a major reason that Braithwaite (1989) argues that reintegrative shaming should be used because it prevents the creation of a group of outsiders. Without a group of individuals that have been deemed outsiders, there is little opportunity for the creation of such criminal subcultures.

Further, Braithwaite (1989) acknowledges that blocked opportunities can bring about the rise and attractiveness of criminal subcultures. The criminal subcultures may provide the offender with opportunities they may not otherwise have, such as the opportunity to make a significant amount of money. This is why he supports reintegrative shaming—it prevents the creation of a group of outcasts and thus blocks the opportunity for the creation of subcultures that are criminal.

Although Braithwaite (1989) discusses the potential attractiveness of criminal subcultures, he also recognizes the limited attraction most criminal subcultures actually have. Braithwaite (1989) argues that the ability to find and join a criminal subculture is often limited because the ability to find a criminal subculture that engages in crime that is appealing to an individual can be difficult. Also, he argues that criminal subcultures are not numerous, which limits the ability to find one further. Finally, if an individual finds no subcultural support or rejects the subculture, the individual may remain more likely to engage in crime alone than those who are reintegrated.

Interdependency and Communitarianism

In order for a society to successfully use reintegrative shaming, interdependency and communitarianism are fundamental. Interdependency means that individuals rely on one another and have dependent relationships. Interdependent relationships, for example, can be seen between a parent and a child. The parent/child relationship is marked by the child's dependency on the parent for basic needs. This allows the parent to shame the child more effectively than the child's peers, for example.

Communitarianism means that these interdependencies are so enmeshed with each other that there is a sense of obligation amongst citizens in a society. Braithwaite (1989) gives Japan as an example of this type of society. Within such societies, shame is not only the shame of the

individual but also the shame of his or her family. Thus, shame produces a greater impact on the individual because the offender feels obligated towards their family and their society.

Interdependent persons are more susceptible to shaming (Braithwaite, 1898). Characteristics of more interdependent persons include individuals who are married, under 15 or over 25, female, employed, and/or have high educational or employment aspirations (Braithwaite, 1989). Braithwaite (1989) argues that each of these characteristics heightens susceptibility to shaming. The more communitarian and interdependent the society, the more impact reintegrative shaming will have on individuals. Urbanization and high residential mobility undermine communitarianism and result in reintegrative shaming having less of an impact on individuals. The success of reintegrative shaming is dependent on normative agreement and conceptions of status, reputation, and morality that are shared within a society.

Previous Research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory

Reintegrative Shaming Theory has produced profuse research within the field of criminology. Research on RST has looked at the theory as a whole, as well as, examining its components parts (i.e. shaming, communitarianism, interdependency, etc.). Research on the aspect of shame is abundant. There are various ways in which this topic has been researched. Research has been conducted to try to better understand the emotion of shame and when it is most effective. Many researchers have found shame to be significant in the reintegrative process only when the individual felt they had something to lose or to gain (Harvard Law Review, 2003, Garvey, 1998, Braithwaite, 1993). Individuals, who had significant relationships, were more likely to be impacted by shaming than those who had few or no significant relationships due to fear of losing this relationship.

Additionally, research has shown shame can be elicited in the context of a punishment. Depending on how it is elicited, the individual will either be pushed toward crime or pulled away from it (Garvey, 1998, Harris, 2006). Consequently, research has shown that shame can have a powerful role in shaping behavior but this power is only apparent in certain contexts. Reintegrative shaming punishments, such as a conference instead of a court case (Harris, 2006), and educative punishments that allow for dialogue between the state and the offender (Garvey, 1998) are two of the major contexts that have been found to use shame in an effective way.

An article published in the Harvard Law Review (2003) examines the literature on shame and asks whether shame can deter crime. It states, “shaming which imposes costs by impugning one’s reputation can deter only to the extent that a potential offender values his reputation in the first place” (2003:2190). If the offender has little to nothing to lose, the less likely a shaming punishment will be an effective means of deterring future deviance. Shame is an effective tool only when there is a cost associated with it. If there is no cost to the offender, then the feelings of shame could turn to feelings of anger and rage or simply be ignored.

However, the article acknowledges that shaming has the power to reinforce, express and even shape social norms. The authors believe this can have a general deterrent effect on others even if it doesn’t induce shame in the offender (Harvard Law Review 2003:2191). However, this general deterrent effect can also cause additional problems for the offender. The major concern is that the offender will turn to criminal subcultures as a result of the shame, especially if a stigma becomes attached to him or her. This aligns with Reintegrative Shaming Theory because both agree that when a social stigma is attached from disintegrative shaming, criminal subcultures can become more appealing.

Finally, the authors discuss the fact that for people, especially people in densely populated areas, the punishment of a relative or friend can result in stigmatization of the offender’s friends and relatives as well. The idea is that the shame of this individual is the shame of his or her family and friends as well. This idea is consistent with a society that is interdependent and communitarian, two key concepts of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. However, the authors acknowledge that “shaming penalties are uniquely positioned to alter behavior ex post because the offender experiences the unpleasantness of stigma in his everyday life” (Harvard Law Review, 2003:2205). This unpleasantness, according to Braithwaite (1989), would be more disintegrative shaming than reintegrative. However, the unpleasantness can result in the offender becoming more attached to social norms if they are reintegrated.

Garvey (1998) theorizes that there are two major types of shaming penalties: those that are educative and did not involve public exposure and those that seek to shame and rely on public exposure. In the shaming penalty, which involves public exposure, the state condemns the offender through punishment and does nothing further (Garvey 1998:742). It shames the offender and that is all. This is similar Braithwaite’s concept of disintegrative shaming. Further, in the shaming model, Garvey suggests that the state runs the risk of causing the offender to

identify himself as a criminal which can result in pushing the offender deeper into criminality. This idea is consistent with the Harvard Law Review (2003) article that identifies the fact that shame could lead to entrance into a criminal subculture. It is also consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

The educative shaming penalty allows a moral dialogue to occur between the state and the offender. It provides opportunity for each side to speak. This would be considered reintegrative shaming in accordance with Braithwaite's theory. The educative model strives to "wake up" the offender and to get him or her to recognize their wrongdoing and to repent (Garvey 1998:763). Finally, Garvey (1998) identifies the fact that shame is only effective if the offender has attachments to others and cares about what others think of him or her. This idea is also supported in the literature from the Harvard Law Review (2003). Both articles view connections to be essential to successful shaming penalties. This can be likened to the ideas of communitarianism and interdependency, which Braithwaite (1989) acknowledges as being central to successful reintegrative shaming.

In an article following the publication of his book, John Braithwaite (1993) rejects the argument that shame is not as effective in modern society as it used to be. Drawing on historical and present day evidence, Braithwaite (1993) shows the power that shame still holds in society and how the power it has over some crimes has increased in modern society. After discussing Victorian era criminal justice practices designed for public spectacle, Braithwaite (1993) discusses how family practices are more integrative towards right behavior and shaming towards wrong behavior than in previous eras when breaking the will of children was the goal. However, he also acknowledges that stigmatic practices have made a comeback in eras such as the punishing of working-class criminals.

Additionally, Braithwaite (1993) responds to the critique that interdependencies do not flourish today like they have in the past. He suggests that there are just as many, if not more, interdependencies in the 19th and 20th centuries than in previous time; it is just that these interdependencies are no longer situated within one community (Braithwaite 1993: 13). The internet and other modern communications provide individuals with the opportunity to connect with individuals across the globe.

Finally, Braithwaite (1993) suggests that shame today might be more multi-faceted than before. He argues that because of the various roles an individual plays, they may be more

susceptible to shame. This is because when an individual is known in one role, they will be conscious of how others who know them in a different role will perceive them and act in a manner that is appropriate to both roles. However, this can also work in reverse if an individual is immersed in only a single role with no care about how other people might view their behavior. This goes back to the concept discussed by both Garvey (1998) and the Harvard Law Review (2003) that an individual must have something to lose in order for shaming to be effective. Thus, within modern society, shame is still useful but it is highly dependent on the individual and their connections within the modern society.

In a recent study, Harris (2006) examines whether or not the relationship between shame and emotions exists as predicted by Reintegrative Shaming Theory. The results of this study show that reintegrative and stigmatic shaming elicit different emotional responses in participants. The data from this study came from the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) in Australia and included 900 drinking and driving cases. The regression analysis of shame-guilt, the emotion most similar to that alluded to in reintegrative shaming theory, was predicted by having been reintegratively shamed during the court or conference case. Further, this emotion was negatively associated with stigmatization (Harris 2006: 338). These results suggest that the processes of reintegration and stigmatization have different emotional reactions, which correspond to the predictions of Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

Finally, Harris (2006) found that shaming variables and shame-related emotions vary depending on the intervention type the offender went through. Those individuals, who went through a conference, reported higher levels of reintegration and shaming than those in court processes. However, participants did not consider the conferences to be less stigmatizing than court cases. This suggests that Reintegrative Shaming Theory is generally supported by this study because of the more reintegrative nature of conferences and the emotions that are elicited during it. However, the author contends that more research is needed to understand the exact nature of the emotions involved in the shaming process, specifically within conferences as opposed to court cases.

Botchkovar and Tittle (2008) conducted another study of Reintegrative Shaming Theory to try to specify the boundaries for its explanatory scope through the use of contingency variables with limited success. They examined three contingency variables in relation to shaming: strain, perceived certainty of shame, and self-control. The results of their study found

that none of these contingency variables were effective in enhancing the predictive power of reintegrative shaming. The data came from surveys administered to 224 individuals from a large Russian city.

The results show that strain did not serve as a useful contingency in promoting the conformity enhancing effects of reintegrative shaming (Tittle & Botchkovar 2008:714) which was contrary to their prediction. In regards to disintegrative shaming, the analysis found that strain may inhibit the power of it in producing criminal outcomes. Botchkovar and Tittle (2008) did find support for their hypothesis that there was no interaction between risk perception and disintegrative shaming in predicting future deviance (Tittle & Botchkovar 2008:716).

Overall, this study concludes that taking these contingencies into account did not enhance the ability to make predictions from shaming variables. The authors conclude that the shaming variable, which supposedly inhibits future misbehavior, seems to enhance rather than inhibit misconduct, despite taking these contingencies into account (Tittle & Botchkovar 2008:717). This finding relates to the ideas put forth by Garvey (1998) and the Harvard Law Review (2003) that shame can, if not implemented effectively, push individuals deeper into criminality. Additionally, this finding fits well in the theoretical framework of Reintegrative Shaming Theory in relation to shame and criminal subcultures. However, this study is another example of the mixed results that are often associated with Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

Murphy and Harris (2007) test whether Reintegrative Shaming Theory can be translated into white-collar crime and whether shame-related emotions actually mediate different kinds of shaming on later behavior. The study consisted of survey data collected from 652 adult taxpayers who had been caught and punished by the Australian Taxation Office. Murphy and Harris (2007) found that when offenders felt that the Australian Taxation Office had used reintegrative disapproval, they were less likely to reoffend. This provides direct support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory. In addition, specific to this research, it sheds light on how reintegrative shaming affects future behavior. It also stands to reason that reintegrative shaming could produce attitudes that are more favorable and this could result in future compliance and this research will seek to establish if there is a link between reintegrative shaming and favorable attitudes.

Also, support was found for the Reintegrative Shaming Theory assumption that shaming is related to the degree that individuals experience shame-related emotions (Murphy & Harris 2007: 909). The analysis found that shame-related emotions mediated the relationship between

shaming and compliance. This is consistent with the work of Harris (2006) that the effectiveness of shaming is marked by the degree to which an individual experiences shame-related emotions. However, the relationship was not in the way hypothesized because reintegration was negatively associated with both shame displacement and shame acknowledgement which is not consistent with reintegrative shaming. The authors acknowledge that these results could be due to the measurement of the shame-related variables. Therefore, more research is necessary to better understand the nature of shame-related emotions within various contexts of shaming.

Interdependency and communitarianism are often studied together. In terms of communitarianism, some research has found strong support for its role within Chinese society (Chen 2002, Lu et al., 2002). This research has shown Chinese society to capitalize on communitarianism, using this characteristic to implement reintegrative shaming methods with some success. These studies often found support for the role of interdependency and communitarianism as theorized in Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

However, other research has found that communitarianism does not play a significant role in reintegrative shaming (Tittle et al., 2003). Inconsistent findings across studies have typified much of the research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory and are a major reason why further research is needed.

In an effort to extend our understanding of Reintegrative Shaming Theory and Labeling Theory, Chen (2002) found support for the concept of shaming as a positive, informal social control. Chen (2002) posits that Chinese society is marked by emphasis on the group over the individual and a strong dependence on others for meeting their basic needs. These characteristics of Chinese society are equivalent to Braithwaite's concepts of interdependency and communitarianism, which lends support to the argument that Chinese society continues to utilize reintegrative shaming.

Chen (2002) argues that all members of society should help in reforming offenders because the offender will eventually return to society (58). This reliance on community is seen in Chinese society. Chen (2002) finds that Chinese society seems to rely more heavily on community actors such as parents and teachers, as opposed to professionals. Additionally, social education programs are employed that seek to show the offender the wrongfulness of his/her action. These findings are supportive of Reintegrative Shaming Theory because it hypothesizes that the more intimate the connections, the more impact shaming will have. Additionally, it

shows that shaming is most effective when the individual is made to understand the wrongfulness of his/her actions and then brought back into society.

Lu, Zhang, and Miethe (2002) studied the Reintegrative Shaming Theory concepts of interdependency and communitarianism in China, specifically testing the hypothesis that interdependency is advantageous to reintegrative shaming in informal social control. The results of this research found some support for this hypothesis. The study employed interviews with residents in Shanghai. It asked respondents about how reintegrative or stigmatizing shaming was with offenders in their family and in their neighborhood. It was theorized that the higher the interdependency in the family, the more the family will utilize reintegrative shaming.

The analysis shows that within families both reintegration and stigmatization were present when an offense occurred. Additionally, family shaming was not significantly impacted by family interdependency but higher neighborhood interdependency was associated with higher chances of reintegrative shaming for neighborhood deviance (Lu et al. 2002: 196). Further, reintegrative shaming occurs more in neighborhoods where familial relations are reintegrative in nature.

Finally, this work found gender, marital status, employment, and occupational prestige all to have effects on family and neighborhood shaming, consistent with Braithwaite's theory (Lu et al. 2002: 197). Each of these characteristics was hypothesized to make individuals more interdependent and thus more susceptible to shaming. These findings are consistent with the work of Chen (2002), who also found Chinese society to be highly interdependent and communitarian. This research shows that there is a strong correlation between interdependency and reintegrative shaming and that interdependency promotes reintegrative shaming.

Iceland is another society that has been studied due to its communitarian and interdependent culture. Baumer, Wright, Kristindottir, and Gunnlaugasson (2002) examine levels of recidivism in Iceland and find no support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory in relation to the concept of communitarianism. Iceland is a country that is very communitarian and has a high usage of shaming to produce social control (Baumer et al., 2002:40). Baumer et al. (2002) use data which includes details about criminal conviction, sentences, prison admissions, and the nature of punishment served by everyone sentenced to and released from Icelandic prisons from 1994 to 1998.

