

**Punitiveness Versus Child-saving: How Much are we Willing to
Pay?**

by

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Honours in Criminology

This thesis is presented in partial fulfilment requirements for the degree of Bachelor
of Criminology (Honours).

Murdoch University, 2014.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the public perceptions of the goals of the criminal justice system and attitudes towards juvenile delinquency. Public attitudes and criminal justice policies towards juvenile delinquents have continued to cycle between a rehabilitative and punitive response. These changes to policies have raised the question of whether the community continues to support the idea of saving young offenders or whether we should increase the length of sentences for juvenile offenders. Additionally, this study compared the relationship between socio-demographic variables and a child-saving attitude. Based on previous methodology used in the United States this study uses a contingent variable methodology to compare community attitudes towards rehabilitation and incarceration. The results indicate that that respondents are willing to spend as much on rehabilitation of juvenile offenders as they are on the incarceration of juvenile delinquents. Furthermore, participants in this study provided support for rehabilitative and utilitarian goals within the criminal justice system. The findings of this thesis suggest that the ideal of child-saving has persisted within the community and that policies should include rehabilitative and prevention intervention programmes for juvenile offenders.

Punitiveness versus Child-Saving: How Much Are we Willing to Pay?

1.0 Introduction

Juvenile offending remains at the forefront of issues raised within communities throughout Western Australia, however, members of the community remain unaware of the true rates of juvenile delinquency (Jones, Weatherburn & McFarlane, 2008). In Western Australian, a juvenile offender is defined as a person under the age of 18 who has committed an offence (Young Offenders Act 1994 WA s. 3). Within Australia, approximately 17-21% of young people have had at least one official contact with the criminal justice system, however, it is expected that the actual rates of juvenile offending are much higher (Livingston, Stewart, Allard & Ogilvie, 2008). Approximately, two thirds of the reported young offenders have only had one contact while the other one third of young offenders represent a disproportionately high amount of juvenile crime (Livingston, et. al., 2008). Some research has reported that Australia's imprisonment rate has risen by approximately 90% since 1980 and that there has been a reported increase in juvenile recidivism rates of about 60% in the last ten years (Kornhauser & Laster, 2014; Nisbet, Graham & Newell, 2012). In Western Australia, the rate at which juvenile offenders are detained has remained higher than the national average since 1990 (Richards, 2011). Official Australian statistics have reported an overall decrease in the number and rate of juvenile offenders in detention since 1980, yet a steady increase in the number of juvenile's detained has begun over the last ten years (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013; Richards, 2011). Within Australia, there is an average 150 young

offenders detained at any one time and the average amount of time in custody is less than three months (Livingston, et al., 2008).

The most concerning issue with high rates of juvenile offenders is the offending trajectory into a criminal career. Juvenile offenders who have come into contact with the criminal justice system previously, have committed prior offences and have been detained for a period of time, are significantly more likely to re-offend than juvenile offenders who have received a non-custodial sentence, including supervision or community service orders (Weatherburn, Vignaendra & McGrath, 2009). In New South Wales, approximately 68% of young people who have come into contact with the criminal justice system have had at least one subsequent re-appearance in either a juvenile or adult court (Chen, et. al., 2005). Similar results have been seen in Queensland, where 78% of young offenders have re-appeared in the adult criminal justice system at a later date (Lynch, et. al., 2003; Livingston, et. al., 2008).

Juvenile offenders represented within these offending trajectories are more likely to come from more disadvantaged backgrounds compared to the general population (Livingston, et. al., 2008). Indigenous Australian juvenile offenders are over-represented in trajectory groups characterised by moderate to high frequency, early onset and chronic offending (Livingston, et. al., 2008). Indigenous Australians aged 10-17 years old are 23 times more likely to be in detention than their non-Indigenous counterparts (Goldsmith & Halsey, 2013). Indigenous Australians who come from a background of maltreatment are four times more likely to offend than their non-Indigenous counterparts (Harris, 2003). The disadvantaged background of Indigenous young offenders increases their vulnerability to the criminogenic environment of the criminal justice

system (Livingston, et al., 2008) This criminogenic upbringing highlights the need for preventative and rehabilitative interventions for Indigenous juvenile offenders (Goldsmith & Halsey, 2013).

Members of the public often report the perception that prisons are as much of a school of crime for young offenders as they are to a response to crime (Roberts & Hough, 2005). The school of crime stigmatisation is associated with the belief that offenders leave prison more dangerous, more likely to offend in the future and more knowledgeable about new ways to commit crimes (Roberts & Hough, 2005). At best, Nagin, Cullen & Jonson (2009) have refuted these concerns with estimates that prison will have no effect of recidivism rates, however, most research has found that juvenile offenders who receive a custodial sentence are more likely to re-offend than their counterpart offenders who receive a non-custodial sentence (Jones & Weatherburn, 2011). It has been suggested that custodial sentences increase the risk of juvenile re-offending because of the stigmatisation attached to the sentence, the criminogenic environment in which the sentence is played out and the negative impact the sentence will have on the young offender's ability to obtain an income and socially acceptable lifestyle through legitimate means (Weatherburn, Vignaendra & McGrath, 2009). In contrast, rehabilitation and crime prevention programmes remove the stigmatisation and criminogenic environment that is attached to a prison sentence whilst reducing opportunities to commit crime and increasing the risks and difficulty in doing so (Welsh & Farrington, 2012). In order to decrease juvenile offending and recidivism rates, alternative rehabilitation and prevention programmes should be made available for young offenders as an opportunity to improve themselves (Roberts & Hough, 2005).

1.1 Child-Saving

The child-saving movement began at the end of the nineteenth century as part of the Industrial Revolution with the unprecedented aim to protect children from physical and moral harm (Moon, et. al., 2000). These aims were advocated through the abolishment of child labour laws and the establishment of compulsory schooling and children's playgrounds in order to emphasize the increasing gap between childhood and adulthood and encourage positive community engagement (Moon, et. al., 2000). Specifically, within the criminal justice system, child-saving lends itself to a focus on prevention and rehabilitation (Baker, et. al., 2013). The first juvenile justice system opened in Illinois, America, in 1899 aiming to embody these child-saving goals and sparking the international expansion of the juvenile justice system throughout America, influencing Australia's juvenile justice policies (Mears, et. al., 2007).

The child-saving approach is based on the idea that juvenile offenders are more amenable to outside influences and, therefore, less responsible for their actions (Moon, et. al., 2000). There were two types of children who were presumed to need saving through assistance and supervision: at-risk youths and minor offenders (Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009). It was believed that at-risk youth and minor offenders specifically needed assistance because they were the ones least likely to get the necessary attention elsewhere (Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009). It was further understood that the young offenders were not fully developed in terms of their social, emotional and cognitive capabilities increasing their susceptibility to peer influences and making them more impulsive and less future-oriented (Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009).

The child-savers, as they were called, were responsible for the creation of new legal and correctional institutions to accommodate the needs of young offenders (Platt, 1969). The establishment of the first juvenile justice system was influenced by the public opinion of causes and appropriate responses to juvenile crime (Baker, et. al., 2013). This juvenile justice system was based on the idea that a separate system needed to be established for juvenile delinquents because, unlike adults, juveniles were unlikely to benefit from a punishment-based environment (Moon, et. al., 2000). The establishment of the juvenile justice system was based on the philosophy of *parens patriae* meaning “state as parent” (Mears, Hay, Gertz, & Mancini, 2007). It was argued that the juvenile justice system should take a parental-inspired role aiming to protect the young offender from the negative influences of the criminal justice system (Moon, et. al., 2000). Moreover, this new system aimed to protect the society that the juvenile offender was intended to be re-integrated back into (Moon, et. al., 2000).

More than that, though, this philosophy obligated the court to also provide them with any material and developmental supports, including education and mentoring opportunities, that may not have been provided to them and mandated the courts to protect the young people from themselves (Fagan, 2010). The juvenile justice system aimed to make young offenders desist from crime or anti-social behaviour and help them understand and acknowledge the consequences of their actions (Raine, 2014). Judge Julian W. Mack suggested that it was the duty of the state to not punish or humiliate a young offender but instead to uplift and develop them “to make him not a criminal but a worthy citizen” (Mack, 1909, p. 107).

The child-saving movement highlighted the importance of individualised case management within the juvenile justice system (Mears, et. al., 2007). For juvenile offenders there has been a push for sentences to include elements of the rehabilitation and restoration principles (Raine, 2014). Juvenile court authorities have defined the court process as an opportunity to address any child welfare issues within a case, rather than a place of legal adjudication (Tappan & Nicolle, 1962). The primary mission of the juvenile courts and their authorities is to ensure that young offenders received the services and resources necessary to help them improve their behaviour as highlighted through the individualised case management system (Mears, et. al., 2007). Throughout Australian jurisdictions, it is the primary objective to rehabilitate juvenile offenders wherever possible, as emphasised Western Australia's welfare-driven approach (Martin CJ, October 2014).

1.2 Juvenile Justice System

Despite these intentions, over the last fifty years criminal justice policies have oscillated between a punitive approach and an emphasis on child-saving (Baker, et. al., 2013). The final three decades of the 20th century have trended towards a "get tough" approach to juvenile delinquency, including increased punishments as inspired by the "Nothing Works" approach (Baker, et. al., 2013). In this approach the rehabilitative process was undermined by Martinson's view that nothing works, which began to dominate public opinion and criminal justice policies (Perelman & Clements, 2009). It was believed that crime was increasing, rehabilitation did not work and that criminals should be punished (Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986). This view sparked the beginning of "knowledge

destruction”, a criminological exploration into what does not work to reduce crime as opposed to what does (Cullen & Gendreau, 2001). The “get tough” and “nothing works” ideologies legitimised the infliction of pain on offenders through mass incarceration, tightened surveillance within the community and the replacement of treatment and corrections with boot camps and maximum security (Listwan Jonson, Cullen & Latessa, 2008). The primary concern of the criminal justice system became the use of tougher sentences to deter criminals and protect society, with sentencing becoming harsher in the UK, America and Australia (Cullen, Cullen & Wozniak, 1988; Kornhauser & Laster, 2014). In Western Australia this “get tough” approach was embodied in the late 1980’s when the Juvenile Justice system shifted from a “welfare” based approach to a more formal model based on the “get tough” ideals (Alder, 1994). This shift included the approval of legislation where juvenile offenders, particularly Indigenous offenders, could be sentenced as adults and detained in an adult prison without consideration of release for up to 18 months (Jackson, 1993).

