Gender, Stereotypes, and Justice: Public Perceptions of Male and Female Violent Offenders'

Suitability for Restorative Justice and Rehabilitation

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Abstract

While feminist criminological research has documented differences in public perceptions between male and female violent offenders, little is known about how the offender's gender influences public attitudes towards the use of restorative justice for an offender. This study applied the "evil-women hypothesis" to the context of restorative justice, positing that women who commit violent crimes face harsher judgment for violating both legal and gender norms, and are therefore perceived as less suitable for restorative justice (DV1) and less capable of rehabilitation (DV2). Using a between-subjects experimental design, German and Dutch citizens (N = 121) indicated their attitudes towards restorative justice after being exposed to a hypothetical armed robbery case involving either a male or female offender. Mediation analyses explored whether perceived gender stereotype violation explained less favourable attitudes towards the female offender compared to the male offender. Findings partially supported the evil-women hypothesis: while the female offender was rated significantly higher on perceived gender stereotype violation, public attitudes towards suitability for restorative justice and perceived capability to rehabilitate showed no significant differences between the male and female offender. These results illuminate a nuanced relationship between gender-based perceptions of a violent offender and attitudes towards restorative justice, as the offender's gender significantly influenced perceptions of the female offender but did not substantially impact public support for restorative approaches among a predominantly liberal sample. Future research should examine whether these findings generalise across diverse political populations and investigate how gender biases might be attenuated in restorative justice practices with female offenders.

Key words: restorative justice, gender stereotype violation, violent crime, female offender

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Suitability for Restorative Justice and Rehabilitation

Public perception of offenders and attitudes towards crime are crucial in determining offenders' successful reintegration into society (Hirschfield & Piquero, 2010; Moss et al., 2018). Punitive societal attitudes, such as the belief that an offender is 'once a criminal, always a criminal,' can reduce the collective responsibility and acceptance needed to provide the offender with a chance to realign with appropriate standards of behaviour and re-enter civil society (Maruna & King, 2009; McCold, 2000; Pranis et al., 1998). Conversely, positive attitudes that view an offender as capable of redemption maximize community readiness and support for ex-offender reintegration efforts (Andrews, 2015; Burton et al., 2020; O'Sullivan et al., 2017). The public's willingness to reintegrate offenders, however, is lower in violent crimes compared to non-violent crimes (Cullen et al., 2000; Edwards, & Mottarella, 2015; Robert & Stalans, 2004). Several studies suggested that society holds more negative attitudes towards female violent offenders compared to their male counterparts (Gilbert, 2002; Habib et al., 2023; Saxena 2012), despite women committing only a minority of all violent offences (Carson, 2022; Walsh et al., 2020). This raises the question of why female offenders are judged more negatively by the public.

Previous research suggests that gender stereotypes play a significant role in shaping public perceptions of offenders (Belknap, 2020; Russell, 2012). Traditional norms and stereotypes portray women as less violent than men, while men are often seen as more physically aggressive by nature (Hocine, 2014; Schippers, 2007). Thus, when women commit violent crimes, they not only violate the law but also the societal expectation of femininity and may therefore be more harshly judged by the public than males committing the same type of crime (Lloyd, 1995; Tuncer et al., 2018).

The public's perception and attitudes towards female perpetrators of violent crimes create significant barriers to their reintegration into society (Covington, 2002; Habib et al., 2023). The barriers

are multifaceted, ranging from obtaining housing (Callahan et al., 2016) and employment due to past

criminal records (Boppre & Reed, 2021; Johnson, 2014) to a lack of access to social support systems

(Bloom, et al., 2004; Cobbina, 2010; Keough, 2013). A 2015 report from the UK found that only one in

ten women find employment after release, a rate three times lower than for men after release (Nadin et

al., 2015). Recent studies suggest that those challenges could be one crucial factor for higher rates of

recidivism (Chiricos et al., 2007; Gobeil et al., 2016, Thornton, 2023) and drastic increases in subsequent

reincarcerations for female offenders (Miller, 2021). These barriers are attributable to negative and

stigmatizing public attitudes towards them (Pickering, 2014), which may then influence both informal

social reactions and formal policy decisions (Ruibin, 2015). Such attitudes can lead to social exclusion

(Hirschfield & Piquero, 2010) and more punitive rather than reintegrative policies, as judicial decisions

are often implicitly influenced by community standards which can be marked by stigmatizing attitudes

(Irwin & Real, 2010; Lötter 2022; Page & Shapiro, 1983; Russell, 2012). In light of this, many scholars

called for a shift in attention and resources towards the establishment of supportive environments for

women's sustainable return to society after incarceration (Grace et al., 2022).

With the intention to move beyond purely punitive responses to crime, the concept of

restorative justice has emerged (Braithwaite, 1998; Wenzel et al., 2008; Zehr, 1998). At its core,

restorative justice reframes wrongdoing as a breach of community values and relationships rather than

merely a violation of law (Braithwaite, 2003). The paradigm aims to repair harm that has been done by

addressing the needs of all stakeholders affected by it (Zehr, 2015). Over the past few decades, the

practical application of restorative justice has expanded globally, with more than 100 countries

implementing restorative practices (Prison Fellowship International, 2022; Van Ness, 2016). Studies

suggest that restorative justice may be particularly effective for female offenders (Hayes, 2005;

Hodgson, 2020; Österman & Masson, 2016). Socialized to prioritize social ties more than men

(Covington, 1998), women can benefit from restorative justice's focus on repairing relationships, which

can enhance their self-worth and motivation for change (Covington, 2002; Miller, 1986). However, female offenders' chances to restore social bonds through restorative practices, depend on the public's acceptance and willingness to reintegrate them.

Despite the growing research on public perceptions of female offenders, the link between the offender's gender and the public's attitude towards restorative is widely unexplored. While studies have shown that gender stereotypes shape public perceptions of offenders (Belknap, 2020; Douglass, 2023; Russell, 2012), it is yet unclear if they also impact the public's views on offender rehabilitation and suitability for restorative justice practices. This study intends to fill a gap in feminist criminology and offender research by shifting the discourse's attention to how gender and stereotypes determine the perceived potential for offenders' reintegration into society. To our information, this study is the first to address this supposed mechanism and thereby raise awareness of the potential negative perception of women's chances for reintegration by emphasizing the impact of gender stereotypes. Drawing on previous research, this study poses the research question, "Does the gender of violent offenders in a specific crime scenario influence public perceptions in terms of their 1) suitability for restorative justice practices and 2) capability to rehabilitate, and to what extent does perceived gender stereotype violation mediate this relationship?".