The results of their study found that 11% of persons released from prison in Iceland were reconvicted within the first year of release and 53% were reconvicted within five years (Baumer et al. 2002). These rates of reimprisonment are not very different from the observed rates in other nations (Baumer et al., 2002). These results are inconsistent with the findings of Chen (2002) and Lu et al. (2002), which both found interdependency and communitarianism to be related to the effective use of reintegrative shaming. Although this study found that recidivism was not reduced by shaming, it leaves the question whether shaming has an impact on their perception of crime and punishment whether positive or negative.

Using telephone interviews with 406 residents of Raleigh, North Carolina, Tittle, Bratton, and Gertz (2003) try to fill a gap in Reintegrative Shaming Theory by studying micro-level aspects of the theory. These micro-level aspects are participation in gossip, being reintegratively shamed, being the subject of gossip, and being stigmatically shamed. Tittle et al. (2003) found that some results were consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory while others were not.

Results of the study found that the inhibition of future misconduct from participation in gossip and from being reintegratively shamed were not supported (Tittle et al 2006: 607). The relationship was opposite from what it should have been, suggesting that these two concepts may have an impact on future misconduct. Another finding that was inconsistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory was that interdependency did not interact significantly with crime-inhibiting shaming variables in predicting future misbehavior (Tittle et al 2006: 610). This is inconsistent with the findings of Chen (2002) and Lu et al. (2002), who found support for interdependency and communitarianism.

Consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory, Tittle and colleagues (2006) found that being the subject of gossip and being stigmatically shamed were predictive of greater amounts of future misconduct (607). Finally, the results of this study suggest that participation in gossip and reintegration do not make things better for offenders who have been shamed. However, some support was found that stigmatic shaming and being talked about will result in greater deviance. Thus, this test of reintegrative shaming, like so many others, finds mixed results.

In terms of interdependency, researchers have found that parent-child interdependency is correlated with parent's use of reintegrative shaming (Hay, 2001, Losoncz and Tyson, 2007), which supports the role this concept plays in Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Additionally, research has shown support for the role of peer interdependency, parental reintegration and

reduction in offending (Ahmed and Braithwaite, 2005, Losoncz and Tyson 2007). However, other research has not found support for the interdependency of an offender, parents, and peers as predictive of more or less delinquency (Zhang and Zhang, 2004).

The impact of reintegrative shaming in parent-child relationships was examined by Hay (2001). This study focused on the relationship between perceptions of parents' sanctioning and adolescents' reports of predatory delinquency. Using self-administered questionnaires of 197 adolescents, the study found mixed evidence for Reintegrative Shaming Theory. First, Reintegrative Shaming Theory was supported by the finding that the level of parent-child interdependency and parents' use of reintegration had a strong relationship, sharing about 50 percent of their variation (Hay 2001:147). Further, interdependency had a significant effect on shaming but the effect it had on reintegration was remarkably stronger. This indicates that parents, who are close with their children, are more likely to punish in a way that maintains the closeness of the relationship.

Another finding that supported the theory was that the initial effect of reintegration on delinquency disappeared when interdependency was held constant (Hay 2001:147). The researcher interpreted this to mean the initial causal effect was spurious. This interpretation is consistent with the theory of reintegrative shaming's causal ordering. Finally, the study found that shaming had a durable, independent effect on delinquency. It was significant and negatively related to projected delinquency, childhood antisocial behavior, and parent-child interdependency and was not dependent on the level of reintegration (Hay 2001:148). This does not entirely support the theory because shaming should be negatively related to delinquency only if reintegration is high.

Losoncz and Tyson (2007) examine the operation of reintegrative shaming within the family, concentrating on individual level variables. The study found support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory in relation to shaming and interdependency. Based on Reintegrative Shaming Theory, the authors examine parental shaming, stigmatization, reintegration, and delinquent peers and the main effect they have on projected future delinquency. A questionnaire was given to all 9th and 10th grade students in two Australian high schools.

Results found that delinquent peers were "positively predictive of delinquency and they mediated the relationship between interdependency and delinquency" (Losoncz & Tyson 2007:171). Further, for females the relationship between interdependency and delinquency was

more likely to be mediated by delinquent peers than by stigmatization (Losoncz & Tyson 2007:171). Females reported a significantly lower level of delinquent behavior and delinquency among peers. The level of interdependency, and reintegration and stigmatization reported by females was only slightly different than the level reported by males (Losoncz & Tyson 2007:173).

The final results of the analysis are consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory and suggest a strong relationship between level of parent-child interdependency and parental reintegration and stigmatization. The authors posit that this strong effect supports the idea that “parents with close relationships with their children are more likely to use reintegration and less likely to use stigmatization” (Losoncz & Tyson 2007:173) which is in agreement with the work of Hay (2001). Finally, results seem to indicate that reintegration has a negative effect on delinquency, but this relationship was not significant for girls.

Zhang and Zhang (2004) researched Reintegrative Shaming Theory focusing on disapproval of the deviant act (shaming) and forgiveness of the transgressor (reintegration). They specified their interaction as being one kind of reintegrative shaming. The results of the test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory were mixed, finding support for only some elements of the theory that were used in the study. The research involved two equations: (1) examines the independent effects of delinquency disapproval (shaming) and forgiveness of the delinquent (reintegration) by parents and peers and (2) explores the interactive effects of delinquency disapproval and forgiveness of delinquent from parents and peers (Zhang & Zhang 2004:443&445).

Zhang and Zhang’s (2004) findings established no interactive effects for parental forgiveness and disapproval and peer forgiveness and disapproval on the involvement in predatory offenses. This does not support the hypotheses postulated by Braithwaite (1989). This “means that neither parental reintegrative shaming nor peer reintegrative shaming has any predictive power on predatory offenses in the observed time period” (2004:446). This finding is inconsistent with the work of Hay (2001) and Losoncz and Tyson (2007) which both found parent-child interdependency was significantly related to reintegrative shaming.

The researchers did find that peer forgiveness alone increased the likelihood of involvement in predatory offenses which offers some evidence for some elements of Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Finally, the findings showed no interactive effect for either parental shaming or peer reintegrative shaming on predatory offenses at either time of the two

waves of the survey, lending no support to the key hypothesis that reintegrative shaming should reduce re-offending.

Ahmed and Braithwaite (2005) examine the relationship between shame, perceived parental shaming and forgiveness, and bullying. They found forgiveness and reintegrative shaming to be correlated with less bullying activity at school. The researchers examined the extent to which perceived parental shaming and forgiveness act together to reduce bullying in schools in Bangladesh (Ahmed & Braithwaite 2005: 299). Using survey research, Ahmed and Braithwaite asked 1875 students in grades 7-10 in Bangladesh about their feelings, behaviors, and perceptions of parents' behavior in interacting with them.

The results of Ahmed and Braithwaite's (2005) study show that parental forgiveness and reintegration are significantly related to less bullying at school. This finding is consistent with Losoncz and Tyson (2007) and Hay (2001) that interdependency between parent and child and the use of reintegrative shaming can have profound effects on behavior. Also, it was found that students, who did not experience reintegrative shaming from their parents, would show less bullying behavior if the student liked school. Lastly, the study found that liking school could protect, to some extent, against the harmful effects of parental stigmatizing shaming, but it was nearly impossible for schools to compensate for unforgiving parents. In addition, forgiving parenting did protect against the harmful effects of not liking school to a limited extent. Ahmed and Braithwaite (2005) find support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory and the positive association between behavior and being reintegratively shamed.

Interdependency and communitarianism, like many of the concepts of Reintegrative Shaming Theory, have shown mixed results in relation to offending. Thus, further research is necessary to understand how they shape the behaviors, attitudes, and feelings of offenders, and if they have any predictive power in determining who will and who will not continue on in delinquent behavior.

Attitudes: An Addition to Reintegrative Shaming Theory

Attitudes

In addition to the key concepts set forth by Braithwaite, this study will utilize the concept of attitudes. Attitudes, in this project, are defined as the emotions, feelings, or mental position of an individual toward a fact or object. Specifically, this study is concerned with attitudes the

individual holds towards the criminal justice system, law, crime, and punishment. It is argued, in this work, that attitudes will impact behavior and thus it is important to understand the attitudes that reintegrative shaming invokes in offenders.

The link between behavior and attitude has been established in research. It has been found that the more legitimate an individual views law and their treatment by law enforcement, the more likely they are to comply with the law in the future (Murphy and Tyler, 2008, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). These studies support the idea that a reintegrative shaming punishment should evoke feelings and attitudes towards the law and legal system which promote compliance. On the other hand, it suggests that disintegrative shaming punishments should arouse negative attitudes toward the law and legal system resulting in less compliance. Not all research has found this to be the case. Some research has shown shaming of any kind to result in projections of future crime (Tittle and Botchkovar, 2005). Thus, research is needed to better understand the role of attitudes, emotions, and perceptions in the reintegrative shaming process.

Murphy and Tyler (2008) seek to further the research on the mediating role of emotions in procedural justice. They investigate “whether emotions mediate the effect of procedural justice on subsequent real-life compliance behavior with rules or laws” (Murphy and Tyler, 2008:652). The results of their study suggest that negative emotions tend to foster non-compliance to laws whereas positive emotions seem to foster compliance with laws.

This study employs the use of two longitudinal studies. The first study consists of a survey from 654 individuals who were in trouble for tax evasion with the Australian Taxation Office (ATO) at two different time periods. This study sought to better understand the role a negative emotion, such as anger, had on compliance. The second study was a questionnaire from a national survey of 2366 American workers. The concept for study 2 was to understand the role of emotions in a different context, specifically the workplace, where individuals have experiences with authority. In study 2, the emotion that was of interest was the positive emotion of happiness.

Murphy and Tyler (2008) found in study 1 that taxpayers, who felt they had been treated unjustly by the ATO, were more likely to have feelings of anger and report non-compliance two years later. Additionally, it was found that the effect of procedural justice on non-compliance disappeared when anger was put into the regression. This is suggestive of anger playing a mediating effect between procedural justice and subsequent compliance (2008:663). This

supports the idea that attitude/emotions have a significant role in the reintegrative shaming process which this thesis seeks to study.

For study 2, it was found that positive emotions can also play a mediating role between procedural justice and compliance behavior. When respondents felt that those in authority over them in the workplace treated them fairly, they more readily complied with their supervisors rules. Thus, the attitude of the individual, in addition to the fairness of their treatment, can play a large role in determining their future behavior and should be studied in the context of Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

Sunshine and Tyler (2003) conducted a two-fold study to measure police legitimacy and compliance behavior. The first study was a survey that measured legitimacy of police in the three areas: risk of being caught and punished, the ability of police to fight crime, and the fairness of allocation of police services. The survey was mailed to 483 New York residents that were mainly white and female. The first study was conducted prior to September 11, 2001. The second study, conducted after 9/11, was a phone interview with 1,653 New York residents.

The results of both study 1 and study 2 found that legitimacy was a major component in compliance behavior. Further, study 1 found that legitimacy and risk estimates influenced compliance (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003: 526). Individuals who saw the police as being legitimate and felt at risk of being caught were more likely to comply. Study 1 also found that compliance was impacted by race, income, and gender. White, wealthy, females were the most likely to comply. Study 2 found similar results with legitimacy and risk estimates being the most influential on compliance behavior. Additionally, study 2 found age, education and sex to interact with compliance. Females, older individuals, and well-educated individuals were found to be the most likely to comply in study 2. Perception, thus, plays a key role in determining compliance in addition to other demographics.

Finally, Sunshine and Tyler (2003) examine three ethnic groups: whites, African Americans, and Hispanics, and potential differences between the groups in relation to compliance behavior. The results found that all three ethnic groups were most likely to comply with the police when they viewed the police as legitimate. However, the groups' views are not identical. Whites were more likely to use interpersonal treatment to judge legitimacy while minority groups were more balanced and considered both treatment and quality of decision-making in determining legitimacy (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003: 533). This finding is similar to the

finding of Murphy and Tyler (2008) that a singular emotion or attitude can have a significant impact on compliance behavior in the future. The most important aspect, though, is the fact that the perception of legitimacy is very influential in the individual's choice to comply or not comply with police.

Researchers Tittle and Botchkovar (2005) use data collected in Russia to investigate mediating links between shaming punishments and crime at the individual level. Tittle and Botchkovar (2005) found mixed evidence for Reintegrative Shaming Theory including finding that shaming of any kind may have negative consequences. They hypothesized that they would find a negative association between shaming others and future misconduct and between experiences of reintegrative shaming and crime, but a positive association between experiences of disintegrative shaming and future misconduct should be seen (Tittle & Botchkovar 2005:410). Tittle and Botchkovar (2005) conducted interviews with 224 individuals in Russia.

The results of their study, however, found that for three offenses (large theft, drug use, and small theft), having experienced reintegrative shaming is positively associated with future projections of crime (Tittle & Botchkovar 2005:425). This is a result that is inconsistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory and their hypothesis. In addition, it contradicts the idea that reintegrative shaming strengthens the moral consciences and increases sensitivity to negative reactions of others (Tittle & Botchkovar 2005:431). Also, this finding is inconsistent with the works of Murphy and Tyler (2008) and Sunshine and Tyler (2008) that suggestive positive experiences lead to positive emotions and future compliance behavior.

The results did show that disintegrative shaming was positively associated with future projections of misconduct for all four offenses, which is consistent with the Reintegrative Shaming Theory (Tittle & Botchkovar 2005:425). This suggests that negative feelings that arise in disintegrative shaming experiences can lead to future misbehavior, and is consistent with Murphy and Tyler (2008), who found negative feelings to be linked to non-compliant behavior. Thus, the findings of this research are mixed with some support and some opposition to the theory. The findings show mixed results on the role of emotions, attitudes, and perceptions in reintegrative shaming experiences.

In addition to research on the key components of Reintegrative Shaming Theory and the additional component of attitude, research has been conducted regarding the relationship

between Reintegrative Shaming Theory and the criminal justice system. The topic of restorative justice is closely tied to reintegrative shaming. Research on these topics will be presented next.

The Criminal Justice System and Reintegrative Shaming

Restorative Justice

Restorative justice is an approach to criminal justice that asks offenders to take responsibility for their actions and then to repair the harm caused by their actions. Restorative justice is based on Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Thus, it is important to review the research on restorative justice in order to have a fuller knowledge of Reintegrative Shaming Theory and what is currently known about the theory. A brief review of research on restorative justice will be presented to develop this understanding of Reintegrative Shaming Theory for this research.

Research on restorative justice has examined the impact these processes have on recidivism (Blagg, 1997, Kurki 2000), and the emotions that arise during these processes (Harris et al 2004, Morrison 2006, Kenny and Clairmont 2009, Stokkom, 2002). Much like research on shaming, communitarianism, and interdependency, studies of this nature show mixed results. Specifically, the results in relation to recidivism often show limited effectiveness of restorative justice procedures, leading researchers to assert that more research is needed on the relationship between restorative justice and recidivism. Finally, the results of research on emotions such as shame, guilt, and regret suggest that more research is needed to more fully understand the role each of these emotions plays in the conference, which involves the offender, the victim, and the police sitting down together to discuss the offense, and in predicting future behavior (Stokkom, 2002).

Kurki (2000) provides a thorough literature review of both restorative and community justice programs and the underlying theories and values of each. After reviewing the literature, she observes that no evaluation of restorative or community justice programs has shown that these programs increase recidivism but they have not been shown to reduce it either. Restorative justice is about healing, repairing and mending relationships, specifically those between the offender and the victim. Restorative justice is based largely around Braithwaite's work and the idea of using reintegrative shaming. Within restorative justice, the literature shows mixed findings but the most common finding is that there is no significant difference in recidivism rates for those cases that were mediated (Kurki 2000: 272). However, the results do seem to suggest

that recidivism may have been delayed when mediation was used. Therefore, Kurki (2000) suggests that restorative and community justice need more research, specifically evaluative research, to see how effective these approaches could be on the criminal justice system.

