'Love thy neighbour' values, needs, and willingness to participate in restorative justice: a survey of Australian and Japanese victims and offenders

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This article tests the hypothesis that 'love thy neighbour' values, victim and offender needs, and belief in benefits can predict willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting. A postal survey sought the views of 1,355 Australian and Japanese offenders or victims, or relatives of victims, of violent crime. For all groups, 'love thy neighbour' values influenced perception of victim or offender needs. Needs differed across cultural groups. For Australians, the relevant needs were victim voice and amends and offender reintegration and rehabilitation. Needs relevant to Japanese victims and offenders were victim forgiveness and offender reintegration and rehabilitation respectively. Restorative justice realises shared social values, but does so through different culturally-based beliefs about human needs. This study underlines the importance of respecting the different ways in which cultures may wish to practise restorative justice. Such differences, nevertheless, should be the subject of open dialogue about basic purposes and how practice connects with restorative justice ideals.

Introduction

Restorative justice conferences deal with wrongdoing in two distinctive ways. First, as Christie (1977) has pointed out, restorative justice gives the opportunity and responsibility for dealing with the wrongdoing to those who are most directly involved, namely offender and victim. Second, restorative justice involves a dialogue involving offender,

victim and their community. The dialogue pursues some, if not all, of the following objectives: to uncover the harm that has been done; to understand how the harmful incident came about; to enable those responsible for the harm to acknowledge their role, apologise and make amends; to enable those who were harmed to regain a sense of dignity and safety; and to enable healing to begin for individuals, relationships, and communities (Bazemore, 1998; J. Braithwaite, 1989; Harris, 2003; Zehr, 1990). There is a range of possible settings in which these objectives may be pursued. Victims and offenders may or may not meet, victims may have perished (as in post-conflict societies), or there may be no specific victim (as in drink driving).

Yet achieving any of the desired outcomes of restorative justice, even to a limited degree, depends on eliciting cooperation from victims and offenders, their supporters and communities. Both victims and offenders may have good reasons for deciding not to take part in a restorative justice process. The victim may fear the offender, and fear revisiting the trauma associated with the offence (Haskell & Randall, 2011; Stubbs, 2002). The offender, on the other hand, may be reluctant to face the harm caused or be dismissive of it (Coker, 2002; Stubbs, 2007). Support for and willingness to cooperate in a restorative justice process is likely to be shaped by a range of contextual factors (J. Braithwaite, 2002; McCold, 2003).

Contextual factors aside, proponents of restorative justice have invested heavily in arguing the case for restorative justice as a useful addition or alternative to traditional court-based justice. Less intensively scrutinised is the question of how the ideas of restorative justice can meaningfully be integrated with the beliefs and values of members of the community. Does restorative justice sit apart in people's minds, embraced as a fashion or fad with emotional appeal, but not thought about deeply, even by those whose cooperation in a restorative justice process is being sought?

How the public makes sense of restorative justice in the policy context is yet to be fully understood. Available research provides glimpses into why it may be important to pursue this question: Do people have deep-seated values and beliefs that give restorative justice legitimacy as a means of delivering justice? There is considerable evidence to suggest that victims, offenders and communities are attracted to restorative justice (McCold, 2003; Roberts & Stalans, 2004). People like the idea of victim-offender encounters where victims can talk to offenders about why they committed the crime and hear the offender accept responsibility. Apology and restitution are valued by the public and by victims, more so than seeing offenders punished (McCold, 2003; Roberts & Stalans, 2004; Strang, 2002; Strang et al., 2006).

In a bid to explain the appeal, Roberts and Stalans (2004) offer two models from cognitive social psychology: the group value model (Lind & Tyler, 1988) and attribution theory (Heider, 1958; McGillis, 1978). According to the group value model, both victim and offender desire the opportunity to be heard by the other side. Both feel insecure with regard to their status and position in the eyes of those who are significant to them. Offenders need to find ways of repairing the harm so that they can regain the respect of

the community, while victims need to regain their dignity and self-respect in the community after being unfairly victimised. Restorative justice has the potential to affirm group values about how people ought to behave and affirm the identity of both offender and victim as valued group members (Okimoto, Wenzel & Feather, 2009; Wenzel, Okimoto, Feather & Platow, 2010). Following this formulation, restorative justice mends identities and reaffirms the solidarity of the community.

Attribution theory, according to Roberts and Stalans (2004), also helps to explain support for a restorative approach. People not only need to see someone accept responsibility for their actions, but they also need to resolve the issue of what caused the event to happen and the blameworthiness of those involved. The offender may accept responsibility for a crime because he/she committed that crime, but there may be extenuating circumstances that make the offender less blameworthy than one might assume. Such judgments as to blameworthiness are individualised in restorative justice, providing victims, offenders and communities with the opportunity to talk these issues through to resolution for themselves.

Roberts and Stalans (2004) also provide insights into when restorative justice loses its public appeal. When the crime is very serious or when the offender is blameworthy without showing sufficient remorse, people make a mental switch to a punishment model of justice. According to Wenzel et al. (2010), the critical issue that switches people from a restorative to a more retributive frame is loss of consensus regarding values and shared social identity. If the offender belongs to an outgroup that threatens or is in conflict with the identity of the victim (such as a terrorist) or if the offender uses power inappropriately to dominate the victim (as in domestic violence), people will be more likely to move to a retributive frame for delivering justice.

These arguments explain why, after an offence has occurred, people might opt for a restorative justice conference or a more retributive court-based process. People do what is most comfortable psychologically for them. There is little space in these accounts for commitment to restorative justice, regardless of how heinous the crime is or how alien the offender is perceived to be. Yet restorative justice processes have been embraced in just such circumstances. Most notably, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission was steered by restorative justice principles. The crimes against human beings that took place during apartheid were horrendous, and identification with ingroups and outgroups was extreme, with deep historical and structural roots. In many parts of the world where post-colonialism has brought sustained periods of war and conflict, reconciliation and peace building have turned to indigenous practices of justice which have strong restorative elements (see J. Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy & Dunn, 2010). These examples suggest that attraction to restorative justice transcends the seriousness of the crime and group identities. This article therefore searches for a way of thinking about restorative justice that is broader than that offered by group-value and attribution theories. Such a way of thinking is likely to prioritise harmonious equilibrium in society (Bateson, 1972), and be manifested in social values that are respected and observed

regardless of individual preferences and suffering. How these values are expressed and how they are linked to other beliefs about justice and commitment to action is the subject of this article.

Explaining support for a restorative justice paradigm shift

Many advocates of restorative justice would claim that it has an innate capacity to satisfy the human need for healing and resolution after suffering a threat or loss. Critics would flag the risks of arbitrary power in restorative justice conferences: only court-based processes offer formal social controls to ensure procedural fairness and punishment proportional to the crime. How might members of the community interpret these arguments in terms of their own value and belief systems?