By attempting to provide answers to this question, this paper serves as an impetus for future interventions. Challenging entrenched gender stereotypes through public education is vital for reducing biases (Russell & Torres, 2023) and could thus attenuate differences in public attitudes. Most crucially, wider adoption of restorative principles might foster greater public empathy and willingness to reaccept female offenders as valued community members (Masson & Österman, 2017). Such systemic shifts are imperative for upholding human dignity, reducing recidivism, and working towards an equitable, effective justice system for all, regardless of gender.

Theoretical Background

Retributive Versus Restorative Justice

Retributive justice is a traditional approach that considers punishment as a necessary response to crime, aiming to restore the justice violated by offenders (Wenzel et al., 2008). The mechanism by which retributive justice operates, is a sense of compensation for the wrongdoing, following an "eye for an eye" logic (Geeraets, 2021). Common measures include fines and incarceration. However, research consistently shows that punitive measures alone fail to promote behavioural change or rehabilitation, as they do not engage offenders in understanding societal impact of their actions (van Alphen, 2015; Wenzel et al., 2008).

In contrast, restorative justice views crime as a conflict that disrupts societal peace and violation of shared values (Zehr, 1998). It seeks to restore justice by facilitated interactions between victims, offenders, and communities, aiming to restore the harm that has been done (Okimoto et al., 2009; Van Ness, 2016; Wenzel et al, 2008). Through practices like victim-offender mediation, community conferencing, and peace-making circles, restorative justice addresses key needs across three groups: it prioritizes victims' agency by giving them an active role in the justice process (Fosse, 2020; Wood et al., 2022); fosters offenders' understanding of their actions' impact and encourages them to make amends (Wenzel et al., 2008), while also enacting collective responsibility by engaging citizens in the resolution process to rebuild trust and promote reintegration (Fosse, 2020; Moss et al., 2018). The major difference between the approaches lies in their structural responses to societal rule-breaking behaviour. While retributive justice seeks justice by condemning and punishing offenders' wrongdoings, restorative justice transcends traditional courtroom settings by aiming to restore harm, rebuild social relationships and reaffirm shared values (Braithwhite, 2003; Okimoto et al., 2009).

The effectiveness of restorative justice in reducing recidivism has been a subject of empirical debate. While earlier research suggested that restorative justice had the positive side effect of reducing

recidivism more effectively than traditional approaches (Claes & Shapland, 2016; Sherman et al., 2015), recent meta-analyses report only modest reductions in recidivism (Fulham et al. 2023; Kimbrell et al., 2023; Syahwami & Hamirul, 2024). Noteworthily, restorative justice demonstrates positive psychological outcomes across multiple domains, with studies reporting reduced post-traumatic symptoms among victims (Nascimento et al., 2023), enhanced satisfaction with the judicial process for both victims and offenders (Van Ness, 2016), as well as increased responsibility-taking and empathy among offenders (Fulham et al., 2023; Jonas et al., 2022; Kimbrell et al., 2023; Wilson et al., 2018). Braithwaite (2003) argues that evaluating justice interventions solely through recidivism rates fails to capture the broader goals of healing, reconciliation, and harm reduction.

Public Attitudes Towards an Offender's Suitability for Restorative Justice Practices

To realize the potential benefits of restorative justice and effectively repair the harm caused by wrongdoing, community involvement in restorative justice practices is essential (Gromet & Darley, 2009; Taylor & Bailey, 2022; Wood et al., 2022). Achieving positive outcomes for all parties involved requires understanding whether community members deem specific offenders as suitable for restorative justice practices. Community members' doubts about suitability for restorative justice may hinder meaningful dialogue between parties, disrupt the restorative justice process, and ultimately limit its effectiveness.

Given the community's critical role in the restorative process, this study investigates the public's attitudes towards an offender's suitability for restorative justice practices (DV1). Theoretically, it is important to distinguish between three types of public attitudes towards an offender's suitability for restorative justice practices, namely attitudes towards restorative justice, willingness to reintegrate the offender, and willingness to participate in a restorative justice practice with the offender. This differentiation is necessary since Garland et al. (2017) found that while the majority of US citizens supported reintegration in general, they were less willing to live near or work closely with ex-offenders. This aligns with Doroc's (2013) observation, that citizens tend to be "more supportive of reintegrative

policies than they are willing to be involved in the reintegration process" (p. 231). This 'not in my backyard' attitude can create barriers when implementing re-entry programs (Garland et al., 2017). These findings highlight the importance to understand public attitudes in terms of theoretical support for restorative justice and practical engagement with a specific offender, to ultimately address those barriers and ensure the successful reintegration of ex-offenders into society.

Public Perception of an Offender's Capability to Rehabilitate

In addition to considering an offender's suitability for restorative justice restorative justice practices, the public must also perceive an offender as personally equipped to reintegrate into society. The second focus of this research therefore refers to the public's assessment of an individual offender's capability to be successfully reintegrated into society (Piquero & Steinberg, 2010). Such assessment is rooted in beliefs about an offender's redeemability and capacity to change (Burton et al., 2020; Maruna & King, 2009; Moss, 2018). Multiple studies have highlighted the public's belief in offenders' ability to transform their lives positively after committing an offence as a key factor in shaping perceptions of reintegration (Burton et al., 2020; Moss, 2018; O'Sullivan, 2017). This aligns with the interactionist perspective, which posits that change is facilitated when offenders adopt socially responsible behaviours (Pittaro, 2008). However, public scepticism about an offender's ability to rehabilitate could pose obstacles to reintegration, undermining the goals of restorative justice and reintegrative practices.