Kenny and Clairmont (2009) study how all parties involved in restorative justice conferences dramaturgically utilize the role of victim. Kenny and Clairmont (2007) use observations from 28 youth restorative justice conferences in a mid-sized city in Canada and find that emotions can create “both meaningful and managed outcomes revealing that the victim role dramaturgically mediates their construction” (2009:303). Each of the restorative justice sessions included discussion of the offense and resolution contracts.

One of the findings from their observations showed that victims would use the strategy they labeled “you got lucky so you better give me what I want” (Kenny & Clairmont 2009: 285). In this strategy, the victim emphasized the seriousness of the offense and how things could have been much worse. The intense emotional nature of this strategy increased the level of shame substantially and often resulted in defensive maneuvers by the offender.

The results showed that the offender would also try to take the role of the victim through strategies emphasizing how much they had already suffered and by trying to place blame on others. These maneuvers were labeled the “I’ve already suffered so don’t make it worse” strategy (Kenny & Clairmont 2009:287). In this case, the offender was trying to remove the shame they were feeling during the conference and put it on others.

Finally, Kenny and Clairmont (2009) propose that how shaming occurs has a significant impact on the emotions of all parties within the context of restorative justice proceedings. Depending on the amount and kind of shame, some outcomes are positive and reintegrative but others create anger and resentment. This fits well with Braithwaite’s theory because when shame is used in a reintegrative way the outcome should be positive but when shame comes in a disintegrative way, anger, resentment, and even future deviance are theorized to occur. Therefore, Kenny and Clairmont (2009) suggest additional research on restorative justice, the emotions involved, and Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

Morrison (2006), building off previous work, examines the role of restorative justice within the context of school bullying. She investigates the interaction of “students’ feelings of respect, pride in being a member of the school community, and shame management” (Morrison

2006: 372). The results of her inquiry show the emotional and social context of shame and restorative processes as essential to dealing with bullying in positive and restorative ways.

Using self report survey data from 343 students in Australia, Morrison (2006) integrates Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming, Scheff's theory of unacknowledged shame, and the procedural justice theory of Tyler. From the integration of these theories, Morrison (2006) tests shame, acknowledgment, respect, pride, and shame displacement across four groups: nonbully/nonvictim, bully, victim, bully/victim. Morrison (2006) found that shame acknowledgement was significantly different across the four groups and the nonbully/nonvictim and victim groups reported the highest use of it which was consistent with other findings of shame acknowledgement. Additionally, shame displacement was found to be significantly lower in the nonbully/nonvictim and victim groups.

In relation to feelings of respect, the bully and bully/victim groups reported the lowest level of respect and the nonbully/nonvictim and victim group reported the highest. This result was also significant. All four groups were found to be significantly different in relation to pride. However, pride, after multiple post hoc comparisons, the only group that was found to be significantly different from the others was the nonbully/nonvictim (Morrison 2006: 383).

Morrison's (2006) results show that shame and shame management are context specific. This finding fits well with the work of Kenny and Clairmont (2009). Shame, depending on the way it is used and the context it is used in, can have either very positive or negative results. From this knowledge and other studies, it is clear that more research is needed to understand the role of shame, guilt, remorse, and other similar emotions in restorative justice measures and within Reintegrative Shaming Theory.

Tyler, Sherman, Starng, Barnes, and Woods (2007) test two social psychological mechanisms: reintegrative shaming and procedural justice, for their effectiveness on reducing recidivism. The results found little support that conferences are more effective at generating support for the law and lowering reoffending. The researchers hypothesize that "conferences will be more effective in creating feelings of procedural justice and reintegrative shaming than will traditional prosecutions" (Tyler et al. 2007:558). However, this was not supported by the results.

Tyler et al. (2007) conducted interviews with 730 offenders who had either been to court or through a conference for driving under the influence. The reintegrative shaming mechanisms took the form of restorative justice conferences. These conferences were approximately 90

minutes and involved the offender, victim, police, and supporters for both the victim and the offender. It allowed each side to speak their side of the story.

Results of this study suggest that conferences were not more successful in motivating participants to follow the law. However, the study did find support for the argument that psychological dynamics identified by procedural justice and reintegrative shaming models, when activated, lead to reduction in reoffending (Tyler et al 2007:572). Additionally, the results show that females were more likely to view the law as legitimate and think reoffending would generate interpersonal problems (2007:572). Also, Tyler et al. (2007) found that individuals who attended conferences viewed the law as more legitimate and believed another offense would create more problems (2007:565). It is clear from this research that legitimacy of the law and treatment play a major role in reducing recidivism. This research builds off the work of Morrison (2006) which showed how shame can have different outcomes based on the context. The work of Tyler et al. (2007) shows conferences can produce feelings that reduce reoffending.

Blagg (1997) critiques the family model of conferencing that is often used in association with Braithwaite's Reintegrative Shaming Theory. By conducting a thorough investigation into the literature, he identifies limitations of the family conference model that is in use in Australia. He asserts that these limitations are due to the foreign nature of the family model of conferencing in comparison to traditional methods of justice. He argues that a tendency exists in which individuals assume that all cultures manifest similar mechanisms for ensuring adherence to accepted standards of behavior and all societies maintain a similar balance between social structures and emotions such as shame (Blagg, 1997). Thus, different cultures will have different ways of inducing shame such that conferences may not work in all cultures. Further, he discusses how in corporate societies reputation is a major factor which leads to a concern to maintain that reputation.

Blagg (1997) acknowledges the fact that if shaming ceremonies are going to be successful, the relationships of individuals must be similar to those in everyday life. In other words, the relationships must be valuable to the offender. He states, "we must have something to lose or to gain" (1997:489) in order for the ceremony to be effective. This relates back to the article in the Harvard Law Review (2003) that shame is effective when there is something to be lost or gained.

Finally, Blagg (1997) addresses the concept of shame and reintegration. He argues that shame is wrapped up in concerns about losing social status and that the reintegration ceremony exploits this fear for not only the offender but also for those related to the offender whose status may be in jeopardy too (1997:490). He questions how this could be effective for individuals who don't have status to lose. This raises a major question in relation to reintegrative shaming and how it impacts individuals with little left to lose.

Stokkom (2002), also, examines the role of shame in restorative justice conferences. He is interested in the relationship between shame, guilt and similar emotions in restorative justice conferences. Stokkom (2002) reviews theories of shame and identifies problems within each and finds the concept of remorse to be the emotion with the most reparative potential (341). Acknowledging research and theories on the concepts of shame, guilt, and remorse, Stokkom (2002) suggests that remorse and shame are proof of sincerity and that shame shows sadness or sorrow, remorse is needed because it will create an identity struggle that should make an offender reconsider their life (350). Finally, Stokkom (2002) suggests that Braithwaite under-theorized the concept of shame, specifically the interaction between shame and pride and shame and praise. This is suggestive that more research is needed to fully understand the concept of shame and how it could be used to reduce reoffending and restore offenders to their communities.

Harris, Walgrave and Braithwaite (2004) proposed hypotheses about the emotional and relational dynamics that happen in restorative justice conferences. They further analyze the distinction between shame, guilt, remorse, and other shame-related emotions and then discuss their role in conferences. Harris et al. (2004) suggest that guilt, remorse, and other similar emotions may arise during conferences but they fall into the feeling of shame. From previous research, these researchers propose that shame is focused on the self and one's behavior whereas guilt and remorse focus upon the harm caused to others. This relates back to the work of Stokkom (2002) which felt that remorse was a separate emotion and was needed to create within the offender a reason or desire to change. Despite that research, they postulate that feelings of guilt and remorse for harming others will create negative feelings of the self and shame will result (2002:198).

Finally, Harris et al. (2004) address that good conferencing involves shame, guilt, remorse, and empathy operating together. If the offender is not made to feel empathy for the

victim and feel supported, the shame felt may be turned into unacknowledged shame which Harris et al. (2004) suggest will result in defensive maneuvers and failure of reintegrative shaming methods. The authors recommend more research that will seek to understand the process of the emotions involved in restorative justice conferencing.

The research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory is diverse. However, this thesis does not focus solely on the role of Reintegrative Shaming Theory in shaping attitudes. It also seeks to understand the relationship between Reintegrative Shaming Theory, attitudes and sex. Thus, it is important to address what research has previously shown in regards to sex, crime, and punishment.

Sex, Crime, and Punishment

In Reintegrative Shaming Theory, Braithwaite hypothesizes that women are more interdependent and thus will be less likely to be involved in crime. In addition, women will be more affected by reintegrative shaming than men due to their interdependency. Although there has been much research on sex differences and crime, I focus on sex differences in behavior, sanction perception, and emotional differences in response to law violation. Specifically, women have been found to be more likely to give up criminal lifestyles than similarly situated men (Uggen and Kruttschnitt 1998) and more likely to feel shame and guilt over law violation (Grasmick et al. 1993, Svensson 2004).

Further, the research shows that sex and race play a role in the way crime is viewed and what is viewed as an appropriate punishment for that crime (Hurwitz and Smithey, 1998, Miller et al. 1986, Whitehead and Blankenship, 2000). This gender gap was even found to exist in other cultures (Lambert et al. 2007), although not as significantly as in western cultures. These results suggest that shame is mediated by sex and that sex plays a role in perceptions of crime and punishment which is what the present research seeks to better understand.

Uggen and Kruttschnitt (1998) examine sex differences in the desistance process and find support for women desisting from crime more often than men. The data used in the study were taken from the National Supported Work Demonstration Project. This project consisted of a sample of ex-offenders with subsidized jobs and a control group where each provided semi-monthly self-reported work, income, crime, and arrest records for up to three years.

The analysis shows how both offender behavior and the behavior of the law shape our understanding of the transition out of crime (Uggen & Kruttschnitt 1998:346). The findings of their study suggest that women are more likely than men to desist from crime (Uggen & Kruttschnitt 1998:353). In addition, women are more likely not only to transition out of crime but also “to remain crime free for longer periods of time than similarly situated men” (Uggen & Kruttschnitt , 1998:361). Thus, it is reasonable to think that there will be sex differences in the perception of future crime and deviance after a shaming punishment. Finally, females desisted from crime more often which is consistent with Reintegrative Shaming Theory and lends support to the hypothesis of women being more affected by shaming than men.

Miller, Rossi, and Simpson (1986) investigate the extent to which survey respondents agree on punishments for hypothetical offenses based on race and sex. Miller et al. (1986) found that a single sense of appropriate justice does not exist across race and sex. The 741 respondents were drawn from the Boston area and given a survey with hypothetical scenarios of crime, demographics, and previous arrest details.

The results show that black men and white women have similar judgment tendencies and perceive the average prison sentence to be appropriate or slightly insufficient. White men were found to be less harsh in making judgments. Black women were found to be the harshest in judgments of criminal incidents. However, the results did show consensus among the groups regarding which crimes were serious and which were trivial.

An interesting finding in this study was that black women were harsher in making judgments of appropriate sentences for crimes such as loitering, carrying an illegal firearm, and selling marijuana, and less harsh on crimes such as intentional shooting or forcible rape (Miller et al. 1986: 328). The authors postulate that black women are harsher on certain crimes because they are more likely to occur and victimize citizens and less harsh on those crimes that are less likely to occur (Miller et al. 1986: 328).

Finally, between whites, Miller et al. (1986) found no apparent differences in principles of judgment-making that could account for the gender differences observed. The researchers conclude that “similarities in judgments principles among whites imply a shared view of an underlying punishment philosophy” (Miller et al 1986: 331). This is important to the current research because if whites do share a common view of punishment this can be further studied by examining the interplay of this view and a reintegrative shaming punishment. In addition, the

work of Miller et al. (1986) provides evidence that a sex difference could exist between individuals involved in reintegrative shaming conferences.

Grasmick, Sims-Blackwell, and Bursik (1993) also examined sex differences. This research investigated whether there had been a convergence between men and women in relation to shame, embarrassment, and formal sanction threats for theft and assault cases. Grasmick et al. (1993) used two surveys from the Oklahoma City area. One survey was from 1982 and the other was from 1992 and totaled 746 cases. It was discovered that for all three threats: shame, embarrassment, and formal sanctions, for both offense types, the tendency for men to score lower than females was not as large in 1992 as it had been in 1982 (Grasmick et al 1993:690).

For the threat of shame for both theft and assault, men and women are more alike in 1992 but not significantly so. In relation to threat of embarrassment, men and women are significantly more alike in 1992 for both offenses than in 1982. The threat of formal sanctions was found to be insignificant for assault but approached significance for theft. Finally, it was found for the whole sample, nonwhites and whites, college educated and non-college educated, that there was no significant sex convergence for shame between 1982 and 1992 (Grasmick et al. 1993: 697). Thus, nothing in that decade had changed the inclination of women to feel more guilt than men for law violations. These findings indicate that the current research should most likely still find women to feel more shame than men during both conferences and court cases.

Svensson (2004) researched the relationship between sex, parent-child relationships, shame, and deviance. The results found that strong parent-child relations will cause the child to feel more shame for violations of the law and that this relationship is often mediated by sex. Survey data were collected from 979 students in 8th grade from Stockholm. Consistent with other research, Svensson (2004) found that males reported more delinquency than females.

Additionally, the study found that girls tell their parents more about their lives than boys and parents are reported as being more concerned about females than males. This results in females feeling more shame in front of parents, peers, and other authority figures than males (Svensson 2004: 492). This is consistent with the work of Grasmick et al. (1993) which found women felt more guilt for law violations than men.

Further, analysis indicated that shaming variables only “marginally mediate the effect of parent-child relations for boys but this mediating effect is larger for girls” (Svensson 2004:495). Finally, the results of this study suggest that females are more controlled by families, more

connected to families, have a higher internalization of norms, and feel shame more than males in these same areas. All of these aspects are consistent with what is hypothesized in Reintegrative Shaming Theory. The authors believe these factors play a significant role in why females report lower levels of offending than males.

Lambert, Jiang, Jin, And Tucker (2007) researched, in China, the gender gap in views of crime and punishment that are often seen in Western society. The results of their study show that a small gender gap does exist in China on some topics of crime and punishment. Lambert et al. (2007) seek to find whether or not the large gender gap in relation to views of crime and punishment hold in society that is vastly different from the U.S. and other western societies. For the study, a total of 524 surveys were collected from university students in China. The respondents were 49% female and 51% male. The survey included basic demographic characteristics and 16 questions regarding crime, punishment, treatment, views of the offender, and the death penalty.

The results of the Lambert et al. (2007) research found that there was much agreement across the board and when independent t-tests were conducted only 3 of the 16 questions were found to be significant across sex. Chinese men were more likely to think the courts did not treat offenders harshly enough, that society should worry more about the victim and less about the offender, and that society had the right to seek revenge on violent offenders (Lambert et al., 2007), which indicates there is a small gender gap in relation to crime and punishment. The authors suggest this could be due to collectivistic socialization, patriarchal culture, or legal education that are present in Chinese society (Lambert et al., 2007). One aspect of this research is crucial, although the gender gap in China is significantly smaller than in Western societies, it still is present. The findings of this work are in agreement with the work of Miller et al. (1986) which also found a difference in perception of crime and punishment across sex and race.