A framework for community deliberation and dialogue that addresses basic needs for healing while safeguarding fairness and order in the justice system is the value balance model of political evaluation (V. Braithwaite, 1994; 1998; 2009a). Values are ideal goals in life and ways of behaving that people adopt as principles to guide their decisions and actions across situations (Rokeach, 1968; 1973). The value balance model postulates two value systems—one oriented to harmony, relational goodwill and cooperation, the other to security, institutional stability and competition.

To be legitimate in the eyes of the public, a shift in policy (for example, promoting restorative justice in place of court-based processes) must be seen as 'desirable … within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions' (Suchman, 1995: 574). Security and harmony value orientations provide such a framework for legitimating policy and involving the community in deliberations about which policy shift is most desirable in a particular context. For instance, if a government wished to invest in more prisons or extend the activities of its police force, legitimacy for such a policy shift would be sought from the public in terms of law and order and security values. If a government wished to invest in education and training or mediation and conflict resolution, legitimacy would most likely be sought through promoting opportunity, rehabilitation and harmony values. Restorative justice is regarded primarily as an expression of the harmony value system; court-based justice primarily as an expression of the security value system.

How does the harmony value system increase participation in restorative justice?

It is important to note at the outset that the harmony and security value model does not presuppose an adversarial relationship between the values that underpin court-based justice and restorative justice. When governments proffer these institutions as competing ways of delivering justice, they are responding to political interests, not to the way

in which most people think about justice. A substantial body of research shows that most people want both security and harmony from their social institutions (Blamey & V. Braithwaite, 1997; V. Braithwaite, 1994; 1997; 2009a). More generally, ethical orientations geared toward respect for external authority, order and social control sit comfortably alongside ethical orientations geared toward interpersonal connectedness, personal integrity and the realisation of human potential (Fromm, 1947; Hogan, 1973; Katz & Hass, 1988; Rasinski, 1987; Rokeach, 1968; Scott, 1960; 1965; Weber, 1946). The security-harmony value balance model is very much in keeping with these long established conceptions of ethical systems that underpin human society (see also the anthropological and cross-cultural perspectives of Douglas (1970) and other cultural theorists).

Given that most people think governments should pursue security and harmony values on their behalf, both restorative justice and court-based justice should be potentially valuable within criminal justice systems. In many jurisdictions they coexist. This article is not concerned with both types of justice, however (see Huang, Braithwaite, Tsutomi, Hosoi & Braithwaite, 2012 for both perspectives and their overlap). This article focuses on the harmony value system and how these values underpin support for restorative justice across cultural contexts.

What are harmony values?

Harmony values further peaceful coexistence through a social order that shares resources, communicates mutual respect, and cooperates to allow individuals to develop their potential to the full. Harmony values for society include rule by the people, a world at peace, human dignity, and equal opportunity for all. Harmony values for the individual revolve around hopes for self-insight, inner harmony, self-respect, tolerance, generosity and forgiveness.

The restorative justice values that line up with the harmony value system are that we should not hate others, that we should be peaceful, tolerant and forgiving, and that we should condemn harmful actions without condemning the people who engage in them (J. Braithwaite, 1989). These are fundamental beliefs about desirable ways of behaving that transcend context and as such meet the definition of values (Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). We call this cluster of restorative values that are part of the harmony value system *love thy neighbour*.[1] We will make the assumption that these values transcend cultural contexts because of their highly abstract nature (see

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[1] 'Love thy neighbour' is used to capture the 'golden rule' or ethic of reciprocity that one should treat others as one would want others to treat oneself, and that one should be considerate to all people, not just to those who are part of one's group. Simon Blackburn (2001) points to the presence of the 'golden rule' in most ethical systems. Culturally it is valuable for reconciling differences. In this context we have used the label 'love thy neighbour' rather than 'the golden rule' to signal the intensely personal and interpersonal positive and negative emotions ranging from love through empathy to hate that are expressed, protected and reconciled in a restorative justice conference.

Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990), while acknowledging that there will be a more grounded set of value beliefs under this broad umbrella that will be tailored to different cultural contexts.

This article maps the ways people think about *love thy neighbour* values and how they connect with other beliefs about victim, offender and community needs and willingness to participate in a restorative justice conference. As restorative justice processes are developed to meet a plurality of needs and political demands, planners can benefit from being cognisant of the values and beliefs that underpin the public's interest in restorative justice. If a restorative justice programme is inadvertently disconnected from this value and belief system, it may lose credibility in the eyes of the public as a means of dealing with crime. If it is never connected, it will survive as long as an externally imposed justice system is tolerated. Such tolerance does not necessarily stem from benevolence. Such a system can be used by powerful actors to further their own purposes, a particular concern that feminists have raised in relation to the use of restorative justice in Asia to address domestic violence (Goel, 2005; Huang, 2012).

Study design and hypotheses

This study uses survey responses to map the values and beliefs that lead to willingness to participate in restorative justice meetings among Australians and Japanese. The focus is on victims and offenders because their cooperation is fundamentally important to the success of restorative justice.

A model for empirically testing the 'thinking' of communities about restorative justice is adapted from the work of Milton Rokeach (1968; 1973). According to Rokeach, limited sets of values define who we are and underpin the way we interpret and think about the world. Such values are important for the legitimacy of our institutions and the self-validation of individuals. But abstract ideals about what is desirable for oneself and others do not always translate directly into action. Values give rise to attitudes and beliefs. These may be more context-sensitive and help define the relevance of the more abstract values to particular situations, thereby directing a person's actions (V. Braithwaite, 2009b).

In the case of restorative justice, the relevant attitudes and beliefs are likely to revolve around the usefulness of the policy initiative for meeting people's needs and delivering positive outcomes. Previous work has identified attitudes and beliefs about the needs of people who have been the victims of crime and offenders (Huang et al., 2012). One set of beliefs relevant to restorative justice was associated with the idea that offenders needed to accept responsibility for their actions, apologise, make amends and be given an opportunity to re-integrate into the community (*offender reintegration and rehabilitation*). Two other relevant sets of beliefs were associated with victims. One set represented the view that victims needed to forgive the offender and see the offender rehabilitated (*victim forgiveness*). The second focused on victims' need to feel empowered, to have their say about

the harm done to them, to ask for an explanation and seek reparation (*victim voice and amends*). Meeting the needs of victims and offenders has been successfully linked with willingness to participate in restorative justice meetings. Also linked to participation are more general perceptions of benefits from restorative justice.

Using Rokeach's (1968; 1973) model to theorise causal relationships between values, attitudes and beliefs, the central hypothesis is that *love thy neighbour* values underpin beliefs about needs, perceptions of benefits and willingness to participate. Specifically, *love thy neighbour* values are likely to heighten awareness of and sympathy for the needs of victims and offenders. Those who express greater commitment to *love thy neighbour* values are likely to assign greater importance to *offender reintegration and rehabilitation*, *victim voice and amends*, and *victim forgiveness.* In turn, these values and attitudes are likely to be associated with a stronger belief that restorative justice will offer *benefits for victims, offenders and communities*. This set of beliefs, attitudes and values will increase the likelihood of *willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting* on a future occasion. These relationships are depicted in a theoretical causal model in Figure 1.