In essence, this study examines public attitudes towards an offender's suitability for restorative justice practices (DV1), and public perception of an offender's capability to rehabilitate (DV2). Rather than examining general attitudes towards offenders, both attitudes and perceptions are assessed in response to a specific offence scenario. This allows for a nuanced understanding of public attitudes and perceptions, which can influence restorative justice practices and successful reintegration of violent offenders. While these public perceptions are essential for understanding societal support for

restorative justice practices, they are shaped by various contextual and individual factors that influence the outcomes of restorative processes and reintegration efforts.

Differences in Public Perception of Female Versus Male Offenders of Violence

Overall, the public perception of violent offenders differs depending on the offenders' gender (Phillips & De Roos, 2022; Russell, 2012). While this gender-based difference is well-documented, the direction of these differences remains subject to debate, with studies producing contradicting results.

On the one hand, studies indicate that women often face harsher public judgement than men for committing a violent crime. Females' violent offending was overall perceived as more serious and as deserving of more severe punishment compared to male offenders and other crime types (Saxena, 2012). Also, female-perpetrated violence was twice as likely to be attributed to internal factors, such as loss of control, compared to male violence (Phillips & De Roos, 2022). This supports the notion that female offenders are perceived as excessively emotional and impulsive (Pavco-Giaccia et al., 2019). In contrast, when men committed the same offence, people were more likely to assume their violence was a response to external factors, such as provocation (Phillips & De Roos, 2022). Phillips and De Roos (2022) reported that participants perceived more negative emotions towards female than male offenders of violent acts against strangers.

On the other hand, numerous studies found more negative public attitudes towards male offenders compared to female offenders in cases of violent crime. Research indicates that laypeople tend to favour harsher punishments for male offenders than for their female counterparts (Forsterlee et al., 2004; Herzog & Oreg, 2008; Macken & Connell, 2023). Also, Strub and McKimmie (2016) reported male offenders are more likely to be found guilty than female offenders. This gender disparity has been explained by the fact that most violent offences are committed by men (Naylor, 2001; Walsh et al., 2020), leading to a longstanding association between masculinity and criminal behaviour (Godfrey, 2014). This effect extrapolated to the criminal justice system, as studies found males to be consistently

punished more harshly, with longer sentences, than a similarly situated women (Demuth &

Steffensmeier, 2004; Embry & Lyons, 2012; Koons-Witt et al., 2014). Despite the ambiguity in findings

regarding public perception of violent offenders, there is broad consensus that the public perceives male

and female offenders differently.

The Mediating Role of Gender Stereotype Violation

Previous studies suggest differences in public perception between women and men who commit

the same offence due to societally ingrained gender stereotypes (Mallicoat, 2019; Tuncer et al., 2018;).

These stereotypes result from the social construction of gender (Linders & Van Gundy-Yoder, 2008) and

are conceptualized as socio-cultural expectations of acceptable behaviours for women and men

(Burkette & Warchol, 2009; Eagly, & Steffen, 1984; Olmsted, 2018). Men are stereotypically portrayed as

strong, assertive and rational, with a natural inclination towards violence (Hocine, 2014; Naylor, 2001;

Schippers, 2007). In contrast, women are often stereotyped as weak, submissive and emotional, with a

communal and caring nature (Grabe et al., 2006; Hocine, 2014). In essence, men are expected to be

providers and protectors and women are expected to be caregivers (Hocine, 2014; Naylor, 2001).

Stereotyping functions as a cognitive tool to navigate through the social world but often leads to

biased judgements of others (Macrae et al., 1994; Russell & Torres, 2023; Tritt, 2009). Gender

stereotypes influence public perception of offenders by imposing implicit biases that can lead to

oversimplified judgments. This is underlined by the observation that offences that align with gender

stereotypes may result in more lenient attitudes towards the offender, while offences that contradict

stereotypes can lead to harsher judgments (Belknap, 2020; Vaes et al., 2019).

Studies that found more negative attitudes towards male than female perpetrators of violence

can be explained by the "Boys will be boys" attitude (Murnen et al., 2002), which views violence as

inherent to masculinity (Hocine, 2014; Naylor, 2001). This notion implies that men have reduced

responsibility and less control over violent impulses (Naylor, 2001). Since men are seen as holding more

social power (Eagly & Steffen, 1986), their perceived lack of control over violence elicits stronger public condemnation and more punitive attitudes (Knapasjö & Klindt, 2015; Russo & Pirlott, 2006). In sum, stereotypes linking violence to masculinity, cause male offenders to be perceived as less able to change their behaviour, resulting in more punitive response from the public.

Contrary findings, which reveal more negative perception of female than male offenders, can be explained by the 'evil-women-hypothesis' (Grabe et al., 2006; Phillips & De Roos, 2022; Tuncer et al., 2018). This posits that women who commit violent crimes break stereotypical gender norms (Belknap, 2020), by deviating from the expected behaviour of women "to give life, not death" (Giomi & Magaraggia, 2022), resulting in more punitive attitudes towards them (Gibson, 2019; Lloyd, 1995). So far, multiple findings support this theoretical underpinning. Tuncer et al. (2018) found that traditional gender role attitudes were associated with higher levels of punitiveness towards female offenders who violated traditional gender roles by committing violent offences. In the case of serial killer Myra Hindley, who was labelled "the most evil woman in Britain" by the press (Clark, 2011), Viki et al. (2005) found that negative evaluations of her as an "evil person" were partially explained by participants' belief that she possessed personality traits that broke with traditional gender stereotypes. Stereotypical beliefs in women's inherent nurturing nature inhibit the recognition of women's capacity for violence (Budd, 2017; Phillips & De Roos, 2022), making women's violence seem particularly threatening to social order and resulting in harsher judgments (Feinman, 1983; Keitner, 2010). In sum, the public perception of women who commit violent crimes is shaped by the belief that "women are less violent than men" (Russell, 2012). Women who transgress this belief, by violent offending, are perceived as doubly deviant and face harsher judgments than their male counterparts (Chesney-Lind, 1986; Loyd 1995).