Hurwitz and Smithey (1998) examine how and why women and men approach crime and punishment. They find that, like in politics, there is a significant difference between men and women and their view of crime and punishment. Their research employed a secondary data analysis. The data came from the University of Kentucky Survey Research Center and involved phone surveys with 501 adults regarding attitudes about race and crime. As such, the data included only Caucasians and the researchers acknowledge that their findings can therefore only be generalized to white men and women. The questions used by Hurwitz and Smithey (1998) fell

into three categories: crime prevention policies, criminal punishment policies, and safety or fear of crime.

Results of t-tests found that women reported feeling more vulnerable than men. Also, women were consistently more supportive of preventative measures than men but in the area of punitive policies, the results were context-specific (Hurwitz and Smithey, 1998). Women held more punitive views in relation to crimes against children whereas men were more supportive of capital punishment. This gender gap in punishment ties back into the literature of Miller et al. (1986) and Lambert et al. (2007) which found women to report harsher punishments for some crimes than men.

Further, after a multivariate analysis, Hurwitz and Smithey (1998) found gender to continue to play a significant role even when controlling for age, education, income, and other demographics. Even when controlling for other factors, sex continues to play a significant role which is consistent with the literature (Miller et al. 1986, Lambert et al. 2007). Additionally, the significance of sex could be a reason that women desist from crime more often than men as the research of Uggen and Kruttschnitt (1998) which needs further research. However, one thing is clear sex plays a significant role in understanding the gender gap in views of crime and punishment.

Whitehead and Blankenship (2000) investigate the gender gap in support of the death penalty. This study expands on the current knowledge that women are less supportive than men of the death penalty in three ways: 1) examining what happens to support when other punishments are introduced, 2) probing why the death penalty is or is not supported, and 3) investigating under what conditions the respondent would change their stance (Whitehead and Blankenship, 2000: 2). The study employed a mail-survey sent out to 1,000 Tennessee residents with a response rate of 50%. The respondents were mainly politically neutral or conservative, white, and male.

Whitehead and Blankenship (2000) found that women were less supportive than men of the death penalty. Additionally, when other punishment options such as a life sentence or life without parole were offered, men continued to strongly favor the death penalty. This, again, shows the importance of sex in understanding views of crime and punishment just like the findings of Hurwitz and Smithey (1998) and Lambert et al. (2007).

In seeking to understand the reasons underlying support for the death penalty, Whitehead and Blankenship (2000) found that men and women agreed that deterrence was the most important reason for the death penalty followed by just deserts. However, at this point women stated murderers killing again as the third most important reason whereas men put the Biblical injunction “thou shall not kill.”

The men and women who opposed the death penalty both rated “thou shall not kill” as the top reason for their opposition followed by the threat of killing an innocent. At this point, again, men and women diverge. Women next rank lack of deterrence as a reason for opposition while men rank unfair administration as a reason.

Finally, Whitehead and Blankenship (2000) found fluidity in support or opposition as conditional items were introduced. For females, support declined to less than 50% for two measures: brutalization effect (more murders for every execution publicized) and race (unfair administration based on race), while 50% of men said they would continue to support it despite these measures. Similar changes in the opposition to the death penalty were seen with 53% of men and 68% of women continuing to oppose the death penalty even if convinced an innocent person would never be executed (Whitehead and Blankenship, 2000:10). These findings shed mixed light on the gender gap issue. Some men and women may favor the death penalty, but there are important differences separating their viewpoints.

Summary

In conclusion, the results of the research on the major components of Reintegrative Shaming Theory have been mixed. The role of shame, communitarianism, and interdependency has found support in some contexts, but not in others. Additionally, attitudes and perceptions, as well as sex, have been shown to impact criminal behavior or lack of it. This research seeks to discover if, when each of these components is involved, reintegrative shaming punishments will find success.

Having provided an overview of important research, chapter 3 provides a detailed overview of the methodology used in this thesis.

CHAPTER 3 - Methodology

Research Hypotheses

Past studies on Reintegrative Shaming Theory have examined the impact reintegrative shaming has on recidivism (Baumer et al. 2002, Tyler et al., 2007) as well as how reintegrative shaming operates within the family context (Hay 2001, Zhang & Zhang, 2004). A study has yet to be conducted that examines if reintegrative shaming affects an offender's attitude toward future crime and future punishment. In an effort to remedy this omission, I will analyze the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) in Australia data to see if there is a relationship between a reintegrative shaming punishment (conference) versus a non-reintegrative punishment (court), and the impact each has on the offender's attitude towards future crime and punishment. These two types of shaming punishments: conferences and court will be discussed shortly. It is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 1: Conference attendees will have higher levels of attitudes favorable to law than court attendees.

Hypothesis 2: Conference attendees will have higher levels of deterrence attitudes than court attendees

Further, this study seeks to understand if this relationship differs by sex. A key assertion of Braithwaite (1989) is that females are more susceptible to shaming. I will test this assertion with the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3: Women, who attend a conference, will have higher levels of attitudes favorable to law than their male conference counterparts.

Hypothesis 4: Women, who went through a conference, will have higher levels of attitudes favorable to the law than women who went through a court case.

Hypothesis 5: Women, who went through a conference, will have higher levels of deterrence attitudes than their male conference counterparts.

Hypothesis 6: Women, who went through a conference, will have higher levels of deterrence attitudes than women who went through a court case.

The final hypotheses examined in this study address if females have higher levels of interdependency and communitarianism. Since this study seeks to understand the role sex plays

in reintegrative shaming punishments, it is important to test the effects of interdependency and communitarianism to develop a fuller understanding of the reintegrative shaming process. It is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 7: Females will have higher levels of interdependency than males.

Hypothesis 8: Females will have higher levels of communitarianism than males.

Research Design

Data

The research conducted utilizes secondary data analysis. The data come from the Reintegrative Shaming Experiment (RISE) project collected by Sherman, Braithwaite, Strang, and Barnes. This project compared the effects of standard court processing with the effects of a restorative justice intervention (conference). The data were collected in Australia from 1995-1999 and contain 1286 cases. There were four categories of cases included in the study. These offenses were drunk driving at any age, juvenile property offenses with personal victims, juvenile shoplifting crimes which were detected by security officers, and youth violent crimes (under 30 years of age).

The restorative justice intervention used in the experiments was conferences. Conferences involved the offender facing the victim in front of his or her family and friends. In addition, the offender had to discuss their wrongdoing and make repayment to society and the victim, both materially and emotionally. Police officers facilitated the conferences that typically lasted 90 minutes. Each conference involved observations by a trained RISE official to examine the level of reintegrative shaming involved. These officials examined if the offender accepted guilt, if he or she sought forgiveness, how much the offender was treated as a person and not a criminal, if the offender's friends and family were supportive. These questions ascertained if and when reintegrative shaming was used. After the conference, the offender was interviewed about their feelings before, during, and after the conference.

The conference differs significantly from court cases. Court cases were typically 10 minutes. They were traditional court proceedings with limited involvement of the offender. In the end, the offender was processed and punished. Typically, little or no reintegrative shaming took place in the court case. As in the conference, RISE trained officials observed the court cases

and the level and type of shaming involved. Additionally, the offender was interviewed about their feelings before, during, and after the court case.

Sherman and colleagues were testing four hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that there would be less reoffending after a conference. The second hypothesis was that victims would be more satisfied with the conferences than with a court proceeding. The third hypothesis was both offenders and victims would find conferences to be more fair. Finally, the fourth hypothesis was that the public costs of providing a conference would be no more than a court proceeding.

The study includes data from ongoing experiments examining the effects that court and conferences have on a select group of offenders. It is divided into seven sections. Section 1 contains administrative data such as the offense type, the assigned treatment, and BAC (blood alcohol content level) for drunk-driving offenders. Section 2-5 includes observations from RISE trained professionals about occurrences in court and conferences. These included information about how much reintegrative shaming was expressed, the offender's behavior, expressions of forgiveness or anger, and threats of violence or violence that occurred among others. Sections 6 and 7 were taken from interviews with the offenders conducted by RISE trained professionals after the court or conference. The variables in these sections generally ask about the offenders feelings before, after, and during their proceeding whether it be court or a conference. Finally, demographic variables were country of birth, race, gender, income, education, and employment.

Sample

Upon entry into the system, cases were randomly assigned to either conference or court. Police recommended cases to RISE, but offenders also had to meet certain eligibility requirements. The first of these requirements was that the offense committed was one of the target offenses (shoplifting, drinking and driving, youth violent crime, or juvenile personal property). The second requirement was that the offender had to have admitted responsibility for the offense. Approval to be admitted to the program by a sergeant was the third eligibility requirement. The fourth requirement was that there had to be no reason to believe the offender would object to a conference if that was the assigned treatment. The fifth requirement was that the offender had no outstanding warrants or bonds which required them to go to court. The offender had to live in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) region which was the sixth

eligibility requirement. The final requirement was the officer that referred the case to the RISE study agreed to accept the RISE recommendation for all offenders involved in the case.

The results reported for the interviews with offenders (sections 6 and 7) are based on different response rates for each offense type. The response rate for drinking and driving was 85 percent. For juvenile personal property offenses, the response rate was 76 percent. 73 percent was the response rate of offenders in juvenile shoplifting cases. Finally, youth violent crime had a response rate of 72 percent.

Progress Report

The final progress report for the RISE project was published in November 2000. Cases were admitted to the RISE study until July 1, 2000. This means that not all cases had the one and two year follow-up interviews regarding reoffending. From the current information available, the progress report presents evidence that in comparison to court, conferences cause a significant decrease in offending by violent offenders. They report it as 38 fewer crimes per 100 individuals per year. For drinking and driving cases, the report finds evidence that conferences cause a slight increase in offending. The rate presented in the progress report for drinking and driving cases is 6 crimes per 100 offenders per year. Finally, the final progress report found that there was a lack of any significant difference in the amount of reoffending between court and conference cases for both juvenile personal property offenses and shoplifting offenses.

The Present Study

The present study examines if offenders in conferences have more positive attitudes toward the law and higher levels of deterrence attitudes towards future crime and punishment. It will seek to understand if the conference experience increases positive attitudes about compliance behavior and perception of legitimacy of law among attendees. The data are from all four types of cases: juvenile personal property, juvenile shoplifting, juvenile violent crime, and drinking and driving included in the RISE research. The analysis includes information from sections 1, 6, and 7. Sex, court cases and conferences, as well as variables concerning offender attitude toward the law, deterrence attitudes, and several control variables are included in the analysis.

Variables

Dependent Variables

Attitude toward the Law

Attitude toward the law is one of the dependent variables in this study. It is utilized to better understand the influence the court proceeding or conference has on how the offender perceives the law and justice system. Attitude toward the law was constructed using three questions from the RISE study ($A = .80$). The questions ask about respect for law, police, and the justice system. Each was measured on a 5-point Likert scale from gone down a lot to gone up a lot. For attitude toward the law, the respondents could range from a low of three to a high of fifteen. Fifteen represents the highest level of attitudes favorable to the law. Appendix A provides more detailed information on the questions used to construct this variable.

Deterrence Attitudes

The deterrence attitudes scale represents the attitude the offender has post-conference or post-court towards future crime and punishment if caught again. Deterrence attitudes are measured using questions regarding the offender's perception of the wrongfulness of acts and future crime and punishment. Nine items from the RISE study are utilized to measure deterrence attitudes ($A = .71$). The questions ask the respondent about their feelings towards their offense, reoffending, wrongfulness of acts, and obedience. The specific questions can be found in Appendix A. Each question utilizes a Likert-scale measure. However, the Likert-scales of each variable were not the same. Therefore, the scores of the variables were standardized to make analysis more meaningful. Factor analysis was also conducted to insure the variables accurately measure the desired construct of deterrence attitudes. After examining the factor analysis and running reliabilities, it was decided that a single scale most accurately measured deterrence attitudes. The range of deterrence attitudes is from a minimum of -2.19 to a maximum of 0.98 with a mean of 0.0055.

Independent Variables

Interdependency

Interdependency represents individuals who are in dependent relationships with one another (e.g. parent/child relationship). The idea is about connections the individual feels to important others in their life. Theoretically, the more interdependent the individual is the more

the shaming punishment should impact them (Braithwaite, 1989). The interdependency scale was originally constructed using eight questions ($A=.7599$). However, after conducting a factor analysis, it was decided that two scales should be developed to most accurately measure the concept of interdependency.

Questions for the first interdependency scale, which will be called interdependency-respect, ask respondents about their friends' and families' response to their offense. Each of the questions included in this scale can be found in Appendix A. The questions all have Likert-scale response categories. The questions utilized did not have the same Likert-scale associated with them; therefore, the scores were standardized. The interdependency-respect measure ranged from a minimum of -1.41 to a maximum of 2.66 which represents the highest level of interdependency-respect. The mean for this scale was -.0014. The scale reliability analysis showed this scale to have an alpha of .7024 which is an acceptable score.

The second interdependency scale, which will be referred to as interdependency-family, asks the respondent about their emotional attachments to their family. It included six questions which are all located in Appendix A. The questions all utilize Likert-scales. The scores were standardized for this scale as well. The interdependency-family scale ranged from a minimum of -3.52 to a maximum of 1.25. The mean score for this scale was .0005. The scale reliability analysis showed this scale to have an alpha level of .8230, which is a very good measure.

Communitarianism

Communitarianism represents the deeply enmeshed connections an individual feels toward their community. The more enmeshed the individual is the more obligation to their community they will feel. Theoretically, the more connected the offender is to his/her community, the more responsibility he/she should feel to make it up to the victim and his/her community (Braithwaite, 1989). Eight questions from the RISE study will be utilized to construct this measure ($A=.79$). The communitarianism scale is constructed from questions regarding the offender's feelings towards their society and their offense. Each question had Likert-scaling response categories. However, each question did not utilize the same Likert-scale so the scores had to be standardized. The exact questions can be found in Appendix A. Factor analysis was conducted prior to the creation of this scale to insure it accurately measured the construct of communitarianism. After examining the results and running reliabilities, it was decided that a single measure of communitarianism was best. Finally, communitarianism has a

range from a minimum of -2.17 to a maximum of 1.51 with a mean of -.0044. The higher the score, the more communitarianism the individual reports feeling.

Sex

Sex will be utilized in the study to investigate the role it plays in shaping attitudes toward the law and general deterrence after a reintegrative shaming punishment (the conference). Responses are dummy-coded with 0 for males and 1 for females.

Court or Conference (Treatment)

Court or conference will be utilized as the key treatment variable in the study. The conference is the reintegrative shaming punishment. Court is utilized as the disintegrative shaming punishment. Therefore, this variable was dummy coded for a better analysis of the impact of the reintegrative shaming punishment. The coding was 0 for court and 1 for conference. The original question can be found in Appendix A. This variable will be referred to as treatment for the remainder of the analysis.

Control Variables

Education

Education is measured by years of formal schooling in the RISE data. This item was measured on a scale from 0 which represented no formal schooling to 12 representing completion of secondary year 12. The original scale was maintained in this research. The question and scale can be found in Appendix A.

Employment

The measure from the RISE data that is used in this study asks the offender about their employment status within the last six months. The exact question can be located in Appendix A. There are eight response options: employed full time for pay (1), employed part time for pay (2), unemployed and looking (3), unemployed and not working (4), retired from paid work (5), a full time school/university student (6), home duties (7), and other (8). This variable was re-coded into a dummy variable. The categories selected were 0 for unemployed and 1 for employed.