Figure 1: A theoretical guide to building a structural equation model of the links between social capital, values, beliefs about victim and offender needs, benefits of restorative justice, and willingness to participate in a conference.

While *love thy neighbour* values are hypothesised as being fundamental to explaining the coherence among victim/offender needs, benefits and willingness to participate, it is not the only explanation. Another factor, *social capital*, has been identified as possibly explaining the relationships that are postulated in Figure 1 (Huang et al., 2012). Social capital is conceptualised and measured as the degree to which respondents are enmeshed in communities where people engage with each other in community activities and have a sense of efficacy in dealing with community problems (Putnam, 2000). Previous work suggests that those who are well connected with their community are more likely to participate in restorative justice conferencing (Huang et al., 2012). Those who are more

connected to their communities in a social sense may also be more likely to adopt a *love thy neighbour* value frame (Putnam, 2000; Warner, Beck & Ohmer, 2010). For this reason, the relationships under discussion and represented in Figure 1 will be tested while controlling for the effects of *social capital*.

The theoretical model proposed in Figure 1 is a causal model. In the next section it will become apparent that the survey design produces cross-sectional, not longitudinal, data. As a result, causal relationships cannot adequately be tested in this study. The first best step is to use structural equation modelling with cross-sectional data to ask the question: is the model in Figure 1 plausible, even though causality cannot be proven? In addition, a series of hypotheses of bivariate relationships between the key variables will be tested:

(a) *Love thy neighbour* values are expected to be associated positively with *willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting* (Hypothesis 1).

(b) *Love thy neighbour* values are expected to be associated with being more attuned to the human needs of victims and offenders to heal emotionally, specifically with *offender reintegration and rehabilitation*, *victim voice and amends*, and *victim forgiveness* (Hypothesis 2).

(c) *Love thy neighbour* values are expected to be associated positively with seeing *benefits* to victims, offenders and the community from restorative justice (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Participants

The Australian sample for 'A Cross National Comparative Study: Australian and Japanese Attitudes to Crime' comprised 1,967 randomly selected respondents who replied to a postal survey (response rate of 36.1 per cent; see Huang et al., 2012 for further details). The respondents were invited to express their opinions on how satisfied they were with the current criminal justice system and the treatment of offenders. The survey was framed by the following:

> Have you ever been dissatisfied with the way the Australian justice system works? Do you think that our treatment of offenders creates a safer society? We want to know how you feel about these important issues.'

The sample used in this article comprised a portion of the total sample of respondents who replied to the postal survey. The sample was restricted to those respondents who had experience of crime as victim, relative/friend of a victim, or offender. This subsample

was likely to be more thoughtful about victim/offender needs and ways of responding to those needs than respondents who had no personal experience of crime. Furthermore, this was the sample that in theory would be likely to be asked to cooperate in a restorative justice process. Victims and offenders need to accept and cooperate in restorative justice interventions if such meetings are to be used widely within the justice system. Cooperation from family and friends is also important. Victims may bring family and friends along for support. So too may offenders. The survey, however, did not include questions about being a friend or relative of an offender, presumably because such information would only be known if the offender was caught.

Victims, relatives/friends of victims, and offenders were selected through the following questions[2] to which each respondent replied 'yes' or 'no':

(a) I have been the victim of a violent crime at some point in my life. (16 per cent replied yes)

(b) A family member or close friend has been the victim of a violent crime at some point in their life. (36 per cent replied yes)

(c) I, myself have committed violence on someone at some point in my life. (10 per cent replied yes)

(d) I, myself have committed theft on someone at some point in my life. (15 per cent replied yes)

The 'yes' responses to the above questions were not mutually exclusive. An individual could be a victim, a relative/friend of a victim *and* an offender; they could have replied 'yes' to one or two of these questions, or of course 'no' to them all. As a result, some screening and grouping of responses was necessary before the analyses could be conducted.

Of the original sample, 894 respondents met the conditions of being victims, relatives/friends of victims, and/or offenders. Respondents were categorised into two groups. Victims and relatives/friends of victims were combined because there were not sufficient numbers to conduct the analyses on the groups separately. Group 1 comprised people who had been a victim of a violent crime or whose family member or close friend had been victim of a violent crime, but who had *not* been an offender (N = 525). Group 2 comprised people who had committed an offence of violence or theft (N = 369); in some cases they had also experienced victimisation of self or a family/friend (60 per cent), in other cases not (40 per cent). Group 1 comprised experience of victimisation without offending, while Group 2 comprised offending with over half also experiencing victimisation. The likelihood of being a victim if one was an offender was higher than

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2   These questions were asked under the instruction 'Please tell us about your experiences with crime and those of your close friends and relatives'. There were no further instructions specifying the characteristics of the crime(s) in question.

the likelihood of being an offender if one was a victim. For this reason, respondents who were both victims and offenders were categorised with offenders.

The Japanese sample of 1,544 respondents was also randomly selected (response rate of 29.2 per cent; see Huang et al., 2012 for further details). Using the same screening process outlined above, a subsample of 461 responses was selected comprising victims (14 per cent of sample), relatives/friends of victims (21 per cent of sample), and offenders (10 per cent violent crime, 5 per cent other). Again, being a victim, friend/family of a victim, or an offender were not mutually exclusive categories. Of the subsample, 266 respondents met the requirements of Group 1, that is, they reported victimisation experiences directly or indirectly without being an offender at any stage. Group 2 comprised 195 respondents who were offenders (violence or theft): 61 per cent of them also reported victimisation of the self or close other, while 39 per cent had no such experience.

The breakdown of the Australian and Japanese sub-samples in terms of sex, marital status, education, age and income is presented in Table 1, showing heterogeneity on social demographic characteristics in both cases.

For comparative purposes, a breakdown of the total samples of Australians and Japanese who completed the survey (which includes respondents who were neither victims nor offenders) is also presented in Table 1. These samples were drawn through sampling frames that delivered as good cross-sections of the populations as possible. In both Australia and Japan, questionnaires were delivered to a random sample of each population, respectively through mailing based on the Australian electoral roll and drop-in interviews based on the Japanese household system. Proportional sampling was applied in Australia according to the population of each state and territory; while in Japan, two-phase random sampling was administered by selecting 450 samples from two chosen cities/districts in six prefectures.

Measures

The questionnaire items discussed in this section were initially written in Japanese, translated to English, then reverse translated back to Japanese to pick up nuances that might have been lost in the original translation.

Table 1: Per cent breakdown of the victim and offender Australian and Japanese sub-samples on demographic characteristics (with total sample statistics for comparison)

Demographic characteristic	Per cent					
	Australia			Japan		
	Victim N=525	Offender N=369	Total n=1967	Victim N=266	Offender N=195	Total n=1544
Male	39	66	46	48	75	47
Married	66	58	68	71	68	74
With tertiary education	22	22	24	25	26	25
24 years of age & below	9	14	8	3	5	3
25–44 years of age	38	41	35	30	43	32
45–64 years of age	42	37	41	59	46	55
65 + years of age	11	8	16	8	6	10
Lower relative income	41	38	40	42	44	40
Middle relative income	43	42	40	41	43	42
Higher relative income	16	20	20	17	13	18

Note: Relative income was separated into three tiers using the percentile ranks for the total Australian and total Japanese samples: approximately 40 per cent of scores fell into the lower income tier, 40 per cent the middle income tier and 20 per cent the upper income tier.