Because research suggests that women can face gender-stereotypical biases in restorative practices, this study focuses on female violent offenders (Cook, 2006; Österman & Masson, 2016; Rodriguez, 2005). As "double deviants," female offenders face compounded stigma for violating both

the law and societally expected non-violence embedded in stereotypical femininity, while men's

violence aligns more with stereotypical masculinity. Based on these findings, it is hypothesized that

gender stereotypes influence public attitudes towards male and female offenders and extend to the

context of restorative justice. Female violent behaviour, perceived as a profound deviation from societal

expectations, might lead to less favourable attitudes towards their suitability for restorative justice

practices, them being perceived as less redeemable (Belknap, 2020) and less capable to rehabilitate. This

leads to the following hypotheses:

H1: A female offender is perceived as less suitable for restorative justice practices (DV1) and less capable

to rehabilitate (DV2) compared to a male offender committing a violent crime.

H2: This relationship is mediated by perceived gender stereotypes violation; a female violent offender

will be perceived as violating gender stereotypes to a higher degree than a male violent offender and is

therefore perceived as less suitable for restorative justice practices (DV1) and less capable to rehabilitate

(DV2).

Figure 1

Hypothesised Mediation Model
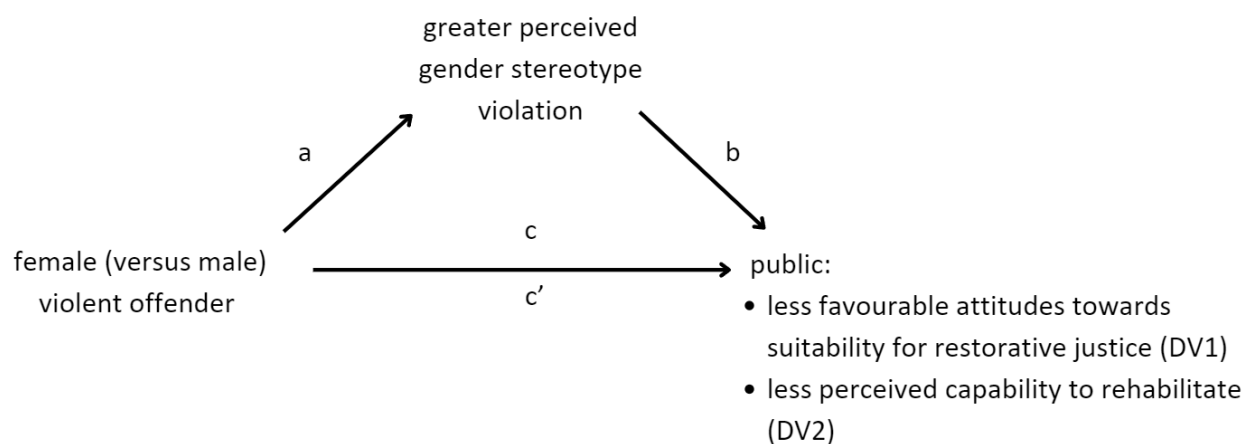
Note. c' = direct effect of X on Y; c = indirect effect of X on Y through M or a*b.

Method

Study Design

This study investigated the influence of the independent variable, "gender of violent offenders" on the dependent variables, "public attitudes towards an offender's suitability for restorative justice practices" and "public perception of offender's capability to rehabilitate". Additionally, it assessed the extent to which "perceived gender stereotype violation" mediated this relationship. A single-blind, between-subjects experiment was conducted, with participants equally and randomly assigned to one of two conditions—male or female offender.

Participants

English and German-speaking adults were recruited by using a convenience sampling method, aiming to represent various demographics including age, gender, academic background, and political affiliation. The required sample size of 148 participants was determined using Fritz and MacKinnon's (2007) sample size tables, assuming small to medium effect sizes for the a and b paths in our model (α, β = 0.26), and 80% power for the planned mediation analysis. To account for potential dropouts and incomplete responses, the recruitment target was set at 198 participants. Participants were included in the analysis if they completed at least 81% of the survey, as this ensured coverage of all main variables. Exclusion included withdrawal of consent, completing less than 81% of the survey, or completing it in less than 180 seconds (3 minutes). The 180-second cutoff was based on observed response patterns, showing that participants who took less than 180 seconds often provided uniform ratings across questionnaires, suggesting inattentive engagement.

A total of 153 participants (N = 153) volunteered their time for the study. After data screening, 32 participants were excluded – 30 for completing less than 81.00% of the survey and 2 for completing it in under 180 seconds. The final sample size was N = 121, with 49.6% in the male condition (n = 60) and 50.4% in the female offender condition (n = 61). Participants were predominantly female (59.5%),

German (91.7%), held a masters' degree (40.5%), and identified as politically liberal (42.1%). Most

(83.5%) had not taken courses in forensic or criminal psychology. Ages ranged from 18 to 91 years (M =

42.09 (*SD* = 17.58). No significant differences were observed in participants' demographic characteristics

between the female and male offender condition (see Table 1).

Table 1

Comparison of Participants' Characteristics Between Female and Male Offender Conditions Using Chi-

Square Tests and Independent Sample t-Tests

Participant characteristics		*N* = 121		χ^2	*df*	*p*
		n	*%*			
Gender				0.63	2	.728
	Female	72	59.5			
	Male	46	38.0			
	Non-binary / other	3	2.5			
Nationality				3.22	2	.20
	Dutch	3	2.5			
	German	111	91.7			
	Other	7	5.8			
Highest Academic Degree				2.31	5	.805
	Doctor's degree or higher	11	9.1			
	Master's degree	49	40.5			
	Bachelor's degree	26	21.5			
	Secondary / high school	25	20.7			
	No formal education	1	0.8			
	Other	9	7.4			
Courses in forensic psy.				0.20	1	.653
	yes	20	16.5			
	no	101	83.5			
Political affiliation				5.98	6	.425
	Extremely liberal	11	9.1			
	Liberal	51	42.1			
	Slightly liberal	21	17.4			
	Neutral	18	14.9			
	Slightly conservative	18	14.9			
	Conservative	1	0.8			
	Extremely conservative	1	0.8			

Note. χ^2 = chi-square test statistic; *df* = degrees of freedom.

An independent samples t-test indicated no significant difference in age between conditions, *t*(119) = -

1.03, *p* = .306.