Income

Income is measured using categories ranging for a yearly income less than \$3,000 to a yearly income of more than \$100,001. Additionally, respondents were given the option to not

report income. Also, a “don’t know” category was provided for respondents. Appendix A provides the exact question and detailed answer categories.

Age

Age is a continuous measure in the RISE data. For this research, the age measure was left continuous. It was left continuous because it provides more information than if it were broken into categories and it allows for a more in-depth analysis of each participant and the potential impact age could have on this research.

Type of Offense

There were four types of offenses: juvenile personal property, juvenile shoplifting, drunk driving, and juvenile violent crime. These were the only four offense categories included by Sherman and colleagues in the RISE data and thus each case fell into one of these four categories. Due to the very different nature of each offense, it is important to control for the effect the type of offense may have on attitude toward law and deterrence attitudes. These categories were a string variable in the original data. Therefore, a series of dummy variables were created. For example, one dummy variable is for juvenile personal property as 1 and all the other offense categories as 0. This was done for each offense category. Juvenile violent crime was the reference category during analysis.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using SPSS, a statistical analysis package used in the social sciences. The first step in this research process was looking at descriptive statistics for each variable. The second step involved developing scale measures of four of the variables: attitude toward the law, deterrence attitudes, interdependency, and communitarianism. For each of these, factor analysis and scale reliability were conducted to ensure each scale accurately measured the construct it was designed to measure. Finally, multivariate regression was utilized as the main source of analysis. However, several pretests were conducted before running the final analysis. These pretests included bivariate correlations and testing for multicollinearity.

Independent Samples T-Tests

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to test for the hypothesized relationships between sex and interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, and communitarianism. This was done to see if females did report higher levels on each of the aforementioned variables.

Multivariate (OLS) Regression

Multivariate regression or ordinary-least-squares regression was the chosen method of analysis for this research. It was selected for its robustness in explaining relationships among variables. Multivariate regression is useful for two major reasons. First, it allows for a fuller explanation of the dependent variable or variables as is the case in this study. It will allow for a deeper understanding of attitude toward the law, deterrence attitudes, interdependency, and communitarianism. The second reason it is useful is that it makes the “effect of a particular variable more certain, for the possibility of distorting influences from the other independent variables is removed” (Lewis-Beck, 1980:47). Thus, this analysis will allow me to see what the effect of reintegrative shaming and sex are on attitude towards the law and deterrence attitudes more clearly.

Specifically, two block-type regression models were run. Model 1 analyzes the relationship between the independent and control variables with attitude toward the law. Model 2 regresses deterrence attitudes and the independent and control variables. Block-type regression was selected because it allowed the variables introduced into each block to be analyzed for the impact each had on dependent variable. The concepts were entered into the model based on the primary research interests of this thesis. This research was particularly interested in understanding the relationship between attitudes toward the law, sex (female), and shaming treatment (court or conference).

Limitations

As with any study, there are certain limitations that are present. One limitation of the study is that it was conducted in Australia. This means that the results are only generalizable to Australia and perhaps other similar cultures such as New Zealand. Thus, the application of these findings to the United States may be somewhat limited. However, it can provide insight into other forms of punishment that are showing effective results and could have potential for use in other nations such as the United States. The ideal scenario would be to utilize the RISE questionnaire as a format to develop a similar study within the United States.

Another limitation of the study is that, although it was collected by Braithwaite and colleagues, it does not really measure attitudes as well as it could. The questions that were utilized to construct the scales were the best available. Ideally, I would include questions

regarding feelings of respect, trust, equity of enforcement of law to better understand the way conferences impact these feelings. Also, I would include measures of emotional attachments to friends that were similar to those measures of family emotional attachments. I would construct them in the same manner as the questions regarding familial emotional attachment with a 5 point Likert-scale for responses.

Also, the data have a few issues that could have skewed the results. First, the data is predominately male. This could limit the effect of sex on attitudes just because it is mostly male. Additionally, there was missing data. The data were still in the process of being collected when the dataset was released so there were some data that had not been entered. These cases were removed from the analysis. However, the data that are missing, while not believed to be dramatically different than the other cases, should not but could shift the findings to some degree. Ideally, it would be best to re-run this analysis when all the cases have been included and to try to collect more data on females to better analyze the relationship between treatment (i.e. conferences) and sex.

The next chapter discusses the findings of each of the pretests that were run as well as the major findings of the regression models.

CHAPTER 4 - Findings

This chapter presents the results of analysis of the eight aforementioned research hypotheses. First, descriptive statistics provide an overview of the study variables. Second, there is a discussion of the factor analyses and the scale reliability analyses for each of the variables that were created in this research. Specifically, these variables are attitude toward the law, deterrence attitudes, interdependency, and communitarianism. Third, the chapter presents tests for multicollinearity and a correlation matrix to further develop the understanding of the interrelationships among the variables prior to regression. The results of independent samples t-tests for interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, communitarianism, and sex are presented fourth. Fifth, the results of regression analysis are presented and discussed. Ordinary least square (OLS) regression was utilized to test attitudes toward the law and deterrence attitudes.

Descriptive Statistics

Independent Variables

Several demographic variables from the RISE study are incorporated into this research to develop a fuller understanding of the sample population. These characteristics were included to offer insight into the factors that might impact the success or failure of the reintegrative shaming punishment (i.e. conferences) in addition to independent variables: treatment and sex. The demographic characteristics which were included are age, income, offense type, education, and employment. Additionally, descriptive statistics for the two independent variables: sex and treatment were also conducted. Table 4-1 shows the frequencies, percentages, and measures of central tendency for all of these variables.

Table 4-1 Descriptive Statistics for all Independent Variables

	<i>Cases</i>	<i>Percentages/Means</i>
Offender Age	1286	Mean = 26.44
SES	946	Mean = \$35,001 to \$40,000
Employment	967	Employed 47.4% Unemployed 27.8%
Education (years)	986	Mean = Secondary year 11
Offense Type	1286	JPP 13.7% JPS 9.5% JVC 6.9% PCA 69.9%
Offender Sex	982	Male 76.2% Female 23.8%
Treatment	970	Court 48.9% Conference 51.1%
Interdependency-Respect	952	Mean = -.0014
Interdependency-Family	960	Mean = .0005
Communitarianism	844	Mean = -.0044

The age range of the sample is continuous as stated previous. The mean age of the sample is 26.44 years.

Gross family income is measured in income categories per the RISE data. The income categories from the RISE data were maintained for this research. The exact income categories are as follows: Less than \$3,000 per year....01, \$3001 to \$5,000 per year....02, \$5001 to \$8,000 per year....03, \$8,001 to \$12,000 per year....04, \$12,001 to \$16,000 per year....05, \$16,001 to \$20,000 per year....06, \$20,001 to \$25,000 per year....07, \$25,001 to \$30,000 per year....08, \$30,001 to \$35,000 per year....09, \$35,001 to \$40,000 per year....10, \$40,001 to \$50,000 per year....11, \$50,001 to \$60,000 per year....12, \$60,001 to \$70,000 per year....13, \$70,001 to \$80,000 per year....14, \$80,001 to \$90,000 per year....15, \$90,001 to \$100,000 per year....16 and More than \$100,000 per year....17. Additionally, the respondents were offered the categories of don't know....18 and refused....19. The mean income of families reported in the data is \$35,001 to \$40,000 a year.

Employment was re-coded into the categories of employed and unemployed. The majority of the sample is employed (47.4%).

Another demographic characteristic that is utilized is education. Education is measured in terms of years of school completed. The average level of education for the sample is completion of secondary grade 11.

Finally, offense type is examined for its importance in the study. The most common offense type is overwhelmingly PCA (Proscribed Content of Alcohol) (69.9%) which is driving under the influence. The other types of cases were juvenile personal property (JPP) (13.7%), juvenile shoplifting (JPS) (9.5%), and juvenile violent crime (JVC) (6.9%).

Offender sex is dummy coded such that 0 represents males and 1 represents females. The sample is predominately male (76.2%) with females making up less than a quarter (23.8%) of the respondents.

The treatment variable is another dummy coded variable with 0 representing a court case and 1 representing a conference. The sample is fairly evenly split between court and conference. Conferences were held for 51.1% of the respondents and court was given to 48.9% of the respondents.

Interdependency is measured using two scales. The first, interdependency-respect, is a standardized scale. The scale ranges from -1.41 below the mean to 2.66 above the mean. The

mean of the scale is -.0014. The higher the score is above the mean, the higher the level of interdependency-respect the individual reports.

The second interdependency scale is interdependency-family. It is a standardized scale. The scale has a mean of .0005. The scale ranges from -3.52 below the mean to 1.25 above the mean. The higher the score is above the mean, the more emotional attachments the individual reports feeling towards their family.

Communitarianism is a constructed scale measure variable. This scale is standardized. The mean score on this scale is -.0044. The scale ranges from a low of -2.17 below the mean to a high of 1.51 above the mean. The higher the score on the communitarianism scale, the more communitarian the individual feels towards their society.

Descriptives for Dependent Variables

As discussed in chapter 3, the dependent variables are scales constructed from questions within the RISE data. The descriptive statistics of these scales are shown in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2 Descriptive Statistics for all Dependent Variables

<i>Variable Name</i>	<i>Cases</i>	<i>Distribution</i>
Attitude toward the Law	958	Mean = 10.21
Deterrence Attitudes	935	Mean = .0055

The attitude toward the law scale is constructed such that respondents can score a low of 3.00 to a high of 15.00. The higher the score the more positive the attitude toward the law the respondent reports. The mean of the scale was 10.21, which represents a fairly moderate attitude toward the law.

The deterrence attitudes scale is a standardized scale. Deterrence attitudes is constructed such that respondents can score a low of -2.19 below the mean to a high of 0.98 above the mean. The mean of the scale is .0055. Therefore, the higher the score is above the mean, the more communitarianism the individual feels in their life.

Factor Analysis

A factor analysis was conducted for each of the scaled variables. This was conducted to insure each variable used loaded well with the others, thus creating a good measure of each

construct. After reviewing the findings, changes were made to only one of the scales, the interdependency scale. One question was completely removed from the interdependency scale as it did not load well with any of the other questions. The factor analysis, also, revealed that two scales should be created to more accurately measure interdependency. Therefore, I created a scale that measured interdependency in relation to loss of respect in important relationships and one that measured interdependency in terms of emotional attachments to family. The results of the factor analysis are available in Appendix B.

Scale Reliability Analysis

Four of the variables at use in this research are scales. These scales are constructed from the questions in the RISE data. Due to this, reliability analysis was run for each scale. This was done in order to ensure each scale properly measured the construct it was designed to measure. Alpha levels were examined to ensure the reliability of each construct. Alpha is “the proportion of a scale’s total variance that is attributable to a common source, presumably the true score of the latent variable” (DeVellis, 2003:31). The higher the alpha score, the more reliable the scale is theorized to be and the more accurately it is measuring the latent variable. Commonly, an alpha of 0.7 is considered respectable and 0.8 is considered to be very good or excellent (DeVellis, 2003:95-96). Thus, these levels are aimed for and achieved in this research.

Reliabilities

Scale reliability analyses were run for attitude toward the law, deterrence attitudes, interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, and communitarianism. The results of each of these are shown in Table 4-3. The attitude toward the law scale is considered to be an excellent measure of the respondents’ attitudes toward the law based off the alpha score ($\alpha=.80$). The deterrence attitudes scale has an alpha of 0.7131 and is considered to be a respectable measure of the attitudes the respondents hold regarding future misconduct and punishment. Interdependency-respect has an alpha of 0.7024 which, again, is a respectable measure of this construct. Interdependency-family has an alpha of 0.8230 which means it is an excellent measure of the construct. Finally, communitarianism has an alpha of 0.7965 and is considered to be a respectable measure of the construct.

Table 4-3 Scale Reliability Analysis for all Scaled Items

<i>Variable Name</i>	<i>Number of Items</i>	<i>Cronbach's Alpha</i>
Attitude toward the Law	3	0.8005
Deterrence Attitudes	9	0.7131
Interdependency		
-Respect	4	0.7024
-Family	6	0.8230
Communitarianism	11	0.7965

Multicollinearity

The nature of OLS regression requires testing to insure there is not multicollinearity among the variables. Absence of multicollinearity is an assumption of OLS regression. Multicollinearity is when “one independent variable is perfectly correlated with another independent variable or linear combination of other independent variables” (Lewis-Beck, 1980:58). The Durbin-Watson test statistic is used to test for multicollinearity. Specifically, it seemed possible that interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, and communitarianism might exhibit multicollinearity due to the closely related nature of these variables. A Durbin-Watson value close to 2.0 represents no autocorrelation. If the statistic is near 0.0 then there is positive autocorrelation. If the statistic is near 4.0, then there is negative autocorrelation. The Durbin-Watson value between the interdependency variables and communitarianism is 1.773 which means no autocorrelation exists between these two constructs. Also, a model with all the interdependency-family and communitarianism variables and interdependency-respect was run and has a Durbin-Watson of 1.607 showing no autocorrelation. Finally, an analysis was run with interdependency-family and the communitarianism and interdependency-respect variables and was found to have a Durbin-Watson of 2.059 which again shows no autocorrelation. The actual analysis can be seen in Appendix C.

Correlation Matrix

The correlation matrix reveals the interrelationships between all the variables. It provides a basic knowledge of how the variables relate to one another and indicates the significance of the relationships between the variables. This provides important insight and information on what relationships to further analyze as the research process continues. Table 4-4, on the following page, provides the correlation matrix for all the variables at use in this research. Also, it shows the significance levels of the relationships between the variables at the .05 and .01 levels.

Examination of Table 4-4 reveals several significant relationships among the variables. For this thesis, for example, it reveals that treatment is significantly correlated with interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, communitarianism, attitude toward the law, and deterrence attitudes at the .01 level. Each of these variables is positively correlated with treatment. Also, interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, and deterrence attitudes are all moderately correlated with treatment. Attitude toward the law and communitarianism are strongly correlated with treatment. These relationships are hypothesized to be important and significant in this research and the correlation matrix provides a foundation that these relationships should be further analyzed.

However, the correlation matrix does not show a significant correlation between sex and treatment, which was hypothesized to be important. However, sex was found to have a significant correlation with communitarianism and deterrence attitudes which coincides with the hypothesized relationships. Additionally, the correlation matrix reveals the significant correlations between deterrence attitudes, attitude toward the law, interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, and communitarianism with the control and independent variables. Thus, the correlation matrix reveals the important role these independent and control variables could be playing in shaping the outcome of the dependent variables. It will be important to pay attention to these significant correlations to see if the strength of the relationships holds in the regression models.