In contrast, the beginning of the 21st century has embraced a more treatment-oriented approach to delinquency (Baker, et. al., 2013). Government reports, legislation and policy statements have continued to support the intention of diverting young people away from contact with the criminal justice system (Muncie, 1991). The Australian Capital Territory reformed its juvenile justice system aiming to improve the community re-integration process for juvenile offenders embracing a rehabilitative ideal by incorporating juvenile rehabilitation and prevention programmes (Wyles, 2009). Specifically, the changes to Australian Capital Territory have included the building of a new juvenile detainment centre and the implementation of new juvenile justice

policies and legislation (Wyles, 2009). This has included the establishment of Cognitive Behavioural Treatment programmes for appropriate juvenile sex offenders decreasing recidivism rates and a young offender's interaction with the criminal justice system (Hanser & Mire, 2008). Furthermore, a number of jurisdictions have increased the number of juvenile justice officers working with young offenders and increased the availability of family, group and individual-based crime prevention programmes (Nisbet, Graham & Newell, 2012; Warrington & Wright, 2003). These alterations have also decreased juvenile recidivism rates and increased the young offender's place as an engaged member of the community (Warrington & Wright, 2003).

1.3 "Getting Tough" on Juvenile Crime

Since its beginning, the juvenile justice system has undergone amendments and formalisations that highlight a juvenile's legal entitlements including providing young offenders with due process rights that adult offenders see in the adult criminal justice system including the right to counsel (Mears, et. al., 2007). The actual practice of many of these changes was not enough to decrease the contact young offenders had with the juvenile justice system. It was this formalisation that laid the groundwork for future "get tough" changes to the juvenile justice system including the introduction of mandatory sentences and "three-strikes" legislation (Mears, et. al., 2007; Sundt, et. al., 1998). Another prominent change within the juvenile justice system included making it easier to transfer juveniles into the adult criminal justice system at a younger age and for more offences (Piquero & Steinberg, 2010). Many of these changes to the juvenile justice system are influenced by the idea that the public no longer supports the idea that young offenders deserve a second chance (Moon, et. al.,

2000). Instead these changes were based on the public belief that young offenders were being coddled within the juvenile justice system leading to a rise in juvenile crime (Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009).

It has been suggested that the changes to the aims of the juvenile justice system have been the result of two key factors: high rates of serious juvenile crime and a shift in public attitude towards juvenile offenders (Moon, et. al., 2000). The continued support for harsher penalties has been based on the notion that crime poses a direct threat to society (Kugler, et. al., 2013). Specifically, the explanations provided for a more punitive approach have included a higher crime rate, broad cultural and political changes, political process, a war on drugs and penal populism (Johnson, 2009). This public fear of, and concern about, crime has been highlighted throughout the media, thought to be a reflection of public attitudes (Baker, et. al., 2013).

Juvenile offenders are often portrayed as a breed of hardened, remorseless and savvy super-predators by the media (Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009; Piquero & Steinberg, 2010). This stereotyped juvenile offenders has influenced the widespread fear of juvenile crime and public support of toughening the juvenile justice system (Mears, et. al., 2007). Some of the more prominent public opinions have suggested that this super-predator forms part of a lost generation and the only solution to prevent future juvenile crime is to detain the juvenile offenders in a secure environment where they cannot be a danger to themselves or the community (Piquero & Steinberg, 2010).

1.3.1 The Costs of Juvenile Crime. It has been estimated that juvenile crime costs the United States approximately \$158 billion each year (Welsh, et. al., 2008). Specifically, a young person's criminal career can cost society between

\$80,000 to \$325,000, however, this estimate does not take into account any further costs that may be imposed if their criminal career continues into adulthood (Welsh, et. al., 2008). The placement of a monetary value on juvenile offending can be seen as an over-politicised attempt to justify punitive crime policies, however, it can also highlight the justifications of the child-saving ideals of the juvenile justice system and its prevention and rehabilitation programmes (Welsh, Loeber, Stevens, Stouthamer-Loeber, Cohen & Farrington, 2008). There is evidence that prevention and rehabilitation interventions reduce recidivism, show greater savings of tax-payer money and are more effective for young offenders than a criminal career or prison sentence, particularly for high-risk juveniles (Piquero & Steinberg, 2010).

1.4 A Community-Based Approach to Juvenile Justice

In all Australian states, the juvenile justice system offers a youth justice conference as an effective alternative to a formal court trial for young offenders (Stewart & Smith, 2004). Based on the principles of restorative justice a youth justice conference acts as a way to divert juvenile delinquents from the formal criminal justice system (Stewart & Smith, 2004). At the time of the offence, police officers have the legislative discretion to decide how to deal with the young offender. A quantitative study of police officers in Queensland reported that police officers would refer a young person to a youth justice conference regardless of their experience or training (Stewart & Smith, 2004). Furthermore, the police officers surveyed reported an overall positive feeling about youth justice conferencing. The police attitudes and their willingness to take a flexible approach to juvenile offenders has been noted as part of the success in

implementing youth justice conferencing around Australia. It is this similar attitude that has led to the success in implementing a community-based approach to policing (Stewart & Smith, 2004).

A community policing approach attempts to foster a sense of community and increase informal policing, whilst strategically decreasing punitive attitudes within the community (Somerville, 2009). Eight Australian police jurisdictions have pledged their support and use of community policing through various annual reports and strategic plans (Fleming & O'Reilly, 2008). This approach highlights a public partnership with the community and other community organisations to align their commitment to preventing and reducing crime within that community (Somerville, 2009; Fleming & O'Reilly, 2008). Despite a positive and wholistic implementation of community policing in the UK and the USA, Australia's prioritised police functions, and funding, are influenced by stakeholder and community expectations which has led to a fragmented implementation of the community policing approach (Fleming & O'Reilly, 2008).

In Australia and New Zealand, the prioritised functions of police services include prompt responses to calls, protection of residents and fighting crime (Beck, Boni & Packer, 1999). Few studies have been conducted in Australia to scrutinise public perceptions of our police. In 1999, police officers and members of the public in Queensland and Western Australia were surveyed to discover their view of priorities within the police (Beck, Boni & Packer, 1999). Those who participated in this study, as both members of the public and police officers, reported that responding to emergencies, arresting offenders and investigating crime ranked highly in terms of present and preferred priorities. This study then categorised the reported activities as the *provision of advice* and *crime*

investigation as consistent factors that should be prioritised by the police force (Beck, Boni & Packer, 1999). Specifically, the provision of advice to residents and helping victims of crime can be useful in emphasising child-saving attitudes and decreasing punitive attitudes throughout the community.

1.5 Public Support for the Juvenile Justice System

Judicial and political leaders often claim that decisions made within the criminal justice system reflect public opinions, however, it is unclear whether public opinion influences policies or whether policies influence public opinion (Costelloe, Chiricos & Gertz, 2009). Politicians and policy-makers often rely on public opinion polls when reforming or creating criminal justice policies (Sprott, 1999). Public polls consistently report crime and safety as a major concern for communities today (Sundt, et. al., 1998). Similarly, research has also found that the majority of Australian residents believe the criminal justice system is often inefficient and too lenient in the sentences imposed on convicted offenders (Jones, Weatherburn & McFarlane, 2008). There is also a reported belief that the needs of victims are not being taken into account throughout the processes of the criminal justice system (Jones, Weatherburn & McFarlane, 2008). Polls on public attitudes towards crime and punishment have often been reported to support harsher treatment of convicted offenders through mandatory minimum sentences and three-strikes legislation (Cohen, Rust & Steen, 2006).

Although juvenile crime rates remain unchanged in many jurisdictions, crime salience continues to increase because more people are exposed to it through media and political populism (Costelloe, Chiricos & Gertz, 2009; Jones & Weatherburn, 2011). Members of the Australian public have reported television,

radio and newspapers as more influential than books and the internet as their sources for information about crime and the criminal justice system (Jones, Weatherburn & McFarlane, 2008). Members of the public often have misperceptions about crime rates and the prevalence of violent crimes, thinking that recidivism rates are much higher than they actually are (Cook & Lane, 2009). Furthermore, most opinion-based public polls ignore the gap between citizens' knowledge about crime and the effects of imprisonment versus rehabilitation (Sundt, et. al., 1998). Within Australian jurisdictions, there is a public perception that the criminal justice system is becoming unnecessarily lenient, thus, increasing the prevalence of juvenile crime (Martin CJ, October, 2014; Jones, Weatherburn & McFarlane, 2008). This dissatisfaction has been based on the public's reliance on the news for their information about sentencing and cases within the criminal justice system, often based on cases and issues which are atypical and controversial (Martin CJ, October, 2014). In a New South Wales sample, respondents rated television and radio news programmes as their most common source of information about the criminal justice system (Jones, Weatherburn & McFarlane, 2008).

The reporting of atypical cases has been particularly prominent within the Peel Region of Western Australia. A string of atypical cases began with the sentencing of Kyle Garth, who killed Mandurah teenager Jessie Cate (Hickey, 2012; ABC News, 2012). The more recent sentencing of teenagers for beating a Mandurah man Tauri Litchfield to death and the sentencing of Darren Degioannis for murder illustrates the salience of crime throughout Mandurah (Offer & Mullany, March 2013; ABC, November, 2014). As noted by Martin CJ

(October, 2014), there has been a lack of Australian research investigating this influential relationship between public attitudes and crime salience.

1.6 Public Support and the Influence of “Get Tough”

It would be misleading to suggest that support for child-saving was not unaffected by the “get tough” movement, however, it has persisted throughout the literature (Sundt, Cullen, Applegate and Turner, 1998). Sundt, et al. (1998) repeated a survey they had done ten years earlier to compare how public attitudes and views towards the goals of the criminal justice system and perceptions of juvenile delinquents had changed over that period. Although the levels of support for rehabilitation as the emphasis of the criminal justice system had declined, the results demonstrated almost equal support for the three goals of the criminal justice system: punishment, rehabilitation and the protection of society. The results from this survey suggest that although public support for rehabilitation was diminishing for older, more dangerous offenders, the decrease was not as prominent for non-violent, juvenile offenders (Sundt, et. al., 1998).

Most research supports the notion of punitive attitudes, however, there is also a strong level of support for rehabilitation and prevention measures within the community (Cohen, et. al., 2006). Most people report a preference for wanting harsher penalties and policies until they are presented with the specific case details, regardless of the offender’s age (Spratt, 1999). It is thought that the public’s initial response to any kind of questions regarding the criminal justice system is to “get tough”, but when attitudes towards specific cases or offenders are assessed the punitive attitudes begin to decline (Cullen, Vose, Johnson & Unnever, 2007). When asked specifically whether courts are too harsh or too lenient on offenders, most people respond that they are too lenient but when

asked what they believe the main goals of the criminal justice system should be, most people respond that they want more money invested in juvenile crime prevention programmes (Cohen, et. al., 2006). Furthermore, more than four in five community members have reported disapproval towards the idea of eliminating the juvenile justice system (Mears, et. al., 2007). These results indicate a difference in public attitudes towards adult and juvenile offenders with support for rehabilitation more favourable towards juvenile delinquents, thus highlighting the child-saving attitude (Cullen, et. al., 2007).