Social capital

This scale comprised seven items covering both descriptions of the respondent's community and the respondent's own participation in the community. A high score represents high social capital. Using a five-point strongly agree–strongly disagree scale, responses were given to the following statements:

    (a) People in this neighbourhood participate in community events such as festivals/celebrations and flea markets.

(b) Community groups such as clubs and sports associations are quite active in this neighbourhood.

(c) People in this community are willing to solve local problems (e.g. traffic safety and environmental problems) by themselves.

(d) Residents' organisations (e.g. neighbourhood associations, residents' associations, citizens' movements) concerned about local issues are active in this community.

Respondents described their own engagement in their community in terms of the following statements:

(a) I participate in community events (e.g. festivals/celebrations and flea markets).

(b) I belong to community groups such as sports association or clubs.

(c) I participate in community groups such as neighbourhood associations, residents' associations or citizens' movements dealing with problems in the community.

Love thy neighbour

Three items represented harmony values on how we should behave toward others. Respondents rated each of the following items on a five-point strongly agree–strongly disagree scale:

(a) We should not hate others.

(b) We should hate the wrongdoing, not the person.

(c) I would like to respect the philosophy of forgiveness, tolerance and peace.

A high score means high endorsement of *love thy neighbour* values.

Victim voice and amends

This measure comprised five items relating to victim needs. The statements were general in nature and were not tied to particular experiences of victimisation. Respondents used a five-point scale ranging from 'very important' to 'not at all important' to rate the following items:

(a) For the victim to find out from the offender why the offence was committed against them.

(b) For the victim to be able to speak their mind in front of the offender.

(c) For the victim to receive an apology from the offender.

(d) For the victim to be compensated for the offence.

(e) For the victim to see that the offender recognises that they are responsible for the crime.

A high score reflects the perception that this was a need of victims that should be met by the system.

Victim forgiveness

This two-item measure represented a very different and more controversial conception of victim benefit from the last one—the benefit to the victim of being able to offer forgiveness to the offender. Importance ratings on a five-point scale were given to each of these items:

(a) For the victim to be able to forgive the offender.

(b) For the victim to see the offender rehabilitated.

A high score reflects the perception that victims needed to be able to forgive.

Offender reintegration and rehabilitation

This measure captures beliefs about offender needs for reintegration and rehabilitation. The following items were rated by respondents on the five-point importance scale:

(a) For the offender to be re-accepted by society.

(b) For the offender to be supported by the community.

(c) For the offender to have hope for the future.

(d) For the offender to be supported by their family.

(e) For the offender to receive rehabilitative assistance.

(f) For the offender to be understood by others that they are sorry for committing the crime.

(g) For the offender to be forgiven by the victim.

A high score reflects the perception that offenders needed the opportunity to be reintegrated into the system.

Benefits of restorative justice

The term 'restorative justice' was not used explicitly in the questionnaire. Instead, a description was given of what a restorative justice meeting or conference would look like:

Victims of crime are sometimes given the opportunity to meet with the person who committed the offence against them with the assistance of authorised mediators, with the offender's consent. Both victims and offenders are usually accompanied by some close family or friends. The purpose of this meeting is to enable this group to discuss the offence and why it occurred, how the offender can make amends for the harm done to the victim and the community, and how the offender can be helped to stay out of trouble in the future. Sometimes, members of the community can also attend these meetings.

After reading this description, respondents rated each of the following items on a five-point strongly agree–strongly disagree scale:

(a) This meeting will be beneficial to community residents.
(b) This meeting will be beneficial to victims.
(c) This meeting will be beneficial to offenders.

The items were highly correlated and have been used elsewhere in aggregated form by averaging responses over the three items (Huang et al., 2012). In this article the items are used as individual measures: Victims and offenders may hold different views on who in particular does or does not benefit from restorative justice. Keeping the measures separate leaves open the opportunity to ask the following question: Are victims and offenders as concerned about the community as themselves, or are they as concerned about each other as themselves? Critics have claimed that restorative justice 'goes easy' on offenders and is therefore favoured by them. High scores indicate higher perceived benefits from restorative justice.

Willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting

Respondents were asked to put themselves in the shoes of victims, offenders and communities to consider whether they would take part in a restorative justice meeting as described in the questionnaire. They were asked three questions, each with five response options ranging from 'definitely' to 'definitely not':

(a) If you were a community resident do you think that you would take part in such a meeting?
(b) If you were the victim of an offence do you think that you would take part in such a meeting?
(c) If you were the offender in an offence do you think that you would take part in such a meeting?

An additional statement that was included in the scale required respondents to use a five-point strongly agree–strongly disagree rating scale:

(d) Community residents should definitely participate in the meeting.

The scale was scored such that high scores reflect greater willingness to take part.

Results

Analytic strategy

In order to test Hypotheses 1 to 3, Pearson product moment correlations were calculated for each of the four subsamples between *love thy neighbour* values and other variables, both controlling and not controlling for *social capital.*

The model in Figure 1 was tested using Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS) version 6.00 with maximum likelihood estimation (Arbuckle, 2005). The first step involved a series of confirmatory factor analyses to ensure that the scales used to measure the latent variables were coherent across the four subsamples (Australian victim, Australian offender, Japanese victim, Japanese offender). The items in the measures described above constitute the modified scales. Minor modifications were made to the original scales that had first been developed and used in an earlier study using the entire sample of survey respondents (Huang et al., 2012). Alpha reliability coefficients for the measures used in this study ranged from .62 (*victim forgiveness*) to .89 (*offender reintegration and rehabilitation*) (see Table 2).

Table 2: Alpha reliability coefficients for scales measuring social capital, love thy neighbour values, victim and offender needs and willingness to participate in restorative justice

Scales	Alpha reliability coefficients			
	Australia		Japan	
	Victim N=525	Offender N=369	Victim N=266	Offender N=195
Social capital	.78	.72	.79	.79
Love thy neighbour values	.75	.75	.69	.76
Victim voice and amends	.79	.82	.73	.70
Victim forgiveness	.63	.62	.67	.74
Offender reintegration and rehabilitation	.89	.88	.82	.87
Willingness to participate in restorative justice	.75	.78	.78	.72

The means and standard deviations for the measures broken down by subgroup are reported in Table 3. The groups were similar in terms of beliefs about the *benefits* of restorative justice and *willingness to participate*. The one exception was that Australian victims were less likely to believe that offenders would benefit from restorative justice.