Table 4-4 Correlation Matrix for all the Variables

	<i>Age</i>	<i>Educ.</i>	<i>SES</i>	<i>Employ</i>	<i>JPP</i>	<i>JPS</i>	<i>JVC</i>	<i>PCA</i>	<i>D.A.</i>	<i>I.F.</i>	<i>I.R.</i>	<i>Comm.</i>	<i>Treat.</i>	<i>Sex</i>
Age	1.00													
Educ.	.215**	1.00												
SES	-.066*	-.044	1.00											
Employ.	.349**	.159**	-.024	1.00										
JPP	-.380**	-.119**	.108**	-.355**	1.00									
JPS	-.299**	-.098**	.117**	-.335**	-.129**	1.00								
JVC	-.208**	-.050	.131**	-.174**	-.109**	-.088**	1.00							
PCA	.591**	.176**	-.220**	.563**	-.607**	-.493**	-.416**	1.00						
D.A.	.063	-.005	.046	.043	.058	.020	-.112**	.002	1.00					
I.F.	.186**	.033	.045	.095**	-.122**	-.072*	-.021	.146**	.252**	1.00				
I.R.	-.136**	-.022	.085*	-.103**	.201**	.116*	-.051	-.194**	.498**	.145**	1.00			
Comm.	.120**	.040	-.023	.118**	-.067	-.137**	-.147**	.213**	.672**	.348**	.473**	1.00		
Treat.	.040	-.006	.039	.058	-.038	.022	.004	.011	.262**	.124**	.139**	.389**	1.00	
Sex	-.065*	-.038	-.060	-.036	-.094**	.106**	.006	-.004	.091**	.037	.041	.134**	-.025	1.00
A.T.L.	.153**	.051	-.007	.136**	-.072*	-.029	-.100**	.122**	.418**	.241**	.169**	.487**	.427**	-.011

*p<.05, **p<.01

D.A. = deterrence attitudes, I.F. = interdependency-family, I.R. = interdependency-respect A.T.L. = attitude toward the law

Independent T-Tests

Independent samples T-tests were used to analyze the relationship between sex (female) and the variables interdependency-family, interdependency-respect, and communitarianism. Reintegrative Shaming Theory hypothesizes that females are more susceptible to shaming because they are more interdependent than males. Thus, this research has hypothesized that females would be significantly more likely to report higher levels of interdependency-family, interdependency-respect, and communitarianism than their male counterparts. Independent samples t-tests were selected to analyze these relationships because of their ability to isolate the effect each variable has on sex (female). The results of the analysis are presented below.

Interdependency

The first T-tests analyze the construct interdependency. Interdependency was divided into two scale measures: interdependency-respect and interdependency-family. Separate T-tests were used for both interdependency scales.

Interdependency-Family

An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the reported levels of interdependency-family for males and females. This was done to see if males and females vary on the scale constructed measuring interdependency-family. The interdependency-family measure examines the emotional connections the offender feels towards his/her family. Table 4-5 presents the results of this analysis. The results showed there was not a significant difference in the scores for males ($M = -.0150$, $SD = .7428$) and females ($M = .0473$, $SD = .6834$) for interdependency-family; $t(955) = -1.131$, $p = .258$. These results indicate that females do not report significantly higher levels of interdependency-family as was hypothesized. Although there were significantly more males than females in the sample, even when equal variances were not assumed the results continued to show the relationship to be non-significant.

Interdependency-Respect

Another independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the reported levels of interdependency-respect for males and females. The analysis was conducted to see if females and males vary on the scale constructed measuring interdependency-respect. Interdependency-respect

is a scale that addresses whether or not the offender feels they lost respect or honor amongst friends and family due to their offense. Table 4-5 presents the results of the analysis. The results showed there was not a significant difference in the scores for males ($M = -.0204$, $SD = .7420$) and females ($M = .0517$, $SD = .7628$) for interdependency-family; $t(947) = -1.273$, $p = .203$. The results, thus, show that females do not report significantly higher levels of interdependency-respect than males as was hypothesized. Although there were significantly more males than females in the sample, even when equal variances were not assumed the results continued to show the relationship to be non-significant.

Communitarianism

The final independent samples t-test that was conducted was to compare the reported levels of communitarianism for males and females. The independent samples t-test was conducted to see if females and males vary on the scale construct measuring communitarianism. The communitarianism scale addresses feelings of social obligation and social responsibility that the offender may or may not hold. Table 4-5 shows the results of the t-tests. The results of the t-test indicate that there is a significant difference in the scores for males ($M = -.0470$, $SD = .5623$) and females ($M = .1339$, $SD = .5922$) for communitarianism; $t(841) = -3.922$, $p = .000$. Thus, the results show that females do report significantly higher levels of communitarianism than males as was hypothesized. This indicates that females report significantly higher amounts of feelings of social obligation and social responsibility than their male counterparts.

Table 4-5 Independent Samples T-Tests

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Interdependency-Family			-1.131	955	.258
Male	-.0150	.7428			
Female	.0473	.6834			
Interdependency-Respect			-1.273	947	.203
Male	-.0204	.7420			
Female	.0517	.7628			
Communitarianism			-3.922	841	.000
Male	-.0470	.5623			
Female	.1339	.5922			

Multiple Regression Analysis

Attitude toward the Law

A block-type multiple regression was selected for analysis of attitude toward the law. This was done to better understand the impact that specific sets of variables had on attitude toward the law. The block-type regression consisted of four models. Each model introduced new variables to see the impact each had on the dependent variable. The concepts were entered into the model based on the primary research interests of this thesis and based on Reintegrative Shaming Theory so that the theory would accurately be tested. Each variable represented a key concept from either Reintegrative Shaming Theory or a key concept within criminological literature. This research was particularly interested in understanding the relationship between attitudes toward the law, sex (female), and shaming treatment (court or conference). The results from the analysis are displayed in table 4-6 below.

The first block model introduced the variable sex (female) to determine whether or not females and males vary in their attitudes toward the law. It was found that the variable sex, in this case being female, did not display a statistically significant relationship with attitude toward the law. In other words, males and females score, on average, approximately the same on the composite scale measuring attitude toward the law. It should be noted, however, that there were substantially fewer females in the sample (~23%). The negative unstandardized coefficient ($b = -.0636$) demonstrates that females score lower on favorable attitudes toward the law than males, but again, it is not a statistically significant relationship. The R-square statistic for this model shows the very limited role that sex is playing in this model ($R^2 = .001$).

The second model of the block-type regression included the variables sex (female) and treatment (conference) to see their impact on attitude toward the law. This was done to determine whether or not conference attendees and court attendees vary in their attitudes toward the law. The R-square statistic for this step in the model is .188. This indicates that 18.8% of the variance in attitude toward the law is explained by the variables in this step of the model. The change in R-square from the first step to the second model was found to be significant.

It was found that having gone through a conference was positively related to attitude toward the law ($b = 2.240$). Sex continues to be non-significant. Taking part in a conference was significantly related to attitude toward the law. It was found that going through a conference

increased the reported level of attitudes favorable to the law by 2.240 units when controlling for sex.

The third model in the regression introduced the variable communitarianism to the aforementioned variables. Communitarianism was added to determine whether those who report high levels of communitarianism and those who report low levels of communitarianism vary in their attitudes toward the law. Communitarianism is a key concept within Reintegrative Shaming Theory. It is a quality that is said to increase the effectiveness of the shaming process. The R-square statistic for this step in the model is .305. This means that 30.5% of the variance in attitude toward the law can be explained by the variables in this step of the model. The change in R-square from the second to the third model was found to be significant.

Two of the variables were found to have positive, significant relationships. Conference treatment was still found to be positive, and significant ($b = 1.461$). According to the model, it was found that being in a conference produces a 1.461 unit change in attitude toward the law when controlling for sex (female) and communitarianism. This means that conference attendees do report, on average, more favorable attitudes towards the law than court attendees, when sex (female) and communitarianism are controlled for. Additionally, the relationship is moderately strong ($\beta = .284$).

Communitarianism was found to have a positive, significant relationship with attitude toward the law as well ($b = 1.684$). According to the model, individuals who reported higher levels of communitarianism reported 1.684 units higher on attitudes favorable to the law than individuals who reported lower levels of communitarianism when controlling for sex (female) and treatment (conference). In other words, individuals who report high levels of feelings of social obligation and social responsibility report, on average, significantly more favorable attitudes towards the law than those who do not report these feelings, when controlling for sex (female) and treatment (conference). The relationship between communitarianism and attitude toward the law is a strong relationship ($\beta = .378$). The Betas indicate that communitarianism has a stronger relationship to attitude toward the law than conference attendance. This means that communitarianism has more profound impact on attitude toward the law than conference attendance.

The final model in the block-type regression introduced the various other independent variables. The following variables were entered into this model: interdependency-respect,

interdependency-family, drinking and driving offenses, juvenile shoplifting, juvenile property offenses, age, education, employment, and SES. Communitarianism and conference treatment continue to be significant. In addition, the following relationships were found to be significant: interdependency-respect, juvenile shoplifting, age and employment. The R-square statistic is .320 in this step of the model. This indicates that 32% of the variance in attitude toward the law is explained by the variables in this model. The R-square change from the third to the fourth models was significant.

The pattern of relationships for conference and communitarianism mirror the previous block models in that the variables remain significant. In addition, communitarianism continues to demonstrate the strongest relationship with attitude toward the law.

Interdependency-respect was found to have a negative, significant relationship with attitude toward the law ($b = -.305$). According to the model, a unit increase in interdependency-respect produces a $-.305$ decrease in reported attitudes favorable to the law when controlling for the other variables in the model. This means that as individuals report higher levels of feeling loss of respect among their family and friends, they report, on average, lower levels of attitudes favorable to the law. Additionally, the strength of this relationship was found to be weak ($\beta = -.086$).

Three offense categories (which are dummy variables) are compared to the omitted category, violent offenses. Juvenile violent crime was chosen as the reference category because the other offense categories are of particular interest to the Reintegrative Shaming framework and are conceptually distinct from violent crime. Of the three offense categories included in the model, only juvenile shoplifting was found to have a positive, significant relationship with attitude toward the law ($b = .881$). It was found that individuals committing juvenile shoplifting offenses scored $.881$ units higher on the attitude toward the law scale than individuals in the juvenile violent crime category when controlling for the other variables in the model. That is, when controlling for the other variables in the model, those who commit juvenile shoplifting report a higher score on attitude towards the law than those in the omitted category (juvenile violent crime). Additionally, it was found that the relationship was weak ($\beta = .094$) with a shift into the juvenile shoplifting offense category producing a $.094$ standard deviation increase in attitude toward the law.

Age was found to have a significant, positive relationship with attitude toward the law ($b = .02278$). According to the model, a unit increase in age produces a .02278 unit change in attitude toward the law when controlling for the other variables in the model. This means that older individuals report higher levels of favorable attitudes toward the law, a result that is not surprising since the age crime curve indicates that individuals between the ages of 15-25 are those most likely to commit crimes. Additionally, it was found that the strength of this relationship is weak ($\beta = .102$) which shows that a standard deviation increase in age produces a .102 standard deviation increase in attitude toward the law.

The final significant relationship was employment. Employment had a positive significant relationship with attitude toward the law. According to the model, employed persons report .417 units higher on attitude toward the law than unemployed persons when controlling for the other variables in the model. This result is not surprising considering that employed individuals have a greater stake in conformity than individuals who are unemployed. Additionally, it was found that the strength of this relationship is weak ($\beta = .078$) which shows a shift from unemployed to employed produces a .078 standard deviation increase in attitude toward the law.

Deterrence Attitudes

Block-type regression was also used to analyze the relationship between deterrence attitudes and the independent variables. This method was chosen because it allows for a better understanding of the impact specific sets of variables have on the dependent variable. Each of the variables selected for analysis were chosen because each represents a key concept within the Reintegrative Shaming framework or key concept within criminological literature. The key concepts of Reintegrative Shaming Theory were entered first to accurately test the theory. The other variables are concepts that have been found to be of general importance based on prior criminological literature. Of particular interest to this research were the variables deterrence attitudes, sex (female), and shaming treatment (court or conference). To better isolate the effect of these variables, block-type regression was selected. Table 4-7 shows the results of the analysis. The block-type regression analysis consists of four models.

The first model in the analysis examined the relationship between sex (female) and deterrence attitudes to determine whether females and males vary in deterrence attitudes. Sex (female) was found to have a positive, significant relationship with deterrence attitudes ($b = .125$). According to this model, females report .125 units higher on the deterrence attitudes scale than their male counterparts. In other words, females score, on average, higher on the composite scale measuring deterrence attitudes. The R-square statistic for this step is .008. This means that 0.8% of the variance in deterrence attitudes is explained by the variable sex.

The second model in the regression added treatment type (conference) to the model. This was done to determine whether conference attendees and court attendees vary in deterrence attitudes. The R-square statistic in this model is .091. This means that 9.1% of the variance in deterrence attitudes is explained by the variables sex (female) and treatment type (conference). The R-square change between the first and second model was significant.

According to this model, both sex and treatment type were found to be significant and positively related to deterrence attitudes ($b = .136$ and $b = .324$, respectively). The results show that females report .136 units higher on deterrence attitudes than males when controlling for conference treatment. In other words, females and males do vary in their reported levels of deterrence attitudes with females reporting, on average, higher levels of deterrence attitudes. The

strength of this relationship is weak ($\beta = .104$). This indicates that a shift from male to female produces a .104 standard deviation change in deterrence attitudes.

Also, conferences were found to be significantly associated with higher levels of deterrence attitudes. Specifically, the results showed that conferences produced a .324 unit increase in deterrence attitudes when controlling for sex. The strength of this relationship is moderate ($\beta = .290$). The results show that taking part in a conference produces a .290 standard deviation increase in the reported levels of deterrence attitudes. The Betas indicate that conference attendance has a stronger relationship with deterrence attitudes than sex (female). This means that conference attendance plays a more significant role in shaping deterrence attitudes than sex (female).

The third model in the regression introduces the variable communitarianism. Communitarianism is introduced to determine whether individuals who report high levels of communitarianism and individuals who report low levels of communitarianism vary on the composite scale measuring deterrence attitudes. The R-square statistic for this model is .455. This indicates that 45.5% of the variance in deterrence attitudes is explained by the variables in the model. The change in R-square between the second and third model was significant.

The only variable that was significant in this step of the model was communitarianism. Communitarianism is a key concept in Reintegrative Shaming Theory. It is a quality that makes the shaming process more successful. Communitarianism was found to be positively and significantly related to deterrence attitudes ($b = .648$). According to the model, a unit increase in deterrence attitudes produced a .648 unit increase in deterrence attitudes when controlling for sex (female) and treatment (conference). The strength of this relationship is strong ($\beta = .665$) which means that a one standard deviation increase in communitarianism produces a .665 standard deviation increase in deterrence attitudes. Also, in this step, sex and treatment type lose their significance. This means that communitarianism explains away the significance of sex and treatment type in relation to deterrence attitudes.

The final model of the block-type regression includes all the variables at use in this research. These variables are sex, conference, communitarianism, interdependency-respect, interdependency-family, drinking and driving offenses, juvenile shoplifting, juvenile personal property offenses, education, employment, age, and SES. The R-square statistic for the final model is .514. Therefore, 51.4% of the variance in deterrence attitudes is explained by the

variables in the model. The change in the R-square statistic from the third to the fourth model is significant. Communitarianism, interdependency-respect, juvenile shoplifting, juvenile personal property, age and employment were all found to have a significant relationship with deterrence attitudes.

The pattern of relationship for communitarianism mirrors the previous block model in that it remains significant. It continues to demonstrate the strongest relationships with deterrence attitudes (beta = .578).

Interdependency-respect was significant and positive in this model (b = .147). According to the model, a unit increase in interdependency-respect results in a .147 unit increase in deterrence attitudes when controlling for the other variables in the model. These results mean that individuals who report feeling loss of respect with friends and family report higher levels of deterrence attitudes than individuals who do not report feeling a loss of respect with friends and family. The strength of this relationship was moderate (beta = .192). This indicates that a one standard deviation increase in interdependency-respect produces a .192 standard deviation increase in deterrence attitudes. This Beta is the second strongest Beta in the model.