1.7 Public support for child-saving

In 2000, Moon, Sundt, Cullen and Wright questioned whether a child-saving attitude continued to exist within the community which should, therefore, be represented in public policies and the juvenile justice system. The large mail survey specifically examined public attitudes of citizens living in Tennessee towards the goals of juvenile institutions, justifications for intervention and the suitability of community-based interventions for juvenile delinquents.

Participants were asked what they thought the main emphasis of the juvenile justice system was, what it should be and then to rank the same three goals in order of relative importance. Among the three goals of the juvenile justice system, 63% of participants believed that the main emphasis of the juvenile justice system should be rehabilitation, followed by punishment and then the protection of society. Similarly, two thirds of their sample selected rehabilitation as their preferred goal when used in a forced-choice question. Participants within this sample reported high levels of support for a “just deserts” response, however, they continued to support rehabilitation as an intervention both within

the community and whilst juvenile offenders were incarcerated. When asked whether they thought there was an age where it was “too late to help” a young person, three quarters of the sample said no. For those who answered yes, most of the participants alleged that it was too late to help an offender over the age of 16 (Moon, et. al., 2000).

Research has shown that support for the child-saving ideal differs depending on the young offender’s age (Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009). When asked at what age a young person should be eligible for a transfer to the adult criminal justice system, 16% of respondents gave an age of 15 or younger while the remaining 84% of participants believed a young person should be 16 years old before they come into contact with the adult criminal justice system (Schwartz, 1992; Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009). Other studies have reported similar ages when young offenders should be eligible for a transfer to the adult criminal justice system with Mears et al’s (2007) study finding that participants felt the youngest age a person should be subjected to sanctioning within the adult criminal justice system was 15.6 years old.

A more recent study examined the public belief that it is never too late to help a juvenile offender in more detail (Piquero, Cullen, Unnever, Piquero & Gordon, 2010). In a randomised telephone study of Pennsylvanian citizens, this study inspected public beliefs about the juvenile justice system and public support for child-saving attitudes. More than half of participants believed that juveniles should be treated more leniently than adults within the criminal justice system with more than three-quarters of participants believing that juveniles were more malleable than adult offenders and, therefore, more likely to benefit from rehabilitative interventions. Of the 28% of participants who believed there

was an age at which it was too late to help a young offender, the mean age was almost 18 years old. A child-saving attitude was supported throughout the sample with factors only effecting levels of support in degrees and no variable indicating an opposition to rehabilitative goals of the juvenile justice system. Taken together, these results support the notion that the public supports the use of rehabilitation within the juvenile justice system (Piquero, et. al., 2010).

Continuing this line of inquiry, Perelman and Clements (2009) examined public support for different programmes for decreasing juvenile delinquency and recidivism. Participants were randomly allocated either a first-time or repeat juvenile offender, and questioned about what they believe the main emphasis of the current criminal justice system is and what it should be. As expected, participants who responded more punitively throughout the survey were more likely to rate incarceration higher compared to the more empirically sound rehabilitation and prevention programmes. Participants did so whilst only having a definition and description of the programmes, with any relevant findings on the programmes empirical effectiveness excluded from the study. The largest proportion of participants believed that the current aim was to punish juveniles, however, more than 60% believed that rehabilitation should be the main emphasis when dealing with juvenile delinquency (Perelman & Clements, 2009).

Cohen et al. (2006) questioned public attitudes towards juvenile delinquency, specifically, what prevention and rehabilitation programmes they would be willing to provide with monetary support. Participants were assigned either \$100 or \$1000 to allocate to four different crime strategies: more prisons, more drug and alcohol treatment programmes for offenders, more police on the

street or more youth crime prevention programmes. In this sample, the participant's allocation of funding prioritised crime prevention programmes followed by drug treatment and police. This research supports the previous notion that the public have punitive attitudes towards convicted offenders; however, they are willing to provide strong, monetary support for treatment programmes that may rehabilitate offenders or may prevent future juvenile delinquency (Cohen, et. al., 2006).

Similarly, a Pennsylvanian study used the 'Willingness to Pay' methodology to examine public attitudes towards rehabilitation and incarceration programmes (Nagin, Piquero, Scott & Steinberg, 2006). Respondents were presented with a scenario where a juvenile justice policy could either increase the sentence to two years or approve the addition of a rehabilitation programme, both of which may reduce juvenile crime by 30%. In this study, Nagin et al. (2006) used a rehabilitation option to represent the goals of the child-saving ideal. Participants were asked whether they were willing to pay an additional \$100 in taxes to implement either of the policy changes. This methodology continued by asking participants whether they would be willing to pay smaller increments to implement these changes, until the researchers found the minimum amount that participants were willing to pay to instigate the policy changes. Nagin, et. al. (2006) found that over 60% of those presented with the rehabilitation vignette were willing to pay at least \$100 for the programme, whilst almost 50% of those presented with the incarceration scenario were unwilling to pay any extra taxes to extend the sentence length. Moreover, this study found that the average amount participants were willing to pay for the

rehabilitation scenario was significantly more than they were willing to pay to increase juvenile incarceration length (Nagin, et. al., 2006).

More recently, Piquero and Steinberg (2010) replicated Nagin, et. al.'s (2006) contingent variable methodology in four different states across America. The replicated study was identical to the original with participants being presented with either the incarceration or child-saving scenario. Similarly, over 60% of participants presented with the rehabilitation vignette were willing to pay an additional \$100 for the programme. In comparison 39% of participants presented with the incarceration scenario were unwilling to pay for the incarceration scenario and only just over 50% were willing to pay \$100 for the latter option. Respondents were willing to pay an average 20% more for rehabilitation than incarceration and significantly more participants were unwilling to pay for the additional incarceration in comparison to the rehabilitation programme (Piquero & Steinberg, 2010).

This contingent variable methodology has been adapted to compare the willingness to pay for rehabilitation and incarceration of juvenile and adult offenders in New South Wales, Australia (Jones & Weatherburn, 2011). Although it was based on Nagin et. al.'s (2006) methodology, the researchers adapted the vignette to include the price tax payers currently pay to incarcerate an offender per day and changed the possible effect of the programme implementation to decrease crime by 10%. Jones and Weatherburn's (2011) study found that, although most people were willing to pay to decrease crime, there was also a number of participants who were not willing to pay any extra tax to implement either of the programmes. This study suggests that the participants were equally as willing to decrease crime through rehabilitation, as they are to decrease crime

through longer prison sentences. Despite these results, Jones and Weatherburn (2011) doubted whether their results should be taken at face value because of the way they changed wording of the vignette that was used within the original methodology, and suggest that “comparative research using the method of measuring willingness to pay used by Nagin and colleagues (2006) and Piquero and Steinberg (2010)” should be conducted in Australia (23; 2011).

The willingness to pay approach has also been used to examine the relationship between crime salience and a child-saving attitude (Baker, et. al., 2013). Baker, et al. (2013) assumed that those who believed crime was a more salient issue would be more likely to support tougher punishments and less likely to support child-saving measures. Like Nagin, et. al., (2006), this study used telephone interviewing to examine public attitudes towards child-saving. Of this sample, approximately three quarters supported the use of child-saving measures, including juvenile crime prevention and rehabilitation programmes within the criminal justice system. A further 66% of participants were willing to pay to support the implementation of their preferred juvenile justice policy. Baker et al. (2013) found that males, participants with lower levels of education and those who reported higher levels of fear of crime were less likely to support child-saving measures. Additionally, this study proposed that the only significant predictors of the amount a person was willing to pay for child-saving initiatives were education levels and political ideology suggesting that these were the key determinants of individual’s views about personally contributing to the funding of prevention and rehabilitation programme (Baker, et. al., 2013).

Despite the continued support for a child-saving approach, little research has been conducted on the levels of impact that different demographic

characteristics have on attitudes towards juvenile offenders (Sprott, 1999). Research based upon punitiveness, or a child-saving attitude, is often based on the underlying theme of understanding public attitudes towards the criminal justice system, whether it be based on how or why offenders should be punished or what factors influence individuals' attitudes (Payne, Gainey, Triplett & Danner, 2004). Researchers have noted that prior research on punitiveness has centred on questions that are too broad, which is problematic in itself (Kugler, et al., 2013). Sprott (1999) suggested that punitiveness may have multiple dimensions and its complexity cannot be reflected in one broad question. Instead, it has been suggested that members of the public want offenders to be punished but they remain faithful to the ideals of rehabilitation (Cullen, Cullen & Wozniak, 1988). This contradiction is often most noticeable in comparing global and specific attitudes towards juvenile offenders, but highlights the notion that child-saving is a "habit of the heart" (Cullen, et al, 2007).

1.8 Punitiveness

Although most liberal countries are beginning to see the faults in the mass incarceration approach within the criminal justice system, Australian imprisonment rates have continued to rise over the last decade (Kornhauser & Laster, 2014). The consistent growth in Australian prison populations has been contributed to, like most other Western countries, the increased punitiveness of political policies (Jones & Weatherburn, 2011). It has been argued that the rise in punitive public policies is often explained by the public's lack of knowledge or misunderstanding about crime and criminal justice (Jones & Weatherburn, 2011).

Punitiveness has often been described as the tendency to pick harsher punishments for a given offence (Lane, 1997). However the most appropriate description of punitiveness incorporates an attitude toward sanctioning and punishment that includes retribution, incapacitation and a lack of concern for offender rehabilitation (Mackey & Courtright, 2000). Punitive attitudes emphasize the implementation of harsher or longer punishments including increasing the difficulty in being released on parole or supporting the implementation of three-strikes legislation (Turner, Cullen, Sundt & Applegate, 1997). The rise of punitive attitudes is based within the “get tough” movement of mass incarceration and highlighted by the use of broad opinion polls rather than single-item questions (Applegate, Davis & Cullen, 2009; Listwan, et. al., 2008; Turner, et. al., 1997).

1.8.1 Factors that effect punitiveness.

The influence of demographics on punitive attitudes has had mixed results throughout the literature. Research has found that political orientation, salience of crime and beliefs about crime are prominent influences in predicting punitive attitudes throughout Australia (Roberts & Indermaur, 2007). When examining responses toward juvenile delinquency, research has found that males were more likely to endorse tougher approaches while females were more likely to support the use of rehabilitation as a goal of prisons and the implementation of rehabilitation programmes (Perelman & Clements, 2009; Applegate, Cullen & Fisher, 2002). The strongest variable found throughout the literature, thus far, is the negative effect that a level of education has on punitive attitudes (Payne, et al., 2004).