Materials

Participants were recruited through the University of Twente's Sona Systems and two survey exchange websites (surveyswap.com, surveycircle.com) which use token incentivization. The online study, administered via Qualtrics, included a YouTube video stimulus (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ow5SOO2N86Q) and a subsequent questionnaire, which is why participation required access to an electronic device connected to the internet. To reach older demographics and those less fluent in English, a German translation (see Appendix B) was distributed through the researcher's peer network. A demographic survey assessed participants' age, gender, ethnicity, highest academic degree, and political affiliation, as previous research indicates these factors influence public attitudes towards offenders (Rade et al., 2016; Taylor & Bailey, 2022). Statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS 28 and the PROCESS tool.

Vignettes

Two versions of a crime scenario vignette were created to manipulate the offender's gender, resulting in two between-subject conditions: male offender and female offender. The vignettes were identical except for the offender's name and parental role. In the female offender condition, the offender was named "Maaike Schmit" and described as a mother. In the male offender condition, the offender was named "Marco Schmit" and described as a father (see Appendix A). The female vignette read as follows:

On Tuesday evening, Maaike Schmit 32-year-old mother of two, committed an armed robbery at the Aldi on Main Street. Maike Schmit recorded and uploaded footage of the crime, showing her entering the store with a handgun. She is seen forcing a staff member to open the safes by threatening him with a gun. After being handed the cash, pointing her gun at families and children shopping at the time, and firing a scare shot, Schmit fled the scene with an undisclosed amount of money. No physical

injuries were reported, though several customers and staff members sought counselling to recover from the incident.

Maaike Schmit was sentenced to four years in prison for the violent offence involving a weapon. In addition to the prison sentence, the court has offered her the opportunity to participate in a community conference upon release. Community conferences is a process that brings together offenders, victims, and community members to discuss the harm caused by a crime. This entails meetings in which all parties get to share their experiences, express their feelings, and together develop a plan for the offender to make amends.

Variables

All measures used a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), unless noted otherwise. Items of all measures were adjusted in terms of gender. Because original scales refer to "offenders" in general, this terminology was replaced with gendered pronouns ("he/him" or "she/her") to match the experimental conditions, with all measures referring specifically to the offender described in the vignette. The full questionnaire can be found in the Appendix.

DV1 - Public Attitudes Towards an Offender's Suitability for Restorative Justice Practices. Participants' attitudes towards the offender's suitability for restorative justice practices was composed of three sub-facets—attitudes towards restorative justice, willingness to reintegrate the offender, and willingness to participate in the restorative justice process—each of which was assessed using a corresponding measure.

Attitudes Towards Restorative Justice. Attitudes towards restorative justice reflect citizens' overall evaluations —ranging from favourable to unfavourable—on restorative principles and practices after an offender's wrongdoing (Taylor & Bailey, 2022). The full 20-item Attitudes Towards Restorative Justice Scale (ATRJS) was used as a unidimensional measure. This approach followed the developers' recommendation, as bifactor analysis showed that using the total scale yielded superior psychometric

properties compared to using the five underlying factors separately (Taylor & Bailey, 2022). The original study reported strong internal consistency for the total scale (α = .89; Taylor & Bailey, 2022). Similarly, the scale demonstrated good reliability in this study (α = .83). An example item of how the original items were adjusted for this study is as follows: "It is important that offenders of wrongdoing accept responsibility for their actions" was modified to "It is important that she accepts responsibility for her actions" in the female condition and "It is important that he accepts responsibility for his actions" in the male condition respectively. Higher scores on this sub-facet indicated more positive attitudes towards restorative justice for the offender.

   Willingness to Reintegrate. Willingness to reintegrate the offender represents public acceptance of ex-offenders in proximate social contexts, such as neighbourhoods or workplaces (Brubacher, 2019) and was assessed by utilizing Brubacher's (2019) four-item scale, which measures participants' willingness to let offenders live in their neighbourhood and let offenders work with them. Those items were 'It would be OK with me if this person lived close to my home', 'It would bother me if this person started living in my community' (reverse scored),'If I owned a business, I would be willing to hire this person' and 'I think this person could be trusted as an employee of a company'. Brubacher (2019) reported good internal consistency for the scale (α = .84), which was confirmed in this study (α = .84), further supporting its robust reliability. The mean score of this sub-facet was used as an indicator, with higher scores reflecting a greater willingness to reintegrate the specific offender described in the vignette.

   Willingness to Participate. Willingness to participate describes citizens' readiness to actively take part in a restorative justice practice with the offender (Paul, 2019) and was measured using a three-item scale developed for this study. Items included: "If invited, I would consider attending a community conference with him/her after he/she has served his/her prison sentence.", "I would be willing to participate in a conference with him/her after he/she has served his/her prison sentence, to restore the

harm that has been done." and "I would be willing to share my perspective on the impact of the crime

during a community conference with him/her after he/she has served his/her prison sentence". The

mean score of this sub-facet served as indicator, with higher scores indicating greater willingness to

participate in the restorative justice practice "community conferencing" specifically suggested for the

offender in the vignettes. To determine the scale's factor structure, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

was conducted using Principal Component Analysis (PCA) with Varimax rotation. The EFA extracted a

single factor, which accounted for 83.34% of the total variance. All three items loaded high on this factor

(FLS > .90) and together formed a reliable scale (α = .89).

DV2 - Public Perception of an Offender's Capability to Rehabilitate. The public perception of an

individual offender's capability to rehabilitate was measured using six items from the Belief in

Redeemability (BiR) scale (O'Sullivan et al., 2017). The BiR Scale measures individuals' beliefs about

offenders' potential for change and rehabilitation (O'Sullivan et al., 2017). Four items from the original

10-item BiR scale were excluded to ensure mutual exclusivity with the ATRJS. To refer to the specific

offender in the vignette, items, such as "It's possible for someone who commits crime to change

dramatically for the better" were revised into "It's possible for him/her to change dramatically for the

better." The two items "Despite his/her best efforts, he/she just can't manage to go back to living

straight" and "He/She will always be a criminal" were reverse coded. The original scale demonstrated

acceptable internal consistency (α = 0.77) (O'Sullivan et al., 2017), with three underlying components

explaining 63.15% of the overall variance (O'Sullivan et al., 2017). These components are human capital

(α = .83), possibility to change (α = .73), and agency (α = .45) (O'Sullivan et al., 2017). Higher mean

scores indicated greater perceived capability to rehabilitate.