Three offense categories (which are dummy variables) are compared to the omitted category, violent offenses. Juvenile violent crime was chosen as the reference category because the other offense categories are of particular interest to the Reintegrative Shaming framework and are conceptually distinct from violent crime. Of the three offense categories included in the model two offense categories were found to have significant relationships: juvenile shoplifting and juvenile personal property offenses.

The offense type of juvenile shoplifting was found to have a positive, significant relationship with deterrence attitudes (b = .242). According to the model, juveniles, who committed shoplifting offenses, report .242 units higher on deterrence attitudes when controlling for the other variables in the model. Of the three offense types, juvenile shoplifting and juvenile personal property were both significant. That means, when controlling for the other variables in the model, those who commit juvenile shoplifting offenses report, on average, a higher score on deterrence attitudes than those in the omitted category (juvenile violent crime). Also, the relationship was weak (beta = .119) which means that individuals committing shoplifting offenses report .119 standard deviations higher on the deterrence attitudes scale.

Juvenile personal property offenses were also found to be significantly and positively related to deterrence attitudes ($b = .221$). According to this model, individuals, who committed personal property offenses, reported .221 units higher on deterrence attitudes when controlling for the other variables in the model. That indicates, when controlling for the other variables in the model, those who commit juvenile personal property offenses report, on average, a higher score on deterrence attitudes than those in the omitted category (juvenile violent crime). Additionally, this relationship is weak ($\beta = .119$). This means that individuals in the juvenile personal property offense category report .119 standard deviations higher on the deterrence attitudes scale.

Age was another variable found to be significant in this model. Age was positively and significantly related to deterrence attitudes ($b = 4.106E-03$). According to the model, a unit increase in age produces a 4.106E-03 unit change in deterrence attitudes when controlling for the other variables in the model. This means, on average, older individuals score higher on the composite scale measuring deterrence attitudes than younger individuals. The age result is not surprising given the age crime curve which indicates that people over the age of 25 commit far fewer crimes than those under the age of 25. The strength of this relationship was weak ($\beta = .084$). The beta score indicates that a one standard deviation change in age results in a .084 unit increase in deterrence attitudes.

The final relationship that was found to be significant was employment. Employment was found to have a positive, significant relationship with deterrence attitudes ($b = 7.512E-02$). According to the model, employed persons report 7.512E-02 units higher on deterrence attitudes than unemployed persons when controlling for other variables in the model. This means that, when controlling for the other variables in the model, people who are employed report higher on the composite scale measuring deterrence attitudes than unemployed persons. This could be due to the higher stake in conformity that individual has due to a desire not to jeopardize their employment. The strength of the relationship was weak ($\beta = .065$). This indicates that employment produces a .065 standard deviation increase in deterrence attitudes.

Table 4-7 Block Type Regression Model: Deterrence Attitudes

	<i>Block 1</i>			<i>Block 2</i>			<i>Block 3</i>			<i>Block 4</i>		
	b	S.E.	B	b	S.E.	B	b	S.E.	B	b	S.E.	B
Female	.125**	.046	.096	.136**	.044	.104	-3.04E-02	.035	-.002	9.037E-03	.033	.007
Conference				.324***	.038	.290	3.264E-02	.034	.029	3.101E-02	.031	.028
Communitarianism							.648***	.028	.665	.563***	.033	.578
Interdependency- Respect										.147***	.023	.192
Interdependency- Family										2.382E-02	.021	.031
Drinking and Driving (PCA)										-2.967E-02	.070	-.023
Juvenile Shoplifting (JPS)										.242**	.079	.119
Juvenile Personal Property (JPP)										.221**	.076	.119
Age										4.106E-3**	.001	.084
Education										-3.19E-3	.004	-.020
SES										5.574E-04	.003	.005
Employed										7.512E-2*	.034	.065
Adjusted R²			.008**			.091***			.455***			.514**

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 [Reference offense category = juvenile violent crime (JVC)]

CHAPTER 5 - Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter 4 detailed the findings of the research analysis. In this chapter, I provide a restatement of the purpose of this study and a brief discussion of the major findings of the research. This is followed by a discussion of the significance of this study and areas of expansion and modification this research holds for Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Finally, this chapter includes a detailed discussion of policy implications and suggestions for future research.

Restatement of the Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the relationship between Reintegrative Shaming Theory and attitudes. It seeks to expand the current knowledge of Reintegrative Shaming Theory as well as add to the theory. This study tests the key concepts of Reintegrative Shaming Theory: reintegrative shaming, disintegrative shaming, communitarianism, interdependency, and sex. In addition, it adds the concept of attitude to the theory. It seeks to understand if and how the attitudes of offenders are being shaped by the shaming experience. In addition, it looks specifically at the role of sex within the shaming experience and the attitudinal outcome, which has not been tested thoroughly.

The theory of Reintegrative Shaming theorizes that a reintegrative shaming punishment will produce more law abiding behavior in the future because it does not isolate the offender from the law-abiding community. On the other side, it theorizes that a disintegrative shaming punishment is believed to lead to future deviance because it isolates the offender from the law-abiding community. Additionally, it postulates that interdependency, communitarianism, females, married persons, people with high educational and occupation aspirations, and persons under 15 and over 25 are more susceptible to shaming. Therefore, this research does its best to include all of these characteristics to generate an accurate test of the theory.

In addition, this research examines the role of attitudes. Attitudes are theorized to shape future compliance behavior based off previous research (Murphy and Tyler, 2008, and Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). Attitudes are defined as the emotions, feelings, or mental positions one holds towards a fact or object. Therefore, this research theorized that more positive attitudes would be produced by a reintegrative shaming punishment than a disintegrative shaming punishment.

Specifically, this research was interested in two attitudes: attitude toward the law and deterrence attitudes. Attitude toward the law seeks to understand the offender's attitude about law, law enforcement, justice, etc. and deterrence attitudes examine the perception the offender holds about future deviance and punishment. This research sought to understand if undergoing a reintegrative shaming punishment (conference) would produce a significant change in these two attitudinal measures. It was theorized that having been through the conference would produce an increase in positive attitudes towards the law and deterrence attitudes.

In addition, this thesis examined the role that sex, specifically being female, played in shaping both the reintegrative shaming experience and the attitudinal outcome. Based on Reintegrative Shaming Theory, it was hypothesized that females would report significantly higher levels on both attitude measures. This is due to the fact that the theory hypothesizes females to be more susceptible to shaming.

In addition, Reintegrative Shaming Theory consists of two key concepts communitarianism and interdependency. Again, based on the theory itself, it was hypothesized that females would report higher levels of both communitarianism and interdependency. This is largely because Braithwaite believes females to be more connected to others and concerned about these relationships. Thus, interdependency and communitarianism were tested with sex to accurately test the whole theory.

Additionally, interdependency and communitarianism, based on Reintegrative Shaming Theory, are supposed to increase the success of the shaming experience. Therefore, these measures were included in the regression analysis to see if they do in fact influence the conference treatment and, thus, the attitude outcome as well. This, again, provides for an accurate test of the theory by including its key components in the analysis.

In conclusion, this research is not only a test of Reintegrative Shaming Theory but an expansion of it. It examines each of the key components of RST and adds the role of attitude. It sought and accomplished a fuller understanding of both the theory and the role of two attitudes in the reintegrative shaming experience.

Summary of Key Findings

After reviewing the key findings for each model, the results show some support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory. It was found for both the attitude toward the law model and the

deterrence attitudes model that communitarianism and treatment (conference) are significant. Communitarianism was found to be the most important factor in shaping positive attitudes of offenders for both attitude toward the law (beta = .411) and deterrence attitudes (beta = .578). Thus, societies in which the individual feels social obligation and social responsibility a shaming punishment will result in positive attitudinal outcomes according to this study.

Communitarianism was found to explain away the significance of both sex and treatment for the deterrence attitudes scale. In addition, communitarianism was found to be reported at significantly different levels by males and females which supports hypothesis eight. Thus, it is clear that communitarianism is playing an important role in the reintegrative shaming process.

In addition, conferences produced significantly higher levels of both positive attitudes towards the law ($b = 1.376$) and deterrence attitudes ($b = .324$). Conferences were found to play a significant role in each step of the model for attitudes towards the law. Hypothesis one was supported by this finding because it theorized conference to produce higher levels of positive attitudes towards the law than court proceedings. This result indicates that shaping positive attitudes about law and law enforcement is done more successfully by conferences than by court proceedings.

For deterrence attitudes, the results indicate that while conferences do play a significant role in shaping attitudes that significance can be explained away by the addition of communitarianism. This indicates that feelings of communitarianism play a greater role for deterrence attitudes than conference treatment does. Thus, this finding shows only partial support for the hypothesis two which expected conferences to produce higher levels of deterrence attitudes throughout the model.

Both of these results support Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Braithwaite theorized that communitarianism and reintegrative shaming punishments would produce more law abiding citizens. Although it is unknown whether these individuals continued on in deviant behavior, it is clear that both communitarianism and the reintegrative shaming punishment (conference) shape the individual's attitude toward the law and deterrence attitudes positively. In addition, some research has shown that positive attitudes will produce positive behavior (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003, and Murphy and Tyler, 2008). Therefore, it is logical to think those individuals, with positive attitudes after the conference, are more law abiding than those who had negative attitudes.

Additional support for Reintegrative Shaming Theory was found in the fact that females, who were theorized to be more susceptible to shaming, were found to have a significant relationship with deterrence attitudes prior to the addition of communitarianism and throughout the attitude towards the law model. This finding supports the idea that females are more susceptible to shaming in relation to attitudes. These results suggest that both sex (female) and a reintegrative shaming punishment (conference) are shaping deterrence attitudes in a significant manner prior to taking communitarianism into account. This means that communitarianism is playing a stronger role and can explain away the significance of sex and treatment. The results of this analysis suggest partial support for hypotheses five and six. These two hypotheses theorized females to respond more positively on the deterrence attitudes scale than males who went through a conference and females who went through a court case, respectively.

Females were not found to respond with higher levels of positive attitudes towards the law than males at any point in the block-type regression model. This indicates that females do not respond differently than males to reintegrative shaming and their attitudes are a reflection of this for the attitude toward the law scale. This indicates that hypothesis three should be rejected. These hypotheses suggested that females, who went through a conference, would report higher on this scale than males who went through a conference too. The findings also suggest the rejection of hypothesis four which theorized females, who went through the conference, to respond more positively than women who went through a court case.

However, there were some findings that did not support Reintegrative Shaming Theory. Braithwaite (1989) theorized females to be more interdependent than males and this relationship was not found to be significant for either measure of interdependency. The results showed there was not a significant difference in the reported levels of interdependency by males and females as measured by the constructs in this research. Therefore, the Braithwaite's claim that females are more interdependent is not supported by this research and hypothesis seven should be rejected.

Thus, as with past research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory, this research shows mixed results. Some of the findings are supportive of Reintegrative Shaming Theory and the hypotheses of this research while others do not support Reintegrative Shaming Theory or the hypotheses of this research. The results of this research in relation to the research hypotheses are displayed in table 5-1 below.

Significance of the Findings

This research shows the significance of communitarianism. This means that fostering feelings of social obligation and social responsibility creates more positive attitudes on these two measures than if the offender does not feel these things. Thus, Reintegrative Shaming Theory is supported in its theorizing that communitarianism makes shaming more successful. This matters tremendously for the criminal justice system. This indicates that fostering feelings of communitarianism and societies that are more communitarian by nature could find success in integrating reintegrative shaming punishments.

Additionally, these findings support the idea that reintegrative shaming punishments alter the attitudes of the participant. The two attitudes in this research were found to significantly increase if the offender was female (for deterrence attitudes), went through a conference, and reported feelings of communitarianism. This all supports Reintegrative Shaming Theory and, again, suggests that it could be met with success if it were put into practice. However, this thesis should be taken as a starting point for more research. More research is necessary in order to accurately understand the role attitudes are playing in the reintegrative shaming process and how these findings could be implemented into the criminal justice system.

However, it is important to note another finding of this research. The results of the analysis did indicate that certain offense types work better than others for Reintegrative Shaming Theory. This finding is important because it shows that, like any theory, Reintegrative Shaming Theory may be better at explaining certain types of crime and responses to punishment than other types of crime and responses to punishment. Thus, again, it is clear that more research needs to be done to understand the connections between certain offenses and the success of reintegrative shaming.

Finally, the results of this analysis show the importance of further study of Reintegrative Shaming Theory and attitudes. The results show that another type of system might work better than the ones that are currently in place. It suggests that certain offenses may respond better to reintegrative shaming punishments than others and that this could result in more success in fostering non-deviant behavior in the future. Additionally, the results are important because they indicate that feelings of social obligation and social responsibility can drastically alter the outcome of a reintegrative shaming experience. Those individuals who report high levels of communitarianism are responding more positively towards the punishment as measured by their

attitude. In conclusion, the significance of this study is that it finds support for the role of the key concepts of Reintegrative Shaming Theory in shaping attitudes in a positive direction. It also shows that other systems, such as a reintegrative shaming system, may work better at fostering compliance but more research will continue to be needed to accurately test these connections.

Expanding and Modifying Reintegrative Shaming Theory

The results, however, do suggest the potential for modification of the theory. It was found that certain offenses have significant relationships with the two attitude measures. This suggests that certain types of offenses may be better suited for conferences and for fostering feelings of interdependency, communitarianism, positive attitudes towards the law and deterrence attitudes. Thus, this theory could be modified to address the types of offenses that are most suited for being dealt with through conferences and perhaps begin to question why each type of offense responds in the way it does.

In addition, it could be expanded to include a focus on the impact that emotions and attitudes are playing in shaping the future behavior of the offender through creating positive attitude outcomes. The present research shows that conferences, communitarianism, and sex play significant roles in shaping a positive outcome in terms of attitude. Thus, it stands to reason that the more positive the attitude the offender leaves with the more likely they are to behavior in a non-deviant manner. However, more research is needed to more fully understand this relationship to see if there is connection between Reintegrative Shaming Theory, attitudes, and behavior.

Finally, the theory needs to be expanded to fully understand the role of feelings of social obligation and social responsibility. Throughout each model, it was found that communitarianism always had the strongest relationship with the attitude measure. This indicates that communitarianism is playing a very large role in shaping a positive or negative outcome. Reintegrative Shaming Theory needs to be expanding in relation to separating out social obligation and social responsibility to fully understand why these feelings can foster such positive outcomes. It needs to be expanded to understand if there is a difference between feelings of social obligation and feeling of social responsibility and if so which is predominate in shaping positive outcomes.

This research shows that Reintegrative Shaming Theory still has room for growth and development to make the theory better. It has been found that a reintegrative shaming experience can positively influence two attitude measures. Also, communitarianism has been found to play a significant role in this process. These findings suggest that future research seek to expand Reintegrative Shaming Theory to see what offenses it works best for, the importance of communitarianism, and, finally, the role of attitudes and emotions. This will, I believe, expand the theory and make it a stronger theory in explaining deviant behavior.