1.8.2 Fear of Crime. Langworthy and Whitehead (1986) suggested that different levels of vulnerability, or perceived vulnerability, within the community influenced punitive attitudes. This vulnerability hypothesis presumes that women and the elderly were more afraid of crime and what could happen to them and, therefore, they took protective measures to decrease victimisation rates (Cook & Lane, 2009). Furthermore, those with higher income and education levels were more likely to report lower levels of fear of crime (Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986). For members of the community who think that crime may be more problematic, including women and the elderly, it is expected that they will be more likely to support punitive policies to deal with juvenile delinquency as a means of self-protection (Costelloe, Chiricos & Gertz, 2009).

The vulnerability hypothesis was supported by Spratt's (1999) study of public perceptions of either adult or juvenile crime. Females who participated in this study reported higher levels of fear of crime, and were more likely to believe that crime had increased in their area over the last five years. Despite higher levels of fear of crime, the female participants were also more likely to believe in assisting adults and youth during the re-integration process and were significantly more likely to give monetary support to prevention instead of incarceration for youth. These results support Spratt's (1999) notion that punitiveness is a complex ideal recognising that different factors impact punitive attitudes towards both adult and juvenile crime.

One of the few studies of punitive attitudes in Australia analysed the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes response data to determine what factors can influence and predict punitive attitudes within Australia (Roberts &

Indermaur, 2007). Almost three quarters of respondents thought that people who break the law should be given harsher sentences. Furthermore, a reportedly higher fear of crime was consistently related to an increase in punitiveness regardless of victim status, age and gender, however; the number of years of education was the highest predictor of punitive attitudes (Roberts & Indermaur, 2007).

1.8.3 Education. It is reported that the higher a person's education level the less likely they are to believe the criminal justice system is too lenient and the more likely they are to support alternative solutions within the criminal justice system (Mackey & Courtright, 2000). A study of punitive attitudes in university undergraduates assessed whether participants would be willing to accept a lesser punishment than prison for some offences (Lane, 1997). Lane (1997) found that studying a criminal justice course increased knowledge about different punishments and their processes whilst decreasing punitive attitudes. Despite the overall decrease in punitiveness, this study found that the students' punitiveness decreased more in regards to nonviolent offences rather than violent offences (Lane, 1997).

Mackey and Courtright (2000) further examined the impact of tertiary education on punitive attitudes, particularly the effects of studying a criminal justice major compared to other majors. This study included a 30-item scale to measure attitudes towards correctional goals, with a possible score range of 0 to 150 with a higher score referencing more punitive attitudes. Although this study did not find any significant differences in punitiveness between males and females, students studying a criminal justice major had significantly more punitive attitudes than students studying other majors. Despite higher punitive

scores, it was thought that criminal justice students begin their majors with more salient attitudes about crime than other students but the prominence of these attitudes decrease over the course of their major (Mackey & Courtright, 2000).

1.9 The Current Study

It has been argued that child-saving should be considered a core cross-cultural belief that community members want emphasised within the criminal justice system (Cullen, et. al., 2007). The concept of child-saving has been examined in a number of contexts, however, there is a lack of research that explicitly examines the variables that contribute to a child-saving attitude. This study combines a number of previously tested variables providing a thorough analysis of the child-saving ideal (Cullen, et al., 2007; Cohen, et al., 2006; Piquero and Steinberg, 2010). This study aimed to determine which variables impact on a child-saving attitude. Specifically, this study aimed to examine whether child-saving remains a “habit of the heart” despite the “get tough” movement (Cullen, et al, 2007).

This study aimed to explore community attitudes towards juvenile offenders and responses within the criminal justice system. Specifically the study aimed to explore whether community members would prefer to rehabilitate or incarcerate juvenile offenders. This thesis fills the gap outlined by Jones and Weatherburn (2011) and Piquero and Steinberg (2010) to use Nagin et al.’s (2006) contingent variable methodology in different cultural contexts to compare child-saving attitudes. It was hypothesized that community members

would be willing to pay just as much, if not more, to rehabilitate juvenile offenders rather than incarcerate offenders.

This study asked participants to allocate funds to different interventions, and the goals they represent, within the criminal justice system. The programmes that participants distribute their money to, is considered to be relative to their level of support for child-saving or punitive attitudes (Cohen et al., 2006). Despite punitive attitudes, this methodology has found that participants also value crime prevention programmes and a community policing practice (Cohen et al., 2006). It was hypothesised that those who scored higher on the punitiveness scale would be more likely to allocate more of their funds to police and prisons in comparison to youth crime prevention programmes and offender rehabilitation programmes. It was further anticipated that the monetary support for youth crime prevention and rehabilitation programmes in comparison to the police services and prisons indicated the persistence of a child-saving attitude.

This study adds to the literature that examines the goals of the criminal justice system. As outlined in previous studies, this survey presented participants with the goals of rehabilitation, punishment and protection of society to provide with support (Cullen, et. al., 2007). Each of the goals of the criminal justice system, rehabilitation, punishment and protection of society, is imposed at different stages throughout the Australian criminal justice system for both adult and juvenile offenders (Martin CJ, 2014; Cullen, et al., 2007). It was hypothesised that participant support for the goals of rehabilitation and protection of the community would suggest support for the child-saving ideal.

This study also examines a number of socio-demographic factors that may influence child-saving and punitive attitudes. Researchers have suggested that there is currently little known about the factors associated with the amounts that participants are willing to pay for either child-saving or punitive policies to be implemented (Baker, et al., 2013; Jones & Weatherburn, 2011). It was hypothesized that community members in a higher socio-economic status area would take a more punitive approach to juvenile crime. As suggested by the vulnerability hypothesis (Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986; Cook & Lane, 2009), it was anticipated that those who reported a higher levels of fear of crime would also be more punitive towards juvenile offenders. With a higher elderly and female population, it is expected that participating residents will be more likely to support punitive policies as a means of protection against juvenile crime.

Additionally, this research will add to the body of literature regarding the demographics that impact punitive attitudes. Previous studies have suggested that the strongest factors that influence punitive attitudes are a person's level of education and political preference (Payne, et al., 2004; Roberts & Idermaur, 2007). Similarly, other research has suggested that males and community members who thought crime was more salient were less supportive of child-saving measures (Baker et al., 2013). In line with Mackey and Courtwright's (2000) definition of punitiveness, it was anticipated that those who scored higher on the punitiveness scale would support punishment as the main emphasis of the criminal justice system. It was hypothesised that participants with lower levels of education would be more supportive of punitive policies, including incarceration and the police services. Furthermore, it was hypothesised that participants who had higher levels of fear of crime and

thought that crime was an issue within their community would have more punitive attitudes and, therefore, be less supportive of child-saving ideals.

Method

2.0 Participants

A total of 1000 questionnaires, 500 Child-Saving and 500 Incarceration, were hand-delivered to residents' mailboxes throughout the Peel Region. A number of suburbs within the Peel region are listed within the top 50 index of relative disadvantage, with Mandurah listed as the most disadvantaged region of its statistical area (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). The socio-economic status is based on a number of factors including unemployment rates and individual and household incomes, including that which is derived from Department of Social Services payments. Furthermore, this study was conducted in the Peel region based on their high levels of juvenile crime throughout the area.

The response rate for return of the questionnaires was 6.8%, giving a final sample size of 68 participants. Of this final sample, 36 (52.9%) included the Child-saving Vignette and 32 (47.1%) depicted the Incarceration Vignette. Despite the limited response rate, the two representative surveys were returned at a similar rate. Three participants did not include their demographic information, one of which was the Incarceration survey and the other two were the Rehabilitation vignette.

The final sample was made of 41 females (60.3%) and 25 males (36.8%). Respondents were aged between 19 and 95 years old, with a mean age of 58, 13.4 years older than the median age reported by the Australian Bureau of

Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Participants' education levels were almost equally distributed between year ten, year twelve, TAFE and university (Table 1). In comparison, the Australian Bureau of Statics described that 26.4% of Mandurah's population had attained a TAFE certificate as their highest level of education. These results are, however, skewed towards an undergraduate degree as it was reported that only 7.1% of Mandurah's population have attained a university level degree.

Table 1

Participants' highest levels of education

Year Ten (%)	Year Twelve (%)	TAFE (%)	University (%)
22.6	22.6	27.4	27.4

Eleven of the respondents reported having been victims of crime within the last year. Of those whom were victims during this period, two were victims of personal crime, eight were victims of property crime and two others reported being victims of both personal and property crime.

2.1 Materials

One thousand surveys were delivered to two suburbs within the Peel Region, which were returned via prepaid envelopes. The surveys included a one-page information letter describing the study and inviting them to participate, one of two questionnaire booklets which contained either the incarceration vignette or child-saving vignette (see Appendix A and Appendix B) and a reply-paid envelope. The Child-saving vignette described a young offender being assigned to a rehabilitation programme whilst the Incarceration vignette increased the length of the juvenile's incarceration. Each of the two vignettes outlined the same

decrease in juvenile crime and, therefore, were used to directly compare any difference in the public attitudes towards juvenile delinquency. Of the 500 surveys delivered to Dudley Park and Halls Head, 250 depicted the Child-saving Vignette while the other 250 described the Incarceration Vignette.

This study was conducted using a questionnaire comprised of a combination of other survey questions used previously in phone surveys. (see Nagin et al., 2006; Piquero & Steinberg, 2010; Jones & Weatherburn, 2011). The questionnaire began with a range of between-subject demographic questions including age and gender. Further questions asked throughout the study included an allocation of funding to different approaches used within the criminal justice system, the perceived goals of the criminal justice system, distributing an amount participants were willing to pay to implement changes to the sentencing of juvenile offenders and a scale to measure punitive attitudes within the community.

2.1.1 Measurements and Scales. This study aimed to measure public attitudes towards different approaches used within the criminal justice system. Participants were asked to allocate \$100 between the four crime control approaches used within the criminal justice system: youth crime prevention programmes, offender rehabilitation programmes, prisons and police. This approach highlights the participants' opinions of the cost and effectiveness of each of these approaches in regards to juvenile delinquency. There was no attempt made to educate participants on the effectiveness of any of these strategies and, therefore, this question measured their perceptions of how funding should be spent within the criminal justice system.

The following questions aimed to investigate participants' opinions of what the goals of the criminal justice system should be. Moon, et. al. (2000) originally asked participants what they perceived the current emphases to be and what they think they should be. Each of the statements outlines the three main theoretical approaches that may be utilized by the criminal justice system – utilitarianism, retribution and rehabilitation. The utilitarianism approach was conveyed through protection of society, a rehabilitative approach through emphasizing rehabilitation and a retribution approach through punishment. Participants were asked to respond to each of the statements on a 6-point Likert-scale of very important (1) to not at all important (6).

This study aimed to determine a point at which participants' perceive that a juvenile should be treated like an adult. Participants were asked whether they thought there was an age at which they thought it was "too late to help" a juvenile offender. Participants answered a dichotomous yes or no, and were given the opportunity to provide a specific age.