To assess the psychometric properties of our adapted measure, we conducted an exploratory

factor analysis (EFA) using principal component analysis with varimax rotation. Initially, the EFA

extracted two factors with items one and two loading poorly on factor one (FLS <.01), but highly on

factor two (FLS > .82). The content of these two items corresponded to the perceived personal effort and control of the offender. According to O'Sullivan et al. (2017), these items were part of the 'agency' factor in the original BiR scale, which demonstrated low internal consistency (α = .45). A subsequent EFA on the remaining items extracted a single factor, accounting for 52.50% of the total variance. All four items loaded high on this factor (FLS > .64), measuring perceptions of whether offenders can change and be rehabilitated. Comparing Cronbach's alpha of the six-item scale (α = .52) with the four-item version (α = .66) led to the exclusion of items one and two, yielding a more reliable and focused measure of perceived capability to rehabilitate.

   Mediator – Perceived Gender Stereotype Violation. Since no quantitative assessment existed, a scale was constructed to measure perceived gender stereotype violation. The six self- constructed items were: 1) To what extent does the behaviour of the offender deviate from traditional gender roles? 2) How inappropriate is it for a man/woman to engage in aggressive behaviour? 3) How inconsistent is the offender's behaviour with societal expectations of men/women? 4) How unexpected is it for a man/woman to engage in this type of criminal activity? 5) How much do this offender's actions deviate with beliefs about typical male/female behaviour? and 6) To what extent did the offender mean to or intended to commit this offence? Items were placed after the dependent variables to ensure explicit gender stereotype considerations and potential adherence to social expectations did not influence participants' responses.

   Principal component analysis with varimax rotation initially extracted two factors accounting for 70.02% of total variance. Item three loaded poorly on factor one (FLS = -.24) but highly on factor two (FLS = .85), likely because it assessed the general inappropriateness of aggressive behaviour, rather than its deviation from gender-specific social norms.

   A subsequent EFA without item three extracted a single factor explaining 64.50% of variance (FLS > .67). The items captured perceived deviations from gender stereotypes, surprise and

unexpectedness of the criminal behaviour for men and women. The scale's internal consistency improved from acceptable (α = .72) to good (α = .82) after excluding item three. Given its distinct focus on universal moral judgment and the improved reliability of the scale without it, item three was excluded from the final scale.

      Explorative Variables. Previous research has found that the more serious a crime is perceived to be, the less the public favours restorative responses to it (Roberts & Stalans, 2004). According to Warr (1989), the perceived seriousness of a crime is determined by two factors: perceived wrongfulness and perceived harmfulness. Perceived wrongfulness pertains to the moral implications of behaviour and the attribution of blame, while perceived harmfulness refers to substantial consequences of behaviour, such as the degree of injury to the victim or material damage (Warr, 1989). Perceived wrongfulness is particularly relevant to this study, as it reflects moral judgments about the transgression of social norms (Stylianou, 2003) and may be influenced by gender stereotypes (Crew, 1991). Haines and White (2008) argue that female offending may be perceived as more wrongful than male offending, while Herzog and Oreg (2008) suggest the degree of gender norm violation, rather than the offender's gender alone, shapes perceived crime seriousness. This study therefore examined whether female-perpetrated violence is perceived as more serious than male-perpetrated violence, and whether perceived wrongfulness and harmfulness correlate with gender stereotype violation, attitudes towards suitability for restorative justice practices, and perceived capability to rehabilitate.

      Perceived Wrongfulness. Perceived wrongfulness was measured by the two-item perceived wrongfulness scale from Zebel et al. (2017). The two items were **"**To what extent is the offence morally reprehensible?" and "To what extent did the offender mean to or intended to commit this offence?". They were rated on a 5-Point Likert Scale (1=not at all, 5=very much). The average of the two item ratings was calculated and served as the perceived wrongfulness score. Zebel et. (2017) reported a strong correlation between the items (r = .72).

Perceived Harmfulness. Perceived harmfulness was assessed using two items adapted from the five-item perceived harmfulness scale developed by Zebel et al. (2017). The selected items were: "How great is the overall damage caused by the offence? (considering physical, emotional, economic, and potential damage)" and "How great is the emotional damage caused by this offence?". These items were chosen based on their strong interrater reliability demonstrated in a previous Dutch study by Schreurs (2014), which reported Pearson correlations of .779 ($p < .001$) for the first item (overall harm) and .749 ($p < .001$) for the second item (emotional harm). Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = very much). The perceived harmfulness score was calculated by averaging the two item ratings. Although the original 5-item scale demonstrated high internal consistency ($\alpha = .88$; Zebel et al., 2017), a shortened version was used to reduce the questionnaire's overall length. This study found a moderate inter-item correlation ($r = .47$) as well as internal consistency (α = .64). The decreased reliability compared to the original scale can be attributed to the reduction from 5 to 2 items. For a two-item scale, the reliability was considered acceptable.

Previous research has shown that evaluators' sexist attitudes, particularly towards women, can influence how female and male offenders are perceived and judged (Herzog & Oreg, 2008; Torres, 2022). Specifically, benevolent sexism - a set of seemingly positive but patronizing attitudes that reinforce women's subordinate status (Glick & Fiske, 1996) - has been found to mediate negative evaluations and harsher judgements of female offenders who violated gender stereotypes (Saxena, 2012; Viki et al., 2005). Based on these findings, the present study examined two aspects: (a) whether individuals with stronger sexist attitudes perceived higher levels of gender stereotype violation for the female than the male offender and (b) whether participants' sexist attitudes moderated the relationship between the offender's gender and the dependent variables.

Sexist Attitudes. Participants' sexist attitudes were measured using the Short Version of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Short ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) and the Short Version of the Ambivalence

Toward Men Inventory (Short AMI; Glick & Fiske, 1999). The short versions reduce the original AMI and ASI versions by 10 items while maintaining their structure and good psychometric properties (Rollero et al., 2014). Both, the Short ASI and AMI distinguish between benevolent sexism (BS), which pertains to subjectively positive but patronizing views and hostile sexism (HS), which is defined by overtly negative attitudes.