With regard to victim/offender needs, Japanese victims and offenders placed greater importance than Australian victims and offenders on *victim voice and amends*, *victim forgiveness*, and *offender reintegration and rehabilitation*. The Japanese victims and offenders were less strongly committed to *love thy neighbour* values and reported lower *social capital* than Australian victim and offenders. While significant, the differences in mean scores were not large.

The majority of both Australian and Japanese respondents were positive about *love thy neighbour* values, the needs of victims and offenders, the benefits of restorative justice meetings and attendance at such meetings. Only in the case of Japanese responding to questions about social capital were the majority of respondents below the scale mid-point, expressing reservations about the cohesiveness of their communities.

Table 3: Means, standard deviations (SDs) and significant differences for the victim and offender Australian and Japanese sub-samples on social capital, love thy neighbour values, victim and offender needs, benefits and willingness to participate in restorative justice (scores range from 1 to 5 with higher scores indicating more of the measured construct)

| Variables | Mean (SD) | | | | |
| | Australia | | Japan | | |
	Victim N=525 a	Offender N=369 b	Victim N=266 c	Offender N=195 d	F statistic
Social capital	3.38(.69) cd	3.26(.65) cd	2.84(.90) abd	2.63(.90) abc	61.86**
Love thy neighbour	3.79(.74) cd	3.81(.76) cd	3.44(.81) ab	3.29(.91) ab	30.18**
Victim voice and amends	4.14(.58) cd	4.10(.60) cd	4.29(.54) ab	4.33(.55) ab	10.32**
Victim forgiveness	3.42(.90) cd	3.44(.85) cd	3.79(.79) ab	3.67(.92) ab	13.16**
Offender reintegration and rehabilitation	3.57(.71) cd	3.64(.69) cd	4.07(.56) ab	3.97(.69) ab	42.16**
Benefit victims	3.80(.82)	3.84(.74)	3.88(.91)	3.90(.91)	1.02
Benefit offenders	3.47(.92) cd	3.53(.95)	3.70(.98) a	3.69(.97) a	4.83*
Benefit community residents	3.62(.82)	3.58(.80)	3.66(.90)	3.59(.92)	.56
Willingness to participate in restorative justice	3.37(.79)	3.29(.86)	3.46(.73)	3.37(.73)	2.56

Note: Significant differences among the four groups for each scale were tested using one-way analyses of variance, with between group means (a, b, c, d) tested using the least-significant difference (LSD) method. The letters under the mean score indicate that that particular mean is significantly differ-ent at the .001 level from the other specified group means. For example, cd means that the mean for the group in question differs significantly from the mean for group c (Japanese victims) and group d (Japanese offenders).

* p < .01, ** p < .001

Correlating *love thy neighbour* values with other variables

The results of the bivariate correlations of *love thy neighbour* values with other variables
appear in Table 4 for each of the four subgroups. In brackets beneath these correlations
are the partial coefficients in which social capital is the controlled variable.

*Table 4: Pearson product moment correlation coefficients and partial correlation coefficients
(controlling for social capital) in each of the four sub-samples for love thy neighbour values
with victim and offender needs, benefits and willingness to participate in restorative justice*

| Other variables | Love thy neighbour values (in brackets, controlling for social capital) | | | |
| | Australian | | Japanese | |
	Victim	Offender	Victim	Offender
Social capital	.17*** (na)	.14* (na)	.12* (na)	.14 (na)
Victim voice and amends	.05 (.03)	.08 (.08)	-.05 (-.05)	.03 (.03)
Victim forgiveness	.43*** (.42***)	.45*** (.44***)	.45*** (.44***)	.49*** (.49***)
Offender reintegration and rehabilitation	.54*** (.53***)	.55*** (.54***)	.30*** (.28***)	.50*** (.50***)
Benefit victims	.20*** (.20***)	.21*** (.20***)	.16** (.16**)	.09 (.06)
Benefit offenders	.33*** (.32***)	.40*** (.39***)	.10 (.09)	.13 (.11)
Benefit community residents	.22*** (.21***)	.23*** (.22***)	.22*** (.21***)	.29*** (.27***)
Willingness to participate in restorative justice	.30*** (.28***)	.33*** (.32***)	.23*** (.22***)	.32*** (.30***)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The correlations are remarkably consistent across offender/victim and Australian/
Japanese groups. The findings provided partial support for Hypothesis 1: Respondents
who endorsed *love thy neighbour* values were more likely to express sympathy for both
victim and offender needs, regardless of their own self-reported levels of *social capi-
tal*. Support for the hypothesis is based on *victim forgiveness* and *offender reintegration
and rehabilitation*. *Victim voice and amends* was not significantly correlated with *love*

thy neighbour values. The explanation for this non-significant result may lie in its correlations with other needs (see later multivariate analysis). The findings were consistent across offender and victim groups in both Australian and Japanese cultures.

Hypothesis 2 was also partially supported. Respondents endorsing *love thy neighbour* values were consistently more likely to see restorative justice producing *benefits for community residents* across groups. The relationships held regardless of the respondent's reported *social capital*. *Benefits for victims* and *benefits for offenders* behaved less consistently across groups. Benefits for victims and offenders were associated with *love thy neighbour* values among Australians, but less so among Japanese. In the case of the Japanese victim group, *love thy neighbour* values had one low, significant correlation with *benefits for victims*, regardless of reported levels of *social capital*.

Hypothesis 3 was supported. In all groups, those who adhered strongly to *love thy neighbour* values were more *willing to participate in a restorative justice meeting*, regardless of their level of *social capital*.

While *social capital* was positively associated with *love thy neighbour* values ($r = .12$ to $.17$ in Table 4), the strength of the association was not high. Nevertheless, because this variable had played such an important role previously (Huang et al., 2012), *social capital* was retained in the model testing that followed.

Structural equation modelling

The modelling strategy adopted was to remain true to the central theoretical propositions about the value-belief system and to allow the modification indices to guide which particular needs (*victim voice and amends*, *victim forgiveness*, *offender reintegration and rehabilitation*) and which particular benefits (*benefits to victim, offender and community residents*) were important for linking *love thy neighbour* values with *willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting*.

Diagrams representing the SEM models of best fit for Australian victims, Australian offenders, Japanese victims and Japanese offenders appear in Figures 2 to 5 respectively. All goodness of fit tests for the models were satisfactory (see notes under Figures 2 to 5), suggesting that the models provided a reasonably good representation of the data. Four tests were used: Chi-square; Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI); Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index (AGFI); and Root Mean-Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). The Australian victims model explained 37 per cent of the variance in willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting; the Australian offenders model explained 38 per cent in the same variable, the Japanese victims model explained 27 per cent, and the Japanese offenders model 44 per cent. These squared multiple correlation coefficients are reasonable given that we are using abstract and de-contextualised values and attitudes to predict what is essentially a behavioural variable, or at least intentions to behave in a certain way across three roles—victim, offender and community resident. The pathways in the SEM models and their standardised regression weights appear in Figures 2 to 5.
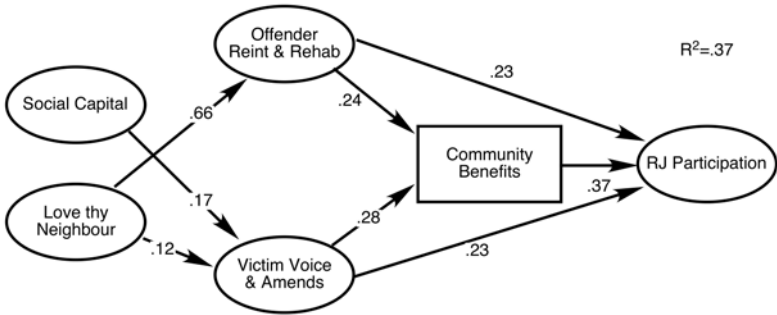
Figure 2: SEM model explaining willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting among Australian victims.