The Incarceration and Child-saving Vignettes used in this survey aimed to measure public attitudes towards the sentencing of juvenile offenders within the criminal justice system. After measuring participants' perceptions on different approaches within the criminal justice system, the main emphasis of the criminal justice system and effectiveness of different approaches to prevent juvenile crime, the participants were presented with one of two short vignettes. The vignettes were adapted from a phone survey originally used in Pennsylvania (Nagin, et. al., 2006). The Incarceration Vignette described a juvenile delinquent sentenced to a year of imprisonment for robbery. In the Incarceration Vignette participants are asked whether they would increase the sentence time, imposing

more punishment and decreasing crime by the keeping juvenile offender off the street. In contrast, the Childsaving Vignette asks participants whether they would like to add a rehabilitation programme to the offender's sentence decreasing youth crime by 30% and educating offenders, making them more likely to return to society as a productive citizen. The vignette was followed by a question based on the principle of contingent-variable methodology (Nagin, et. al., 2006). This approach is used as a more accurate measurement of public attitudes once they were made aware of both the cost and benefits of the policy (Nagin, et. al., 2006). Furthermore, by providing participants the opportunity to estimate their support in monetary terms this methodological approach provides a more accurate measurement of public attitudes and conveys the policy's monetary value to the participants (Cohen, Rust, Steen & Tidd, 2004; Nagin et al., 2006). Participants were also provided the opportunity to justify their monetary support and express why they may have chosen the minimum or maximum amount.

The vignette was followed by further demographic questions including participant victimisation rates and attitudes towards juvenile crime in their suburb. Participants were asked whether they had been a victim of crime within the past twelve months and, if so, whether it was personal or property crime. Participants were also asked, on a yes or no basis, whether they believed that juvenile crime was an issue for their suburb. The demographic questions also included a six-point Likert-type scale of fear of crime, (1) Not Afraid to (6) Very Afraid, and a ten-point Likert-type scale of political preference, (1) Extremely Liberal to (10) Extremely Conservative.

The extent of participants' punitive attitudes was measured using Mackey and Courtright's (2000) punitiveness scale. In this scale, participants are presented with fifteen different statements followed by a 10-point Likert-type scale of completely disagree (1) to completely agree (10). The punish variable is generated by summing the participants' scores, with a possible range of 0 to 150. When tested for internal reliability, this scale produces results within the good to very good range (Cronbach's alpha = 0.85). This scale has been used in further research and continues to yield reliable results in different settings.

2.2 Procedure

Data was collected via a questionnaire which was hand delivered to household letterboxes throughout the Peel Region in August, 2014. A total of 1000 questionnaires were distributed throughout the Peel Region (500 to each suburb). Participating households were randomly allocated either the child-saving or incarceration survey, with an equal amount of each being distributed in each of the suburbs including apartments and duplex households. Participants were not informed that there was an alternative questionnaire that was being distributed to the one that they received. Those who wanted to participate were instructed to complete the questionnaire and then return it via the return paid envelope. All surveys were anonymous and voluntary, with participants made aware that they were not obliged to answer any questions that made them uncomfortable. They were also provided with the head researcher and the Murdoch University's Ethics Committee's details if they had any issues or concerns with or while completing the survey. Respondents were also made

aware that they could not withdraw once they had returned their survey due to the anonymity.

Results

3.0 Demographic Information

There were no significant differences between each of the suburbs on any of the demographics, including age, education levels or victimisation rates. The political preference of the sample sat almost in the centre of the ten-point Likert scale ($M=4.95$, $SD=2.43$).

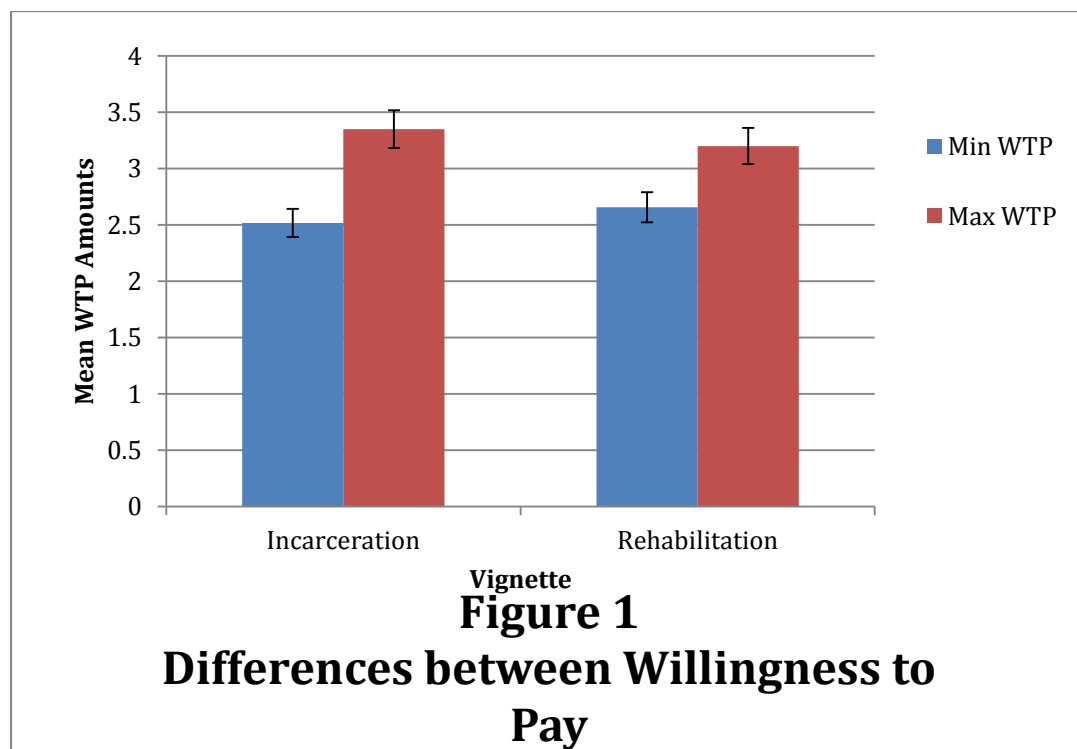
Forty-eight participants (72.7%) did not think there was an age at which juveniles could no longer be helped. Of the eighteen participants (27.3%) who did think there was an age at which juveniles could no longer be helped, ages ranged from 10 -20 years old with a mean age of 15 ($SD = 2.83$).

Fifty-five participants (80.9%) thought that juvenile crime was an issue for their suburb, with only 13 participants (19.1%) who did not think juvenile crime was an issue.

3.1 Willingness to Pay

An independent samples *t*-test was used to compare the maximum and minimum amount participants were willing to pay for the incarceration (29) and rehabilitation (35) vignettes. Levene's test was not significant, hence equal variances can be assumed. There was no significant difference between the maximum amount participants were willing to pay for incarceration ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.72$) in comparison to the maximum they were willing to pay for rehabilitation ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.98$), $t(62) = .309$, $p = .758$, two tailed, $d = .07$. Similarly there was no significant difference between the minimum amount participants were willing to pay for incarceration ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.40$) compared to rehabilitation ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.86$), $t(62) = .333$, $p = .740$, two-tailed, $d = .08$

(see Figure 1). As hypothesized, the lack of difference indicates that participants are willing to pay equally as much to rehabilitate youth, as they are to incarcerate them.



3.1.1 Sex. A *t* test was used to examine whether there was a difference in the amounts that males (24) and females (38) were willing to pay. Levene's test was not significant, therefore equal variances can be assumed. There was no significant difference between the maximum amount that males ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.87$) and females ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.87$) were willing to pay for either incarceration or rehabilitation, $t(60) = .243$, $p = .809$, $d = 0.063$. Furthermore, there was no significant difference between the minimum amounts that males ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.88$) and females ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.54$) were willing to pay for either of the juvenile programmes, $t(60) = .762$, $p = .449$, $d = .199$. These results

illustrate that males and females are willing to pay similar amounts to rehabilitate, or incarcerate, juvenile delinquents.

3.2 Punitiveness

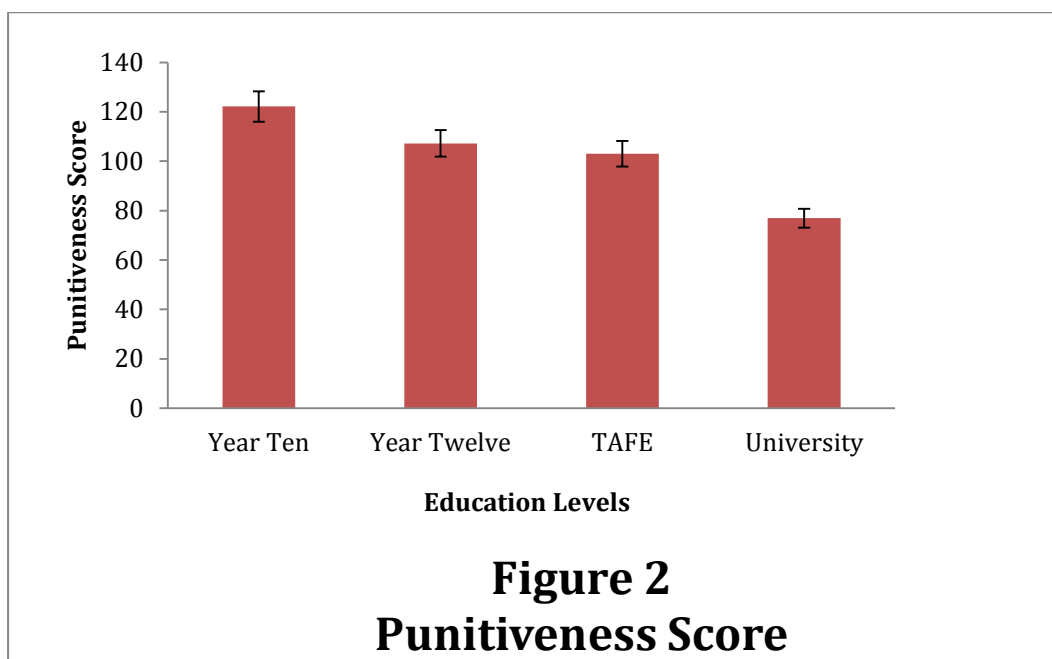
Punitiveness scores ranged from 32-150 with a mean score of 101 ($SD=31.76$), skewing the results to the right portraying a more punitive attitude throughout the whole sample. The Punitiveness sample was tested for internal reliability with high internal reliability (Cronbach's Alpha = .945).

3.2.1 Sex. An independent samples t test was used to compare punitive scores between males and females. There was no significant difference in punitiveness scores between males and females, $t(28) = .454$, $p = .653$, two-tailed, $d = .086$.

3.2.2 Age. There was a significant, moderate correlation between participant's age and punitiveness scores, $r(62) = .310$, $p = .013$. As a participant's age increased so did their punitiveness scores.