Table 5-1 Results of Hypothesis Testing

<p>Hypothesis 1 <i>Conferences attendees will have more favorable attitudes toward the law than court attendees.</i></p>	<p>Supported</p>
<p>Hypothesis 2 <i>Conference attendees will have higher levels of deterrence attitudes than court attendees.</i></p>	<p>Partially Supported</p>
<p>Hypothesis 3 <i>Women, who went through a conference, will have higher levels of attitudes favorable to the law than their male conference counterparts.</i></p>	<p>Rejected</p>
<p>Hypothesis 4 <i>Women, who went through a conference, will have higher levels of attitudes favorable to the law than women who went through a court case.</i></p>	<p>Rejected</p>
<p>Hypothesis 5 <i>Women, who went through a conference, will have higher levels of deterrence attitudes than their male conference counterparts.</i></p>	<p>Partially Supported</p>
<p>Hypothesis 6 <i>Women, who went through a conference, will have higher levels of deterrence attitudes than women who went through a court case.</i></p>	<p>Partially Supported</p>
<p>Hypothesis 7 <i>Females will have higher levels of interdependency than males.</i></p>	<p>Rejected</p>
<p>Hypothesis 8 <i>Females will have higher levels of communitarianism than males.</i></p>	<p>Supported</p>

Policy Implications

As a sociologist, it is important to examine the implications that research has for policy. This study provides insight into the effective use of reintegrative shaming conferences. It suggests that conferences can be very effective at shaping offenders' attitudes and revealing to offenders the importance of their relationships and connections within their society.

From the analysis one thing is clear, treatment matters. In both of the models, it was found that conferences consistently increased the dependent variable. It was found to increase more favorable attitudes towards the law. Also, it increases deterrence attitudes prior to the addition of communitarianism. The implication of this research is to utilize conferences over traditional court proceedings. The reason for this is that treatment increased the positive outcome of each dependent variable. Additionally, it is important to utilize this method because previous research has shown that feelings of legitimacy towards the law result in lower recidivism (Murphy and Tyler, 2008, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). This research builds on these findings by showing that conferences encourage positive attitudes and thus should reduce recidivism, although this would need to be studied in more detail.

Communitarianism was found to have the strongest relationship with both attitudes toward the law and deterrence attitudes. Those individuals who report high levels of feelings of social obligation and social responsibility are more likely to report higher on both attitude scales. Thus, this implies that communitarianism is an important part of the reintegrative shaming process. In addition, it shows that the more the individual can be made to feel their violation of their society and understand how they jeopardize important relationships the more likely their attitude will be changed in a positive direction.

Alongside this, it was found that the type of offense mattered for the outcome. Certain offense categories responded more positively toward the outcome measures and other offense categories did not. This suggests that not all offense types will respond the same in relation to attitude toward the law and deterrence attitudes. For example, juveniles in the personal property offense category reported higher levels of positive attitudes towards the law and deterrence attitudes compared to those in the juvenile violent offense category.

Thus, this implies that certain offenses may be more susceptible to shaming and attitude shaping. More research will need to be conducted to analyze these relationships further. The implication of this is that, while conferences do work more effectively and are preferable to more

traditional procedures, it is important to fully understand the offenses that respond the most positively towards the desired outcomes. Further research would need to be conducted to better understand the interactions between offense type, treatment, and desired outcomes.

Overall, it appears that using conferences over more traditional proceedings is desirable and that treatment, communitarianism, and offense type matter. There are offenders who will respond in more desirable ways if afforded the opportunity to go through a reintegrative shaming experience. In order to make this change, I would recommend beginning with juveniles. This is largely because the public are less afraid of these types of offenders, especially those that are non-violent. This method would work well because it would not only allow a more in-depth analysis of the impact of treatment but would also afford the opportunity to find out the offense types reintegrative shaming works best for. After establishing the success of this method with juveniles, the transition to older offenders could be easier for the public. In addition, throughout this transition and after it, it would be necessary to continue to do research to ensure the method maintains its effectiveness.

Future Research

The research conducted here provides many opportunities for future research. One finding that has consistently been suggested that needs further research is treatment and attitudes. The results show that treatment has an impact on each of the attitudes measured in this thesis. There are numerous other attitudes that could be measured relating to deterrence, law, justice, crime, etc. It will be important to use this thesis as a starting point for better understanding the role of reintegrative shaming in shaping offenders' attitudes, either positively or negatively.

Another key would be to address the offender's perception of legitimacy of the reintegrative shaming punishment. It would be interesting to see if offenders view this punishment as a legitimate punishment or not and how that perception is effecting future behavior. This research could be conducted quite easily by simply adding questions to the current RISE questionnaire that address offender attitudes towards various concepts.

Another key area that will need research is reintegrative shaming in America. The RISE experiments occurred in Australia. Although similar in some respects, there is more racial and ethnic diversity in America that could influence the reintegrative shaming process that was not seen in Australia. The results could show that certain racial groups respond more favorable

toward the shaming treatment than other racial groups. There is a lot of room for the results to shift due to the difference between these two countries. Additionally, America has some very deeply enmeshed racial and ethnic inequalities that could, again, influence the results either positively or negatively.

In addition to racial differences between Australia and America, there could be significant differences in income and education. America is a society in which there is an abundance of educational opportunities. This could present differences in the results when including education beyond high school. Also, there is income inequality within the U.S. that may or may not be present in Australia or perhaps may not be as severe in Australia. Thus, this could present differences in the results. In essence, there are enough differences between the two societies that a strictly American study is needed before it can be said that Reintegrative Shaming Theory and reintegrative shaming punishments are a good fit for American society. The RISE study could be used as a format from which to shape an American study.

Another area that should be researched is repeat offenders and reintegrative shaming. There is a lack of information out there as to what happens with offenders who repeatedly go through reintegrative shaming punishments. To my knowledge, no one has asked about repeat offenders in conferences and their perceptions of the law or the conference itself. It would be interesting to see if conferences continue to produce more favorable attitudes towards the law and higher levels of deterrence attitudes after repeated exposure. It may be difficult to get this information but longitudinal data on offenders who have been through conferences could be maintained. This would allow for the same questions to be asked after each conference to see if as exposure to treatment increases, the amount of difference in attitudes remains the same.

Finally, future research should be conducted to analyze the relationship between treatment and offense type. Each of these variables played a significant role in all the models but the directionality of them was not always the same. This indicates that some offenses might be more likely to result in positive treatment outcomes than others. It will be important to study this to better understand how reintegrative shaming works and in what scenarios it works best, which will allow the most effective use of it. To study this, it would be necessary to utilize a variety of offense types and see how each responds to treatment through attitudinal measures, as well as, behavioral measures.

In summary, more research on Reintegrative Shaming Theory is needed. The results of this study show mixed support for the theory itself which necessitates further study. Additionally, this research adds the concept of attitude into the reintegrative shaming framework. Further research needs to examine attitudes to insure the accuracy of these findings and to expand on them into other attitudes that could be affecting behavior. Finally, research needs to be conducted on Reintegrative Shaming and attitudes in America to see if the results hold in a society as diverse as America. This will allow the theory to be expanded and modified or ruled out as necessary for its use in more diverse nations such as America. In closing, it is my hope that this thesis will serve as a starting point from which more research can dig deeper into the relationship between Reintegrative Shaming Theory and attitudes.

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Appendix A - Questions from RISE used in variables

Attitudes toward the Law Questions

1. As a result of the conference/court has your respect for the justice system...
1 gone down a lot 2 gone down a little 3 not changed 4 gone up a little 5 gone up a lot
2. As a result of the conference/court has your respect for the law...
1 gone down a lot 2 gone down a little 3 not changed 4 gone up a little 5 gone up a lot
3. As a result of the way your case was handled would you say your respect for the police has...
1 gone down a lot 2 gone down a little 3 not changed 4 gone up a little 5 gone up a lot

Deterrence Attitudes Questions

1. If you were caught for the same kind of offense again and went to court, how much of a problem would it create for your life? Do you think that it would create...
1 no problem at all 2 a little problem 3 some problem 4 a big problem
2. If you were caught for the same kind of offence again and went to a conference, how much of a problem would it create for your life? Do you think that it would create...
1 no problem at all 2 a little problem 3 some problem 4 a big problem
3. If you committed another offense like the one that got you into trouble how likely is it that you would be caught? Do you think it would be...
1 very unlikely 2 fairly unlikely 3 fairly likely 4 very likely
4. How wrong do you think it is to shoplift?
1 okay 2 not that bad 3 kind of wrong 4 wrong 5 very wrong
5. How wrong do you think it is to start a fight. To hit someone who is not looking for trouble...
1 okay 2 not that bad 3 kind of wrong 4 wrong 5 very wrong
6. How wrong do you think it is to drive when you are over the legal alcohol limit?
1 okay 2 not that bad 3 kind of wrong 4 wrong 5 very wrong
7. If we all respected the law, the quality of all our lives would be better. Do you...
1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 strongly agree
8. Do you now feel that the offence you committed was...
1 totally right 2 in some way right 3 neither right nor wrong
4 in some way wrong 5 totally wrong

9. During the conference/court case I felt the offense I committed was wrong.

1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it

Interdependency-Emotional Relations with Family Questions

1. My family loves me.

1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither 4 agree 5 strongly agree

2. I love my family.

1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither 4 agree 5 strongly agree

3. The conference/court case has brought my family closer together.

1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither 4 agree 5 strongly agree

4. The conference/court case increased the respect we have for one another in my family.

1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither 4 agree 5 strongly agree

5. I feel proud to be a member of my family.

1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither 4 agree 5 strongly agree

6. As a result of conference/court case, I feel more proud of being a member of my family.

1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither 4 agree 5 strongly agree

Interdependency-Respect Questions

1. During the conference/court case I felt like I had lost respect or honor among my family.

1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it

2. During the conference/court case I felt like I had lost respect or honor among my friends.

1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it

3. If caught for the same kind of offense again, how much of a problem would it create for you if your family and friends found out? Do you think that it would create.....

1 no problem at all 2 a little problem 3 some problem 4 a big problem

4. How ashamed or proud did you feel that your friends or mates found out about the offense you committed? (Reversed coded in this research)

1 very ashamed 2 ashamed 3 a little ashamed 4 neither 5 a little proud

6 proud 7 very proud 9 did not find out (1 very proud, 2 proud, etc.)

Communitarianism Questions

1. I felt bad in the conference/court because my actions had hurt others.
1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it
2. I felt bad in the conference/court case because everyone knew about the offense I had committed.
1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it
3. I felt good in the conference/court that I was able to face up to what I did.
1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it
4. During the conference/court case I felt bad because the offence I committed might have hurt someone.
1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it
5. During the conference/court case I felt worried what others thought of me
1 not at all 2 a little 3 quite a bit 4 a lot 5 felt overwhelmed by it
6. You regret putting other people at risk as a result of your offence...
1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 strongly agree
7. As a result of your offense you need to repay society in some way...
1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 strongly agree
8. The conference/court case allowed you to repay victim of your crime for harm that you caused them
1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 strongly agree
9. The conference/court case allowed you to repay society for your offense
1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 strongly agree
10. The conference/court case allowed you to clear your conscience
1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 strongly agree
11. As a result of your offense, others could have been hurt in some way. Do you...
1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 strongly agree

Control Variable Questions

Employment

Looking at the answers on this card, which best describes your situation during the last 6 months?

Working full-time for pay....1

Working part-time for pay....2

Unemployed and looking for work....3

Unemployed and not looking for work....4

Retired from paid work....5

A full-time school or university student....6

Home duties....7

Other (please specify)....8

Education

What is the highest grade or year of (primary or secondary) school you have completed?

No formal schooling.....00

Primary....

Grade 1.....01

Grade 2.....02

Grade 3.....03

Grade 4.....04

Grade 5.....05

Grade 6.....06

Secondary....

Year 7.....07

Year 8.....08

Year 9.....09

Year 10.....10

Year 11.....11

Year 12.....12

Race

Are you of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander heritage?

Yes.....1

No.....2

Treatment

What was the observed treatment?

1 Conference

2 Court Case

3 Caution

4 NETO

9 Unknown

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

If I give you this card, can you tell me the number which indicates the total (gross) annual income from all sources, before tax or other deductions, for you and your family living with you?

Less than \$3,000 per year....01

\$3001 to \$5,000 per year....02

\$5001 to \$8,000 per year....03

\$8,001 to \$12,000 per year....04

\$12,001 to \$16,000 per year....05

\$16,001 to \$20,000 per year....06

\$20,001 to \$25,000 per year....07

\$25,001 to \$30,000 per year....08

\$30,001 to \$35,000 per year....09

\$35,001 to \$40,000 per year....10

\$40,001 to \$50,000 per year....11

\$50,001 to \$60,000 per year....12

\$60,001 to \$70,000 per year....13

\$70,001 to \$80,000 per year....14

\$80,001 to \$90,000 per year....15

\$90,001 to \$100,000 per year....16

More than \$100,000 per year....17

Don't know....18

Refused....1

Appendix B - Factor Analysis

Factor analysis was conducted for each of the scaled variables. The result for each of these variables is displayed below.

Communitarianism

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3
I felt bad my actions had hurt someone	.392	.666	8.110E-02
I felt bad everyone knew what I did	1.956E-02	.851	7.656E-02
Felt good to face up to what I did	.467	.245	.317
Felt bad I might have hurt someone	.335	.444	.550
I felt worried what others thought	1.383E-02	.820	.112
Regret putting others at risk	1.006E-02	5.003E-02	.756
Need to repay society in some way	2.351E-02	-1.42E-02	.771
Allowed you to repay society	.759	9.991E-02	.228
Allowed you to repay victim of crime	.792	4.075E-02	-6.16E-02
Allowed you to clear your conscious	.805	6.934E-02	3.206E-02
As a result of offense, others could have been hurt	.237	.202	.652

Interdependency

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3
I felt I had lost respect among family	-6.79E-02	.798	.118
I felt I had lost respect among friends	-4.59E-02	.772	5.694E-02
I feel proud to be a member of my family	.816	3.992E-02	.226
Proud or ashamed felt that your friends found out about offense	5.867E-02	.620	.109
As a result of case, more proud to be member of family	.208	6.974E-03	.802
Case increased respect within family	.159	.126	.836
Case brought family closer together	.151	9.599E-02	.843
My family loves me	.901	2.907E-02	.168
I love my family	.913	7.041E-02	.138
How much of a problem if commit again and family/friends find out	4.532E-02	.630	.114

Deterrence Attitudes

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3
If caught again and had court	-8.95E-02	.141	.665
If caught again and had conference	4.55E-02	.130	.684
If commit again, how likely to get caught	.283	3.74E-02	.694
Wrong to shoplift	.286	.641	.155
Wrong to start a fight	.837	5.715E-02	2.838E-02
Wrong to drive over legal limit	.815	.151	4.513E-02
If all respected laws, lives would be better	.614	.265	.111
Now feel offense you committed was...	4.587E-02	.745	7.661E-02
I felt the offence I committed was...	.159	.800	.140

Appendix C - Multicollinerarity Tests

As stated, due to the close nature of interdependency and communitarianism, the Durbin-Watson statistical test was used to ensure there was no multicollinerarity between these two concepts.

Durbin-Watson—Communitarianism

<i>Model 1</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R²</i>	<i>Durbin-Watson</i>	<i>Significance</i>
	.558	.311	1.773	.000

Durbin-Watson—Interdependency

Interdependency-Respect

<i>Model 1</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R²</i>	<i>Durbin-Watson</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	.476	.227	1.607	.000

Interdependency-Family

<i>Model 1</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R²</i>	<i>Durbin-Watson</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	.352	.124	2.059	.000