Note 1: covariance between social capital and love thy neighbour = .24; covariance between offender reint & rehab and victim voice & amends = .09

Note 2: goodness of fit indices: Chi-square = 4.273 (*df*=5), *p* = .511; GFI = .997; AGFI = .989; RAMSEA = .000
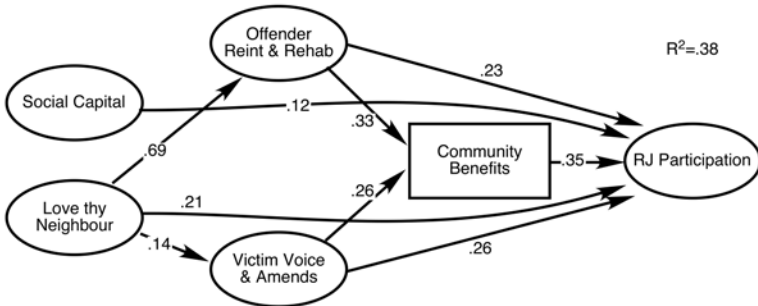

Figure 3: SEM model explaining willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting among Australian offenders

Note 1: covariance between social capital and love thy neighbour = .22; covariance between offender reint & rehab and victim voice & amends = .04

Note 2: goodness of fit indices: Chi-square = 5.754 (*df*=5), *p* = .331; GFI = .995; AGFI = .979; RAMSEA = .020
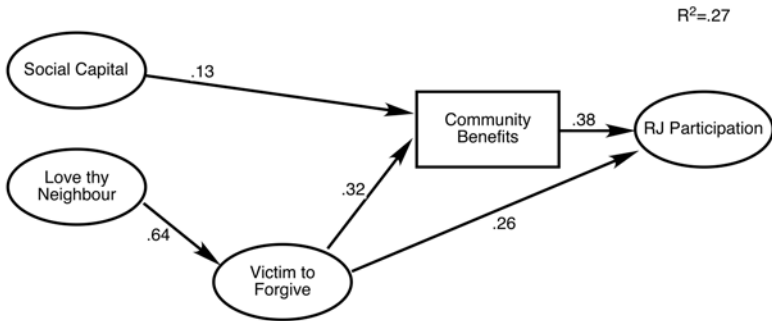
Figure 4: SEM model explaining willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting among Japanese victims

Note 1: covariance between social capital and love thy neighbour = .09

Note 2: goodness of fit indices: Chi-square = 0.773 (df=4), p = .942; GFI = .999; AGFI = .996; RAMSEA = .000
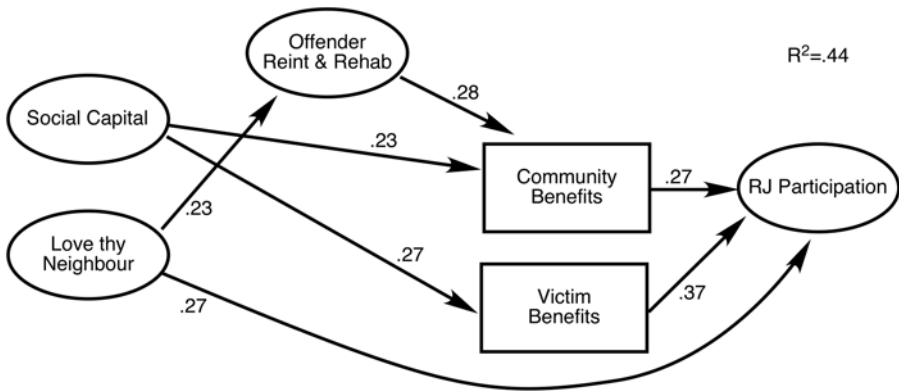

Figure 5: SEM model explaining willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting among Japanese offenders.

Note 1: covariance between social capital and love thy neighbour = .17; covariance between community benefits and victim benefits = .52

Note 2: goodness of fit indices: Chi-square = 7.316 (df=6), p = .293; GFI = .988; AGFI = .957; RAMSEA = .034

The central hypothesis of the causal model that *love thy neighbour* values link to the importance placed on victim and offender needs, that the importance of such needs link to the belief that restorative justice benefits those in the community, and that perception

of benefits link to *willingness to participate* in a restorative justice meeting is generally supported in all four groups—Australian victims, Australian offenders, Japanese victims and Japanese offenders. The particular needs and benefits that do the explanatory work in the SEM models vary for these different groups.

For Australian victims and offenders, two of the three types of needs matter for those who hold *love thy neighbour* values in high regard. Most important is *offender reintegration and rehabilitation*. A weaker pathway, yet a significant one, links *love they neighbour* values and *victim voice and amends.* It is interesting that in Australia, those who support restorative justice through a *love thy neighbour* value frame have incorporated the idea that victims should have their say and receive apology and reparation, even though at the bivariate level, the relationship between *love they neighbour* values and *victim voice and amends* is not significant.

For Japanese victims, the need that was dominant in the structural equation model to the exclusion of all others was *victim forgiveness*, that is, victims with *love they neighbour* values placed importance on a victim being able to forgive the offender and see the offender rehabilitated.

For Japanese offenders, the need that emanated from *love thy neighbour* values was *offender reintegration and rehabilitation*, that is, the need for offenders to be supported by their family and community, understood as being sorry for what they had done and forgiven by victims, given assistance with rehabilitation, and re-accepted by society.

Those placing importance on *love thy neighbour* values and, in turn, victim and offender needs were expected to see benefits in restorative justice. In all groups, those who believed it was important to meet victim and offender needs saw restorative justice as offering benefits. In all groups, *benefit to community residents* dominated.

The last latent variable that played a role in the structural equation models in Figures 2 to 5 is *social capital*. Only in the case of Australian victims was *social capital* linked to victim or offender needs. For Australian victims, those who reported having high *social capital* were more likely to place importance on *victim voice and amends*, which in turn increased the likelihood of perceived *community resident benefits* from restorative justice and *willingness to participate*.

In other cases, *social capital* was directly linked to measures of benefits and participation. In these instances, it seems that sociability or a sense of togetherness or group identity drives those with high *social capital* to regard restorative justice positively, regardless of how they perceive the needs of victims or offenders.