3.2.3 Education. An ANOVA was used to examine the relationship between punitiveness scores and the different education levels (see Figure 2). Levene's statistic was not statistically significant, $F(3, 56) = .364$, $p = .779$. The ANOVA was statistically significant, indicating that education levels were significantly related to a respondent's punitive attitudes, $F(3, 56) = 6.80$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .267$. Participants with a university degree ($M = 76.94$, $SD = 29.78$) were significantly less punitive than those who reported year ten ($M = 122.15$, $SD = 27.38$), year twelve ($M = 107.2308$, $SD = 6.84$), and a TAFE certificate ($M = 103.06$, $SD = 29.63$). Despite this, there were no significant differences between those whom had year twelve and year ten education levels, nor between those whom had a

year twelve and TAFE certificate, or between those whom had a year ten and TAFE certificate qualification. These results indicate a significant relationship between education and punitiveness. The higher your level of education the less punitive your attitudes are.



3.2.4 Fear of Crime. There was a weak, positive correlation between punitiveness and fear of crime, $r(63) = .154, p = .223$. These results indicate an interaction between fear of crime and punitiveness, however, the low levels of variance indicate that there are other factors involved in this relationship.

3.3 Fear of Crime

On a six-point Likert scale, this sample demonstrated a moderate fear of crime with the mean score slightly higher than the median option ($M = 3.73, SD = 1.34$).

3.3.1 Sex. An independent samples *t* test compared the fear of crime between males ($n=25$) and females ($n=40$). Levene's test was not significant, thus equal variances can be assumed. Although males ($M=3.4, SD=1.41$) reported a slightly

lower fear of crime than females ($M=3.95$, $SD=1.30$), the t test was not significant, $t(63) = 1.60$, $p = .114$, two-tailed, $d = .409$ indicating no real difference between the sexes.

3.3.2 Crime an Issue. An independent samples t test was used to examine the difference in the fears of crime between those who do and do not think that crime was an issue for their suburb. Levene's test was not significant, hence equal variances were assumed. There was a significant difference in the levels of fear of crime between those whom thought that crime was an issue for their area ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 1.30$) and those who did not ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .98$), $t(65) = 3.24$, $p = .002$, two tailed, $d = 1.256$. Those who thought juvenile crime was an issue for their suburb reported significantly higher levels of fear of crime.

3.4 Distribution of Funds

Participants distributed \$100 between four different approaches used within the criminal justice system to convey their levels of relative support. Participants distributed a mean amount of \$34.46 to police and a mean amount of \$20.43 to prisons. Youth crime prevention Programmes had a mean allocation of \$28.92, and a mean distribution of \$18.86 to offender rehabilitation programmes. The participants' distribution of funds was then ranked in order of mean distribution amount (see Table 2). Once ranked, participants distributed their funds to the police services, followed by youth crime prevention programmes, prisons then offender rehabilitation programmes.

Table 2

Participant Distribution of Funds

	Rank	Mean (%)
Police	1	33.56
Youth Crime Prevention Programmes	2	28.16
Prisons	3	20.20
Offender Rehabilitation Programmes	4	18.08

3.4.1 Sex. An independent t test was used to detect any differences in the amounts that males and females were willing to distribute to each of the different approaches within the criminal justice system. Levene's test was not significant for any of the conditions, thus equal variances were assumed. Comparisons of gender found females allocated more to prisons ($M = 17.95$, $SD = 9.64$) and police ($M = 36.25$, $SD = 17.79$) than their male counterparts.

A comparison of gender found no significant difference between the amounts that males and females were willing to distribute to the police ($t(68) = 1.138$, $p = .259$, two tailed, $d = .165$), prisons ($t(62) = 1.567$, $p = .122$, two tailed, $d = 2.909$), youth crime prevention programmes ($t(62) = .102$, $p = .919$, two tailed, $d = .016$) or offender rehabilitation programmes ($t(61) = .499$, $p = .620$, two tailed, $d = .130$). These results demonstrate that although there was some difference in the amounts males and females distributed to each of the programmes, none of these differences were significant.

3.4.2 Punitiveness. Correlations were used to examine the relationship between participant's punitiveness scores and the amounts they distributed to the different approaches used within the criminal justice system. Although it did

not reach significance, there was a weak positive relationship between punitiveness scores and the amounts that people distributed to the police, $r(61) = .242, p = .056$. There was a moderate and significant positive relationship between respondents' punitiveness scores and the amounts they distributed to prisons, $r(61) = .416, p = .001$. There was a significant weak negative correlation between punitiveness scores and amounts distributed to youth crime prevention programmes, $r(61) = -.289, p = .022$. There was also a negative, moderate correlation between punitiveness scores and the amounts participants allocated to offender rehabilitation programmes, $r(60) = -.468, p < .001$. Those with higher punitiveness scores were willing to distribute more funds to prisons and police, whilst those with lower punitiveness scores allocated more funds to youth crime prevention programmes and offender rehabilitation programmes.

3.4.3 Education. Correlations were used to discern any differences in the amount distributed to different approaches based on participant's education levels. There was a weak, negative correlation between education levels and the amounts participants are willing to allocate to police, $r(60) = -.101, p = .444$, and to prisons, $r(61) = -.148, p = .254$. There was a weak, positive correlation between education and the amount participants were willing to distribute to youth crime prevention programmes, $r(60) = .156, p = .235$, and to offender rehabilitation programmes, $r(60) = .138, p = .294$. Participants with higher education levels were less likely to allocate funds to police and prisons, more likely to distribute funds to youth crime prevention programmes and offender rehabilitation programmes, however, education levels did not significantly impact the amounts that participants distributed to different interventions within the criminal justice system.

3.5 Goals of the Criminal Justice System

Public perceptions of the goals of the criminal justice system were measured on a six-point Likert scale of agreeableness, the lower a participants' score the more important they believe that goal to be. As seen in Table 3, the majority of participants agreed that rehabilitation should be a major goal of the Criminal Justice System. Of this, 52.3% rated rehabilitation as the most important emphasis of the criminal justice system. In comparison 21.2% strongly agreed that punishment was the most important goal of the criminal justice system with just over half of participants agreeing that punishment should be emphasised within the criminal justice system. Furthermore, 36 participants (54.5%) strongly agreed that the main emphasis of the criminal justice system should be the protection of society. When the different levels of importance are combined into important versus not important, majority of participants support the goals of rehabilitation and protection of society and half of the participants support the goal of punishment (see Table 3).

Table 3

Goals of the Criminal Justice System

	Important (%)	Not Important (%)
Rehabilitation	86.2	13.4
Punishment	56.1	43.9
Protection of Society	84.2	15.1

*Important includes somewhat to very important (1-3) while Not

Important includes slightly to not at all important (4-6)

Table 4

Support for Goals of the Criminal Justice System by Sex

	Males		Females		Difference (t)
	M	SD	M	SD	
Rehabilitation	1.92	1.26	1.82	1.09	.728
Punishment	1.68	1.57	1.97	1.51	.090
Protection of Society	2.68	1.07	3.36	1.20	.551

3.5.1 Sex. An independent samples *t* test was used to examine any differences between males and females in which goals they think are most important within the criminal justice system. Levene's test was not significant, therefore equal variance was assumed. Comparison found that females were more likely to support rehabilitation ($t(61) = .350, p = .728$, two-tailed, $d = .090$) than males. Comparatively, males viewed the goals of punishment ($t(62) = 1.725, p = .090, d = .442$) and the protection of society as a more important than females ($t(63) = .600, p = .551, d = .255$) (See Table 4). These results indicate that males were more supportive of all three goals of the criminal justice system more than females, though the difference was not significant.

3.5.2 Punitiveness. Correlations were used to examine the relationship between punitiveness scores and participant's perceptions of the goals of the criminal justice system. There was a moderate, and significant positive correlation between punitiveness scores and the belief that the main emphasis of the criminal justice system should be rehabilitation, $r(63) = .409, p = .001$. This indicates that the higher a participant's punitiveness score the less important they view the goal of rehabilitation. There was a significant negative, moderate

correlation between punitiveness scores and the belief in the importance of punishment as a goal of the criminal justice system, $r(64) = -.583, p = <.001$. This denotes that the higher a participant's punitiveness score, the more important they view the goal of punishment. Furthermore, there was a significant negative, moderate correlation between punitiveness scores and the belief that the criminal justice system should emphasize the protection of society, $r(64) = -.507, p = <.001$. This indicates that the higher a person's punitiveness attitude, the more importance they believe the goal of protection of society to be. These results imply that the more punitive a respondent's attitudes, the less likely they were to agree with the emphasis of rehabilitation and more likely to agree with the emphases of punishment or the protection of society.

3.5.3 Fear of Crime. Correlations examined the relationship between respondent's fear of crime and their perceptions of goals in the criminal justice system. There was a positive, weak correlation between participant's fear of crime and the level of importance they gave the goal of rehabilitation ($r(64) = .101, p = .427$), meaning the higher a person's fear of crime the less important they view the goal of rehabilitation. There was a weak, negative relationship between participant's fear of crime and their belief in the importance of punishment as a goal in the criminal justice system ($r(65) = -.069, p = .587$), meaning the higher their fear of crime the more importance they placed in the goal of punishment. Furthermore there was a weak, negative correlation between fear of crime and the participant's belief that the main goal of the criminal justice system should be protection of society ($r(65) = -.150, p = .233$), meaning the higher their fear of crime the more important they believed it was that the criminal justice system aimed to protect society. These results indicate

that the higher a person's fear of crime the less important they view rehabilitation and the more importance they place in the goals of punishment and protection of society within the criminal justice system. These weak correlations illustrate a minimum variance, meaning that there are other factors that influenced public perceptions of the goals of the criminal justice system.

Discussion

The current study aimed to examine public attitudes towards juvenile offenders. It combined a number of previously used scales and techniques to measure these attitudes (Nagin, et al., 2006; Cullen, et al., 2007; Cohen et al, 2006; Moon, et al., 2000). These measurements had not previously been used together, but all aim to measure a child-saving attitude. By combining these methods, this study provides a complete examination of child-saving attitudes within the community.

Specifically, this study used a contingent variable methodology to compare public attitudes towards the rehabilitation or incarceration of juvenile offenders. Previous research has outlined a gap in the literature in using Nagin, et. al.'s (2006) methodology in different cultural contexts (Jones &, 2011; Piquero & Steinberg, 2010). This study found that the use of Nagin et al's (2006) original methodology is valid in an Australian context. In line with the results of the original study, the participants of this study were willing to pay just as much to implement rehabilitation programmes as they were to increase the length of juvenile offender's incarceration period, supporting the idea that child-saving remains a habit of the heart (Cullen, et al., 2007).