The ASI-Short measures sexist attitudes towards women, showing excellent reliability (α = .90; Glick & Fiske; 1996). Six items, such as "Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility", assess BS (α = .81) while another six items, such as "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men", measure HS towards women (α = .91; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

The Short AMI (α =.87) assesses ambivalent attitudes toward men (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Six items, such as "Men are more willing to take risks than women" measure BM with an internal consistency of α = .83 (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Six items, such as "Men will always fight to have greater control in society than women", assess HM with an internal consistency of α = .86 (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Scores for each subscale are obtained by averaging the item ratings within that subscale, while overall scale scores are determined by averaging the subscale scores. Higher scores indicate greater benevolent, hostile, or overall sexism. These widely used measures were chosen for their established validity in assessing ambivalent gender attitudes across western cultures (Bendixen & Kennair, 2017).

Manipulation Check

To assess the effectiveness of the gender manipulation, participants responded to the item "Reflecting on the individual in the video, which of the following best describes the person you saw?" by selecting at least one of eight listed attributes. While multiple options were provided to make the item less obtrusive, only the options "a male person" and "a female person" were relevant for the manipulation check. The manipulation was considered successful if participants in the male offender condition did not select 'female person' and participants in the female offender condition did not select

'male person'. Conversely, the manipulation was deemed to have failed if participants indicated seeing the opposite sex to that intended in their assigned condition This check aimed to ensure participants perceived the offender's gender in the vignette as consistent with the video.

Procedure

After the study was granted ethical approval by the University of Twente's Ethics Committee, data was collected between July 31 and September 4, 2024. The survey began with an informed consent form outlining the study's objectives, data handling and storage, withdrawal rights, and a warning about the exposure to graphic violent content. Participants needed to electronically confirm their consent before demographic data, including gender, age, nationality, highest academic degree, experience in criminological psychology, political affiliation, were collected. Participants then viewed a first-person video depicting an armed robbery against strangers, followed by a manipulated vignette, that disclosed the offender's gender as either a female or male, and the parental status as either mother or father. The vignettes provided identical information on the prison sentence and the court's decision to allow participation in community conferencing post-release. Community conferencing was briefly explained to ensure participants understood its process and purpose. A violent crime against strangers in public was chosen, as prior research has extensively examined cases of intimate partner violence, yet the public is more fearful of stranger violence and perceives it as more harmful (Phillips & De Roos, 2022; Tuncer et al., 2018). To verify the design's effectiveness in assessing the relationship between offender gender and public attitudes, as well as the mediating effect of gender stereotype violation, a manipulation check was included at the end of the experiment. In both conditions, measures were administered in the same fixed order: ATRJS (Taylor & Bailey, 2022) willingness to reintegration scale (Brubacher, 2019), willingness to participate scale, BiR scale (O'Sullivan et al., 2017), perceived wrongfulness and harmfulness scales (Zebel et al., 2017), perceived gender stereotype violation scale, the manipulation check item, and finally the Short ASI and AMI (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1999). The study

concluded with a debriefing that disclosed the research focus on gender stereotypes and explained the

hypotheses. Participants were given the option to withdraw their consent after disclosure.

Data Analysis

To answer the first hypothesis, simple linear regressions were conducted to examine whether

offender gender predicts scores on attitudes towards suitability for restorative justice practices and

perceived capability to rehabilitate. Offender gender was dummy coded (0 = male, 1 = female) with

males as the reference group. To answer the second hypotheses and test the mediation model (Figure

1), the "PROCESS Macro" tool v4.2 for SPSS, developed by Hayes (2017), was utilized. Specifically, model

4 was used to indicate the direct, indirect and total effect size between the independent, the mediating

and the two dependent variables. This approach was chosen for its advantageous feature of using the

bootstrapping technique to estimate indirect effects. Bootstrapping provides more accurate parameters

than traditional regression analyses, as it identifies confidence interval without assuming normal

distribution (Horowitz, 2001). This technique allows to detect significant effects even when zero is not

included in the 95% confidence interval (Horowitz, 2001).

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

Manipulation check

A Chi-Square test of independence was conducted to examine whether the manipulation of the

offender's gender influenced participants' perception as intended. The test showed a statistically

significant association between the manipulated gender and participants' perceptions, χ^2 (1, N = 121) =

56.61, p < .001. The success rate of the manipulation was 100% in the male condition, but only 36.07 %

in the female condition. Notably, 66.93% (n = 39) of participants in the female offender condition

incorrectly indicated that the attribute "male" reflected the offender they saw in the video[1]. Overall, the manipulation had a success rate of 67.8% across both conditions, since 82 participants did not report the opposite gender to reflect the offender that was presented in their condition. These results indicate that while the manipulation was effective overall, participants frequently misattributed male characteristics to the female offender. This finding will be addressed in the discussion.

Descriptive Statistics

Mean values of the total sample (N = 121) showed that public attitudes towards restorative justice was neutral to slightly positive (M = 3.67, SD = 0.43). Participants were moderately willing to reintegrate the offender (M = 3.37, SD =0.75), and moderately to slightly willing to participate in a community conference with the offender (M = 3.79, SD = 0.77). The public perception of the offender's capability to rehabilitate was rather high (M = 3.99, SD = 0.52). The perceived gender stereotype violation was neutral (M = 2.92, SD = 0.95). Table 2 shows the variables' means and standard deviations for each group.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for All Key Variables

	Female offender condition (n = 61)		Male offender condition (n = 60)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Attitudes towards restorative justice	3.71	0.05	3.68	0.05
Willingness to reintegrate	3.44	0.66	3.29	0.83
Willingness to participate	3.75	0.83	3.84	0.71
Perceived capability to rehabilitate	3.92	0.50	4.05	0.55
Perceived gender stereotype violation	3.55	0.65	2.25	0.74

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[1] To examine the robustness of findings, supplementary analyses were conducted on a reduced sample (N = 82) that excluded participants who attributed the characteristic 'male' to the female offender. This sample retained all participants in the male offender condition (n = 60) and those who did not report this misattribution in the female offender condition (n = 22). Results are reported alongside the main findings.