For Australian offenders, high *social capital* was linked directly to greater *willingness to participate* in a restorative justice meeting as victim, offender or resident of the community.

For Japanese victims, high *social capital* was associated with seeing *community resident benefits* from restorative justice, which then was linked to *willingness to participate*.

For Japanese offenders, high *social capital* increased the likelihood of perceiving *community resident benefits*. High *social capital* also increased perceptions of *victim ben-*

efits among offenders. Expectations of both community and victim benefits was linked to an increased *willingness to participate*.

In addition to these main causal relationships in Figures 2 to 5, other relationships were required to obtain a satisfactory fit for the model. In all cases they were consistent with the thesis that values, perceptions of victim and offender needs, and benefits of restorative justice are positive contributors to willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting.

Discussion

Restorative justice programmes rely on cooperation from offenders, victims and communities for their success. Cooperation is of interest to policy makers at two levels. *In situ* cooperation refers to the willingness of those affected by a particular crime to come together in a restorative justice meeting to work through the harms that have occurred. The circumstances of the crime, the way in which restorative justice is practised, and skill in facilitating the meeting are among the factors that will affect cooperation *in situ*. This is not the concern of this article. Instead the focus is on cooperation in the abstract without focusing on a particular crime. This article addresses the values and beliefs of the public with regard to accepting the idea of restorative justice in principle and how these abstract belief systems have implications for the successful implementation of restorative justice.

Why does it matter what the public hopes will be delivered through restorative justice? Why can't policy makers simply communicate benefits as they would with other new policies and 'engineer' compliance with the process? One argument is that governments that introduce restorative justice should respect restorative justice principles of social inclusion and empowerment from the moment of implementation (Young, 2000). A second, more pragmatic concern is the challenge of mobilising people to engage in restorative justice processes with confidence and good will. The paradigm shift from being a passive recipient of justice to being an active participant in justice requires commitment on the part of individuals who must be willing to genuinely play their part, either as victims, offenders, or members of the community. For this to occur, restorative justice programmes must be 'owned' by the public and must be seen to have a legitimate place in the broader justice system. Restorative justice and court-based justice need to be seen as mutually reinforcing and be understood by the public as distinctive yet part of an integrated system. In order to meet these challenges, governments need to understand why restorative justice resonates with the public in the abstract—before peculiarities of cases and specific experiences with the processes cause perturbations with the system. In Suchman's (1995) terms, the legitimacy of a restorative justice programme depends on government connecting it with beliefs, norms and values held to be desirable by the community. This raises the question addressed in this article: What are the values and beliefs that, in the minds of the community, underpin the idea of restorative justice con-

ferencing? And are these values and beliefs similar across cultures (in this case, Australia and Japan) and across groups (in this case, victims and offenders)?

The article has investigated the widespread public support for the idea of restorative justice, first through values that over years have acquired some claim to universal status; and second through beliefs about human and social needs and benefits that are likely to be shaped by history and culture. Within Australia and Japan, values, beliefs about needs and benefits connect in different ways to produce willingness to take part in restorative justice conferencing. Within each culture, the differences between offenders and victims and their communities of support are less marked than cross-cultural differences.

The common value set identified in this article is *love thy neighbour*, representing tolerance, forgiveness, peace and respect for all people, regardless of whether they have committed an offence. These values are considered part of a larger coherent value system that has universal relevance, called the harmony value system. The harmony value system delineates socially approved principles that build supportive relationships with others, establish cooperation with others, and provide care for others. It is the value system that reflects our humanity. Within other cultures harmony values are present in teachings on how to live a good life. The South African value of *Ubuntu* reflects a life of harmony, connectedness, caring and sharing.

But *love thy neighbour* values do not directly connect with perceptions of community benefits from restorative justice, and only in the case of offenders (in both Japan and Australia) do they connect directly with willingness to participate in a restorative justice meeting (see Figures 2 to 5). Values need conduits to connect with behaviour. Social capital is one factor that was considered a likely conduit. While important in its own right, it did not link values to behaviour. Harmony values link up with beliefs about what offenders and victims need, and only through these more specific sets of crime-related beliefs can harmony values shape support for restorative justice. Perceptions of need are the major determinants of perceptions of benefits of restorative justice for communities and willingness to cooperate. Most importantly, which needs are active varies across groups, and most notably, across cultures.

The need that features most commonly in relation to *love thy neighbour* values in the SEM models is *offender reintegration and rehabilitation*, appearing in three of the four groups: for Australian victims and offenders, and for Japanese offenders. In the case of Japanese victims, *victim forgiveness* (being able to forgive the offender and see the offender rehabilitated) appears instead of *offender reintegration and rehabilitation* through a *love thy neighbour* value frame. *Offender reintegration and rehabilitation* in all four groups correlates highly with *victim forgiveness* (r ranged from .55 to .62 across the four groups). Both *offender reintegration and rehabilitation* and *victim forgiveness* focus on relational healing. The offender shows remorse, looks for acknowledgement for doing so, and seeks validation as a good person who can be reintegrated into the community. The victim offers forgiveness and can rest easy in the knowledge that the offence will not re-occur. Relational harmony is restored.

The findings show that *love thy neighbour* values heighten the importance placed on relational healing for offender and victim, but it does so in slightly different ways in different cultures. Australians focus on the offender as the person who brings about such healing, and this process dominates *victim forgiveness*. There is little evidence that Australian victims and offenders who hold *love thy neighbour* values proceed to the point of seeing forgiveness as a powerful aid to victim healing independent of the offender's behaviour (Ahmed & V. Braithwaite, 2006; Ahmed & J. Braithwaite, 2005; Wenzel & Okimoto, 2010). In contrast, among Japanese, offenders focus on their reintegration and rehabilitation while victims focus on their capacity to forgive. For Japanese, both victims and offenders have an active role to play in healing and reaching for the restoration of harmony.

One way of interpreting the results of this study is to envisage *love thy neighbour* values branching in two directions, depending on cultural context. *Love thy neighbour* may represent the expected standard of behaviour for an individual: to love one's neighbour as one loves oneself requires owning up to the harm one has done and mending one's ways by showing others the compassion, kindness and care that one would want for oneself. Restorative justice provides a context for dealing with the offender with civility and giving the offender a chance to apologise and make amends.

A second meaning of *love thy neighbour* is less individually based. *Love thy neighbour* may connote restoring relationships more than 'rehabilitating' individuals. This may particularly be the case in Asian cultures, possibly as a remnant of Confucianism in which the ideal society is built on harmonious relationships not personal interests. An Asian perspective on *love thy neighbour*, therefore, may be that individuality dissolves and becomes subservient to what is best for the collective or community. Offenders and victims are oriented to restoring harmony to their communities, not so much through focusing on each other as individuals, but rather through focusing on their communities' expectations of them. Offenders show remorse and victims offer the gift of forgiveness in the interests of the community.