A number of socio-demographic variables, fear of crime and punitive attitudes were also assessed to see how they impacted on public perceptions of the juvenile justice system. Research on the impact of socio-economic demographics and attitudes towards juvenile delinquency has returned mixed results (Spratt, 1999). The participants' sex, education levels and fear of crime made little impact on their perceptions of the criminal justice system. As expected, participants' age and education levels were significantly correlated

with their punitiveness scores. As participants aged their punitiveness scores increased, while those with a university-level education were significantly less punitive than participants who had a year ten, year twelve or TAFE education.

This study also analysed public perceptions of the goals of the criminal justice system and a relative distribution of funds within the criminal justice system, and how these may have interacted with the community's child-saving attitudes. Previously, research has found that members of the public support punitive policies initially, but also express support for rehabilitation and child-saving goals of the criminal justice system (Cohen, et. al., 2006; Moon, et. al., 2000). Participants of this study expressed support for the goals of utilitarianism and punishment within the criminal justice system, however, four in five participants believed that the goal of rehabilitation should be emphasised within the juvenile justice system.

4.0.1 Punitiveness. This study measured participant's punitive attitudes as a socio-demographic factor that may impact other attitudes towards child-saving and the criminal justice system, as well as an independent factor. Within this study punitive attitudes was measured using Mackey and Courtright's (2000) punitiveness scale. In Mackey and Courtright's (2000) original study the median punitive score was reported as 75 with their sample's mean score reported as 86.9, negatively skewed towards punitive attitudes. In this study, the mean punitive score was 101 with a further negative skew towards punitiveness. Two of the primary factors that may have influenced this difference in scores were the ages and education levels of the participants. In the original study, almost 90% of their sample was under the age of 24 and, furthermore, the participants were completing a tertiary level criminal justice major indicating a

high level of education, specifically regarding the criminal justice system (Mackey & Courtright, 2000). Comparably, the mean age of this sample was 58 years old, 13 years older than the median age reported by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, and only 27% of this sample had reported a tertiary-level education (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

Despite the presence of more punitive attitudes, the results of this study continue to reflect those of previous research. A participants' sex made no significant impact on their punitive attitudes, however, participants with university-level education had significantly lower punitiveness scores than participants with lower levels of education. In a similar Perth-based sample, Roberts and Indermaur (2007) found that punitiveness decreased with the years of education completed. Similarly, Jones and Weatherburn (2011) found that a participants' level of education was the only factor measured that significantly impacted the amount they were willing to pay to decrease crime. These results continue to replicate the relationship between punitive attitudes and education that has been found in previous international research (Payne et al., 2009).

As hypothesised those with higher punitiveness scores were more likely to distribute more funds to police and prisons, whilst those with lower punitive scores distributed more funds to juvenile rehabilitation and crime prevention programmes. As expected, this suggests that participants associated police and prisons with punitive policies compared to juvenile rehabilitation and crime prevention programmes with the idea of child saving. Although this study did not attempt to educate participants on the benefits of rehabilitation or prevention programmes, these results may indicate that participants with higher levels of education were already aware of the long-term benefits of such programmes.

Mackey and Courtwright's (2000) definition includes "a lack of concern for rehabilitation", which was supported in this study with participants who scored higher on the punitiveness scale less likely to support the goal of rehabilitation within the criminal justice system. Although this study supports the popular definition, it also highlights the idea that attitudes towards juvenile offenders are complex (Cullen, et al., 2007; Cohen, et al., 2006). There was a high level of support for rehabilitation throughout the study with participants willing to provide monetary support for the child-saving vignette. Furthermore, these findings suggest that members of the public expect more from the criminal justice system than just the detainment of offenders.

4.0.2 Child-Saving. This study aimed to find whether the community continued to support the notion of a child-saving response within the criminal justice system. To support the continued existence of child-saving attitudes within the community, it was hypothesised that there would be no difference in the amounts that respondents were willing to pay for between the incarceration and child saving vignette. A comparison of the minimum and maximum amounts participants were willing to pay did not find a significant difference between the amounts of monetary support for either programme. This demonstrates that participants were willing to spend just as much on rehabilitating juvenile delinquents, as they are to incarcerate them. This study's results support the previous use of the Childsaving and Incarceration vignette to demonstrate monetary support for a Childsaving attitude within the criminal justice system (Nagin, et. al., 2006; Piquero & Steinberg, 2010). This study advocates the idea that rehabilitation remains a "habit of the heart" that has persisted through the "Nothing Works" and "Get Tough" eras of criminal justice policies (Cullen et al.,

2007). Nevertheless, a 30% decrease in juvenile crime was proposed in both vignettes suggesting that members of the public are willing to support crime policies that reduce juvenile crime irrespective of whether it is rehabilitative or punitive in nature.

Comparatively, Jones and Weatherburn (2010) adapted the rehabilitation and incarceration vignette to reflect an Australian perspective; however, their study did not yield any significant results. Compared to the 30% decrease in juvenile crime proposed in the original study, Jones and Weatherburn (2010) reduced the amount of impact each programme would have to 10%. This reduction may not have been enough incentive for participants to invest further monetary support in either programme, suggesting that there is a minimum level of crime reduction that community members are willing to invest in. As suggested by Jones and Weatherburn (2010) for future Australian research, this study used the original wording of Nagin et. al.'s (2006) study with the implementation of each programme leading to a 30% reduction in juvenile crime. In doing so, the results replicated that of the American samples with participants willing to pay just as much, if not more, for the implementation of rehabilitation programmes. This difference in the amounts participants were willing to pay may be in response to a greater decrease in crime. This may mean that respondents are willing to provide more monetary support for programmes that produce a greater decrease in crime rates and are, therefore, more beneficial to the community. This explanation not only highlights the community support for a child-saving attitude as well as support for the protection of society as a goal of the criminal justice system.

In 2013, Baker et al. compared the factors that influence how much a person is willing to contribute to the implementation of rehabilitation and crime prevention programmes. Their study found that the only significant factors to determine personal contributions towards rehabilitation and prevention methods were political ideology and education levels (Baker, et. al. 2013). Unfortunately, there were not enough respondents in this study who reported their political ideology to test it as a factor that may influence child-saving attitudes. In contrast, a comparison of education levels did not have a significant impact on the amounts participants were willing to pay for either incarceration or rehabilitation programmes to be implemented. This difference may be a result of the sampling methods used in each study. Specifically, this study asked for the participants' highest level of education achieved while Baker et al. (2013) asked participants specifically which year was their highest completed.

As further support for the notion of child-saving, participants were asked whether they believed there was an age at which a juvenile can no longer be helped within the criminal justice system. In this study, almost three quarters of participants did not think there was an age at which they believed juveniles could no longer be helped. This paralleled the original study almost where three quarters of participants did not believe there was an age at which juveniles could no longer be helped, however, most participants did not think juveniles could be helped after the age of 16 (Moon, et. al., 2000). Furthermore, the mean age at which Australians thought you could no longer help a juvenile delinquent was only a year younger than the mean age suggested by American participants. In Australia, the age suggested reflects a similar age to which you start the upper levels of high school education and the age at which you can start to learn to

drive, however, this is older than the age of responsibility as implemented through *Doli Incapax* and the criminal justice system (Goldson & Muncie, 2012). The suggestion to raise the age of criminal responsibility to one that is more internationally accepted was one of the recommendations of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (Goldson & Muncie, 2012). In doing so, the Committee suggested that all offenders under the age of 18 be removed from the adult criminal justice system and detained separately from adult offenders, unless it is considered to be in the juvenile's best interests to do so (Goldson & Muncie, 2012). The results from this study suggest that following the recommendations of the United Nations Committee would be supported throughout the Western Australian community.

4.0.3 Distribution of Funds. This study aimed to measure participant's relative support for different methods of intervention used within the criminal justice system. In this study, participants ranked police first, followed by youth crime prevention programmes, prisons then offender rehabilitation programmes. Comparatively, former research participants ranked the intervention techniques as prevention, drug treatment, police and prisons most important based on their allocated amounts (Cohen, Rust & Steen, 2006). In this study, participants may have distributed more money to the police based on the use of a more community-based policing approach throughout Australia (Fleming & O'Reilly, 2008). This policing approach emphasizes the police's relationship with the community, and the priorities previously highlighted by the Australian public (Beck, et. al., 1999).

It was further hypothesised that respondents with more punitive attitudes would distribute more money to the police and prisons in comparison

to youth crime prevention and offender rehabilitation programmes. In previous research, those who had more punitive attitudes were more likely to support incarceration in comparison to other programmes, even those with empirical support (Perelman & Clements, 2009). The results of this study partially support the hypothesis with a weak positive correlation between punitive scores and the amounts distributed to police and a weak, negative correlation between punitiveness scores and youth crime prevention programmes. In contrast, participants' punitiveness scores significantly impacted on the amounts they distributed to prisons and offender rehabilitation programmes. The significant relationship between punitive attitudes and the amount distributed to police might be further support for the role of Australian police in crime prevention and protection of residents, rather than an association with punishment (Beck, et. al., 1999). An example of this is the Frontline 2020 approach recently employed in south-west Western Australia aimed to increase community interaction and positive views of the police force within the community (ABC, 2014). This implementation of community policing throughout Western Australia may have changed the participants' views of the police force. This study's results suggest that participants associate the police and their work more with crime prevention rather than punishment, therefore, supporting the implementation of community policing.

4.0.4 Goals of the Criminal Justice System. This study aimed to measure what participant's perceive as the goals within the criminal justice system. Participants strongly supported the goals of rehabilitation and the protection of society, in comparison to lower levels of support for punishment. Specifically, more than 80% of the participants believed that rehabilitation

should be a main emphasis of the criminal justice system. This is somewhat more than the support advocated in Moon et. al.'s (2000) original study where only 63.3% of respondents believed that rehabilitation should be the main emphasis of the criminal justice system. Additionally, more than 80% of this sample also believed that the protection of society should be emphasized within the criminal justice system. Together, this data supports the original notion that the juvenile justice system should take on a parental role protecting both the juveniles and the community that they will be re-integrated into (Moon, et. al., 2000). There was some support for punishment that persisted through the research, however, somewhat less than would be expected with a sample that has such prominent punitive attitudes (Cullen, et al., 2007).

Overall the sample had a high punitiveness score of 101, yet, more than 80% of the sample believed that the main goals of the criminal justice system should be rehabilitation and/or the protection of society. Comparatively, 56% of the sample believed that punishment should be the emphasised within the criminal justice system. These responses are similar to those explained by Cohen, et. al. (2006) and Cullen, Cullen and Wozniak (1988) who suggested that although the public have a punitive sentiment towards juvenile delinquents, an effort to save a child from the effects of the criminal justice system seems to remain throughout society. These results further support the idea that punitiveness has multiple dimensions, which may include some form of rehabilitative sentiment (Spratt, 1999).

It was hypothesised that participants with higher punitiveness scores were more likely to believe that the main emphasis of the criminal justice system should be punishment. Previous research found that those who reported higher

punitive sentiments were more likely to rate incarceration higher than rehabilitation and prevention programmes (Perelman & Clements, 2009). As punitiveness scores got higher, the level of support for punishment and protection of society as the main emphases of the criminal justice system increased. These results support the hypothesis that those with more punitive attitudes were more likely to support punishment within the criminal justice system, however, participants also supported the idea that the criminal justice system should aim to protect society. This suggests that community members have punitive views, but also want the criminal justice system to do more than punish delinquents (Cohen, et. al., 2006).

4.0.5 Vulnerability Hypothesis. It was anticipated that respondents from a lower socio-economic area would report higher levels of fear of crime. As suggested by the vulnerability hypothesis, women, the elderly and those from lower socio-economic status areas are less likely to be able to protect themselves from crime and, therefore, report higher levels of fear of crime (Cook & Lane, 2009; Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986). The reported level of fear of crime was slightly higher than the median with males reporting a slightly lower fear of crime than their female counterparts, thus supporting the vulnerability hypothesis (Cook & Lane, 2009; Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986).

The vulnerability hypothesis suggests that as a result of higher levels of fear of crime, the more vulnerable members of society are more likely to support punitive criminal justice policies as a means of protection (Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986; Cook & Lane, 2009). A study of punitive attitudes within the Perth region found that a higher fear of crime was consistently related to high punitiveness scores (Roberts & Indermaur, 2007). It was expected, therefore,

that those who scored higher on the punitiveness scale were more likely to report higher levels of fear of crime. This was somewhat supported by a weak, positive correlation, suggesting that there are other factors that may have a greater influence on levels of fear of crime. The difference in these results may be explained by the use of different scales. Roberts and Indermaur (2007) measured punitiveness by asking whether participants agreed with different statements. In contrast, this study used Mackey and Courtright's (2000) punitiveness scale. Despite not being used in an Australian context, this scale measured punitive attitudes with high reliability ($\alpha = .945$). It may be that Roberts and Indermaur's (2007) scale only uses two items to measure punitive attitudes while Mackey and Courtright's (2000) scale provides a more in-depth measure of punitive attitudes, with fifteen items combined to measure punitive attitudes.

Further in line with this hypothesis, Baker, et. al (2013) found that those who reported higher levels of fear of crime were less likely to support child-saving measures. The current results did not support this expectation. Regardless of whether participants received the rehabilitation or incarceration programmes, those who reported higher levels of fear of crime were more likely to provide more monetary support for the implantation of programmes compared to participants who reported lower levels of fear of crime. This level of support may be a result of the 30% decrease in crime, rather than the implementation of the programme itself. Furthermore, as levels of fear of crime increased so did the participant's levels of support for rehabilitation as a main emphasis of the criminal justice system. Previous research suggests that community members with higher levels of fear of crime were less likely to

support child-saving or rehabilitative measures (Cook & Lane, 2009), however, this result indicates that participants with higher levels of fear of crime are willing to support both child-saving and incarceration programmes. This reinforces the idea that those with higher levels of fear of crime are more likely to support programmes that protect themselves and their community in ways they may not be able to themselves (Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986; Cook & Lane, 2009).

Langworthy and Whitehead (1986) suggested that those who reported higher levels of fear of crime were more likely to take preventative or protection measures to decrease victimisation rates, such as the installation of home security devices. In the current study, those who reported higher levels of fear of crime were less likely to support the goal of protection of society within the criminal justice system, counter to Langworthy and Whitehead's (1986) findings. Specifically, females from Halls Head reported the lowest levels of support for protection of society as a goal of the criminal justice system. These results may suggest that these participants believed that rehabilitation would produce long term benefits that will reduce overall crime rates enough for them not to need to protect themselves. Furthermore, these results suggest that those who were more vulnerable, females and the elderly, were more likely to prevent victimisation through protective measures rather than rely on the criminal justice system to protect them from the effects of juvenile crime.

The vulnerability hypothesis suggests that those who report higher levels of fear of crime are more likely to believe that crime had increased or was an issue within their area (Spratt, 1999). In this study, 80% of respondents thought that juvenile crime was an issue for their suburb. Furthermore, those who

thought that juvenile crime was an issue for their area reported significantly higher levels of fear of crime than those who did not. These results further support the vulnerability hypothesis, with those who think they are more likely to be affected by or vulnerable to juvenile crime reporting higher levels of fear of crime.

4.1 Limitations

The most prominent limitation of this study has been a lack of defined variables that would substitute support for a child-saving attitude. Despite research examining the idea of child-saving, there has been little research that explicitly highlights what variables contribute to a child-saving attitude or how to measure such attitudes. Each study presents its own research methodology but few have been re-tested with different samples (Mears, et al., 2007). This limitation has been previously highlighted within other child-saving research, thus this study aimed to begin to fill this gap within the literature (Weatherburn, 2011; Piquero & Steinberg, 2010). This study combined a number of techniques that have been previously used to measure community attitudes towards rehabilitation and juvenile delinquency (Nagin, et al., 2006; Cohen, et al., 2006; Cullen, et al., 2007; Mackey & Courtwright, 2000). In doing so, this study found, irrespective of the different techniques used, that Childsaving attitudes remain a cross-cultural belief within the community. This study adds to the literature that examines such variables and suggests that future research continues to solidify the explicit variables known to influence public attitudes towards juvenile offenders.

Another limitation of this study was the low response rate for the surveys. Other studies that have used a contingent variable methodology reported an approximate 45% response rate, however, the previous research used a bidding technique over a telephone survey (Piquero et al., 2010; Cohen et al., 2004). The response rate for this study was a mere 6.8%, compared to the suggested 20% rate that is acceptable for mail survey studies (Krosnik, 1999). Considering the Peel Region's socio-economic status of the population, a low response rate suggests a lack of social cohesion and commitment to their community that is often found in areas of low socio-economic status (Cavusgil & Elvey-Kirk, 1998). The low response rate may indicate a self-selection or social desirability bias which means the results may not be representative of the community's opinions (Podsakoff, McKenzie & Lee, 2003). Despite these criticisms, research has found that mail surveys are a more accurate means of recording participant demographics than phone surveys and, therefore, a low response rate does not necessarily have a negative impact on the survey results (Krosnik, 1999).

On reflection of the survey design, it was noted that there were too many variables for the small scale of this study. Although each of the survey questions addressed the research aims, questions about perceptions of spending in the criminal justice system and methods of juvenile crime prevention did not add to the main study aims and hypotheses of this study. Consequently, these results have been omitted from this study. In saying that, this study used a number of variables to measure public attitudes towards juvenile delinquency. In doing so, this allowed the study to examine public perceptions in as many ways as possible.

4.2 Research and Policy Implications

This study adds to the body of literature that should help to inform policymakers on the public's attitudes towards the juvenile delinquency and the criminal justice system. The findings from this study have implications for policymakers, politicians and interest groups who wish to influence public opinion on criminal justice issues. This study supports the view that child-saving attitudes remain a "habit of the heart" within the community (Cullen et al., 2007). Despite which method or scale was used to measure public attitudes, the support for Childsaving beliefs resonated throughout the results. Respondents are willing to support the goal of rehabilitation within the juvenile justice system. Furthermore, more than three quarters of the sample believed it was never too late to help a young person. These views emphasize the idea that juveniles are more amenable and remain less responsible for their actions, in comparison to adults, and, therefore, can be prevented from future offending and re-integrated into society as a worthy citizen (Moon, et. al., 2000). Based on the results of this study, policymakers and politicians should advocate and be more willing to invest in rehabilitative programmes rather than the "get-tough" approach.

This data does not mean that Western Australians do not support the punishment and incarceration of juvenile offenders. This study supports the idea that the public wants the best of both worlds - to "get tough" and rehabilitate juvenile delinquents - at the same time (Cohen, et. al., 2006). Those who participated in this study held overwhelmingly punitive attitudes with support for punishment and the protection of society highlighted throughout this study. Despite their punitive attitudes, respondents continued to support rehabilitative methods including juvenile crime prevention programmes. Whilst supporting

previous research (Cohen, et. al., 2006; Cullen et al., 2007; Nagin, et. al., 2006), this suggests that policymakers and politicians should highlight both punishment and rehabilitative goals throughout corrections legislation and the juvenile justice system.

It appears that members of the public want a criminal justice system that effectively deals with juvenile delinquents, whether it is through rehabilitation or incarceration. This study suggested that the implementation of either longer incarceration periods or rehabilitation programmes would decrease juvenile crime by 30%, receiving greater levels of public support for the implementation of either program compared to Jones and Weatherburn's study (Jones & Weatherburn, 2011). Alongside the level of monetary support given to juvenile crime prevention programs, this implies that the public would prefer money to be spent on rehabilitation and crime prevention rather than incarceration of juvenile offenders. The implementation of such programs also emphasizes to the community's belief that the goals of the criminal justice system should aim to provide assistance and stability for both the young offenders and the members of community that they will be re-integrated into (Moon, et. al., 2000).

Furthermore, this study adds to the literature advocating that members of the public are willing to pay as much for rehabilitation programmes as they are for increased incarceration sentences. Alongside the community's support for rehabilitative and preventative measures, this study suggests that politicians and policymakers should be less willing to advocate punitive reforms. Instead, policymakers should be more willing to invest in rehabilitative programmes that are more effective in terms of cost and recidivism (Cohen & Piquero, 2009; Cohen, Rust, Steen & Tidd, 2004; Cullen & Gendreau, 2001).

Interestingly, these results also highlight the way the Australian police force is viewed within the community. When distributing funds to different interventions, it appears that police were ranked alongside juvenile crime prevention programmes. Additionally, almost four out of five participants believed that the criminal justice system should continue to emphasize the protection of society within its procedures. This supports previous research on the police roles prioritised by the public, including the protection of residents, investigating and responding to crime (Beck, Boni & Packer, 1999). These results imply that the Frontline 2020 approach has been successful in building relationships with stakeholders and community members and increasing the police presence within the community, however, there needs to be more research to evaluate the role of the police within the community.

Regardless of the punitiveness within the community or the different techniques used to measure Childsaving attitudes, this study supports the view that a child-saving attitude can be considered a core cross-cultural belief (Cullen, et. al., 2007). Members of the community continue to support rehabilitation and prevention programmes within the criminal justice system, irrespective of a number of socio-demographic factors. Specifically, they are willing to pay equally as much to implement these child-saving programmes as they are to increasing incarceration sentences. The public are willing to support options that effectively deal with juvenile offenders, providing them with stability and assistance necessary to re-integrate the young people into the community and prevent future contact with the criminal justice system. This demonstrates that, whichever way you look at it, Childsaving attitudes remain within the community and, therefore, should influence the criminal justice system.

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