This interpretation of how Australians and Japanese may differ in how they engage with *love thy neighbour* values is borne out by a further explanatory variable in the analyses, namely *victim voice and amends* (see Figures 2 and 3). Australian victims and offenders who espoused *love thy neighbour* values were more likely to place importance on *victim voice and amends*—that is, on victims having their say about the harm they experienced and receiving an apology and reparation from the offender. *Victim voice and amends* was a more individualistic measure than the relational measures of *victim forgiveness* and *offender reintegration and rehabilitation* (rs of *victim voice and amends* with *victim forgiveness* and *offender reintegration and rehabilitation* were in the lower range from .04 to .27). In contrast to Australians, Japanese victims and offenders who thought highly of *love thy neighbour* values were not more likely to place priority on the need for *victim voice and amends*. *Victim voice and amends* was not a significant contributor to the SEM diagrams in Figures 4 and 5.

These findings show how core values can become a base for different belief configurations in different cultures or subcultures, and how these constellations of beliefs and values impact on how restorative justice unfolds in practice. For Australians, participating in restorative justice and seeing community benefits hinges on *love thy neighbour* values, *victim voice and amends* and *offender reintegration and rehabilitation.* Victims have the right and offenders responsibility for explanation and apology. For Japanese, *victim voice and amends* plays no role. Victims have a responsibility to forgive, and offenders have a responsibility to explain, apologise and seek forgiveness. The loss of harmony that might ensue with *victim voice and amends* is not encouraged.

The absence of the more individualistic need for *victim voice and amends* in the Japanese groups and the emphasis on apology and collective well-being is consistent with criticisms of the use of a restorative style of justice in Asia (Goel, 2005; Hosoi & Nishimura, 1999; Yoshida, 2003). Apology in restorative justice settings in Japan can be ritualistic and lack sincerity (Hosoi & Nishimura, 1999). In other instances, police and prosecutors use the widespread desire to avoid conflict and damaging relationships to elicit confessions and reparation with insufficient regard for due process and the truth (Yoshida, 2003). Goel (2005) provides a critical commentary on how harmony values, assumed to prevail in Asian cultures, lead to subservience and oppression in women experiencing domestic violence because self-sacrifice in women is linked to maintaining relational harmony.

The data reported in this study lend weight to criticisms of restorative justice practice in Asia. But does the source of the problem lie in the ideas behind restorative justice or in the way restorative justice nestles into pre-existing cultural constraints? In the examples described above and in the present study, harmony values and restorative practices have been co-opted by institutions that are predominantly concerned with security values. Security values, which are just as important as harmony values for any society, advance goals of competition, advantage, rule adherence and institutional stability (V. Braithwaite, 1994; 1998; 2009a). Security institutions are unlikely to create a space for critical reflection on how *love thy neighbour* values are expressed or should be expressed to advance restorative justice objectives. It could be argued that in Asian culture, security-oriented institutions tend to dominate restorative justice programmes, failing to give them enough space to respond to the needs of individuals, particularly those more vulnerable because they have less social status. In such circumstances, conversations are needed between governments and their constituents to explore whether there is room for acting on *love thy neighbour* values within the restorative justice context to not only restore harmony, but also genuinely to listen and respond to the needs of less powerful victims.

By the same token, restorative justice programmes can be criticised for becoming too disconnected from security oriented institutions, thereby losing structures that are designed to ensure that adversarial sentiments do not translate into interpersonal bul-

lying or domination in the restorative justice context. Concerns have been expressed in Australia about inadequate protection for vulnerable groups in restorative justice conferencing, particularly by feminists in the case of domestic violence (Stubbs, 2007) and child protection advocates in the case of child abuse (Harris, 2008). Here the concern is that without the protection of rights from court-based justice, restorative justice leaves vulnerable groups (women and children) open to intimidation and being threatened by powerful others who refute their claims.

Establishing restorative justice programmes in a way that protects the rights of the vulnerable while strengthening prospects of emotional healing requires historical and cultural knowledge of how offender and victim needs are construed and legitimated through links to shared social values. The purpose of this article has been to set out a method which analyses how restorative justice acquires meaning in a society and which enables us to understand why it is implemented in different ways in different contexts. As governments and policy makers address the form that their restorative justice programmes should take, there is merit in stepping back to consider the values that underpin a restorative approach.

Love thy neighbour values are proposed as one such touchstone against which the contribution of a restorative justice programme can be evaluated. Values are shared and enduring guiding principles and, as such, serve as an anchor for deliberations on what a restorative justice programme is aiming to achieve. Next, there is merit in considering the needs that people hope may be met through restorative justice, their value base and the degree to which restorative justice is able to deliver in response to these needs. Then there are needs that are not given recognition by local people, but where evidence exists to show that responding to these needs through restorative justice may be important for healing. In the case of Asian cultures, this may be victim voice and amends; in the case of western cultures, victim forgiveness. Proposed changes can be evaluated in terms of their likelihood of complementing *love they neighbour* values—or undermining them. Changes that undermine these basic values, even if they are designed with the best intentions for protection and not harm, may inadvertently destroy the legitimacy of restorative justice for victims, offenders and their communities.

Limitations

This study is a first step towards understanding the value base of restorative justice in the minds of victims, offenders and the public. To date, most studies have contested expert analysis of what restorative justice should be and what it should do. This study adopts a different approach; it asks: What are the values and beliefs that people hold dear and that lead them to support restorative justice as a means of dealing with crime? The findings clarify some contentious issues. Victims and offenders are remarkably similar when their beliefs are mapped out from a value base of *love thy neighbour*. Cultures, on the other

hand, manifest differences, but these differences are not irreconcilable with the fundamental tenets of restorative justice. The article points to a way forward: Respect cultural variation and 'tweak' restorative practices to suit cultural conditions, while maintaining an open and critical dialogue to ensure that the shared basic tenets of restorative justice are being realised.

The study is limited by a number of factors. Due to its reliance on a secondary analysis of existing survey data, a smaller set of values has been measured than would have been ideal for this particular study. In future work it will be useful to expand our understanding of harmony values in order to resonate more fully with Asian cultures. The inclusion of more cultures in a truly international survey of the values base of restorative justice will further our insights into how restorative justice might be built with both value legitimacy and respect for individual victims, offenders and communities. Doing such surveys with a time lag to measure values before programmes are introduced, and then beliefs and behaviours as programmes come into being, will enable researchers to interrogate the causal direction of effects that are theoretically postulated here, drawing on the work of Rokeach (1973).

In the meantime, we can feel a degree of confidence in the following propositions: Basic value orientations will connect with beliefs about victim and offender needs and the benefits of restorative justice in a culturally prescribed fashion. Because they are so dependent on the cooperation of victims, offenders and communities, restorative justice systems require for their success an understanding of how the restorative justice process connects with a community's values and beliefs about how to deal with offenders, victims and those affected by crime. Once the connections are understood, sponsors of restorative justice can elicit public support for their restorative justice programme with respect for local values and beliefs. Moreover, sponsors of restorative justice can engage in a genuine partnership with communities, both to mould the programme to suit local customs and to extend it to respond to the unmet needs of victims, offenders and communities.

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