Preliminary Analyses

Pearson correlations were calculated to examine relationships between the dependent and demographic variables (see Table 3). Participants who held more positive attitudes towards restorative justice also reported greater willingness to reintegrate (r(119) = .24), greater willingness to participate (r(119) = .46) and perceived higher levels of capability to rehabilitate (r(119) = .19). Those who perceived the offender as more capable to rehabilitate, showed greater willingness to reintegrate (r(119) = .34) and less willingness to participate (r(119) = -.22). Participants who were more willing to reintegrate the offender were also more willing to participate (r(119) = .20) in a community conference. Moreover, female participants perceived offender's as more capable to rehabilitate (r(119) = .26) than male participants. Political affiliation showed negative correlations with several variables: participants with more conservative views held less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice (r(119) = -.30), perceived the offender as less capable to rehabilitate (r(119) = -.24), were less willing to reintegrate the offender (r(119) = -.27) and were less willing to participate in a community conference (r(119) = -.25) than those who held more liberal views.

Table 3

Pearson Correlations Between Dependent Variables, Explorative Variables and Participant Characteristics

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Attitudes towards restorative justice	1				
2. Capability to rehabilitate	.19*	1			
3. Gender stereotype violation	.08	-.18	1		
4. Willingness to reintegrate	.24**	.34**	-.01	1	
5. Willingness to participate	.46**	.22*	-.09	.20*	1
6. Perceived wrongfulness	-.23*	-.17	.02	-.31**	-.02
7. Perceived harmfulness	-.07	-.22*	.24**	-.23*	.02
8. Sexism towards women	-.13	-.20*	-.10	-.31**	-.23*
9. Sexism towards men	-.09	-.16	.01	-.11	-.07
10. Benevolent sexism towards women	.05	-.08	.14	-.22*	-.17
11. Hostile sexism towards women	-.26**	-.26**	.05	-.34**	-.24**
12. Benevolent sexism towards men	.08	-.14	.06	-.21*	-.13
13. Hostile sexism towards men	.08	-.13	-.05	.01	.01
Participant characteristics					
14. Gender	-.01	.25**	-.02	.14	-.15
15. Age	.03	-.16	.10	.03	.08

Participant characteristics	1	2	3	4	5
16. Nationality	-.00	-.03	-.01	.01	.07
17. Academic degree	-.07	-.04	-.14	.02	-.12
18. Criminal psychology courses	-.05	.09	-.06	-.06	-.01
19. Political affiliation	-.30**	-.24**	.10	-.27**	-.25**

Note. *Pearson correlation p <.05, **Pearson correlation p <.01.

Hypothesis Testing [2]

Hypothesis one stated that a female offender would be perceived as less suitable for restorative justice practices (DV1) and less capable to rehabilitate (DV2) compared to a male offender committing a violent crime. To test this relationship, a General Linear Model (GLM) analysis was conducted with offender gender as the dummy-coded predictor variable (0 = male offender, 1 = female offender) and attitudes towards restorative justice, willingness to reintegrate, willingness to participate, and perceived capability to rehabilitate as dependent variables. The overall effect of offender gender on the combined dependent variables explained 5.3% of the variance (partial η^2 = .053). The overall model was not statistically significant, $F(4, 119) = 1.62$, $p = .173$. The GLM analysis revealed no significant effects of offender gender on any of the individual dependent variables (all $ps > .05$).

When omitting participants who failed the manipulation check, offender gender explained 7.9% of the variance in the combined dependent variables (partial η^2 = .079), but the overall model remained nonsignificant, $F(4, 77) = 1.66$, $p = .169$. The GLM analysis revealed no significant effects of offender gender on any of the individual dependent variables (all $ps > .05$). Contradictory to our expectation, there was no significant effect of offender gender on participants' attitudes towards suitability for

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[2] Assumptions of linearity, homoscedasticity, and normality were checked before hypotheses testing. Only the normality assumption for 'willingness to participate' was violated (Shapiro-Wilk test: W = .90, *df* = 121, p < .001). However, cases of extreme outliers were retained as they represented legitimate responses and variability in the sample. Due to their robustness to violations of normality, especially for samples larger than *N* = 100, the GLM and PROCESS MACRO analyses were conducted as planned.

restorative justice practices and perceived capability to rehabilitate. This finding held true even among

participants who correctly perceived the offender's gender.

Hypothesis two proposed that perceived gender stereotype violation would mediate the

relationship between offender gender and attitudes towards suitability for restorative justice practices

and capability to rehabilitate. Specifically, female offenders were expected to be perceived as violating

gender stereotypes more than male offenders, which in turn would lead to less favourable attitudes

towards suitability for restorative justice practices and perceived capability to rehabilitate. Mediation

analyses were conducted to test this hypothesis. As predicted, participants in the female offender

condition perceived significantly higher levels of gender stereotype violation than those in the male

offender condition ($β$ = 1.37, t = 10.23, p < .001). The offender's gender alone accounted for 47.4% of

the variance in perceived gender stereotype violation (R^2 = 0.474).

None of the mediation models examining the relationship between offender gender and

attitudes towards suitability for restorative justice practices were significant (all Fs (2, 115) < 1.00, ps >

.50, R^2s = .01). Specifically, perceived gender stereotype violation did not mediate the relationship

between offender gender and any of the three sub-facets: attitudes towards restorative justice (indirect

effect $β$ = 0.14, 95% CI [-0.22, 0.48]), willingness to reintegrate (indirect effect $β$ = -0.14, 95% CI [-0.46,

0.18]), or willingness to participate (indirect effect $β$ = -0.09, 95% CI [-0.51, 0.36]). Total and direct

effects were also nonsignificant across all models (all ps > .27).

Similarly, the mediation model examining the relationship between offender gender and

perceived capability to rehabilitate was nonsignificant, F (2, 115) = 1.95, p = .147, R^2 = .03. Gender

stereotype violation did not mediate this relationship (indirect effect $β$ = -0.19, 95% CI [-0.49, 0.16]),

with both total and direct effects remaining nonsignificant ($ps > .10$).[3]

These results suggest that while female offenders were perceived as violating gender stereotypes more strongly than male offenders, this perception did not translate into less favourable attitudes towards their suitability for restorative justice practices and less perceived capability to rehabilitate. Figure 2 shows the standardized regression coefficients as superposed on the statistical diagram of the mediation model.

Figure 2

Mediation coefficients of direct, indirect and total effects
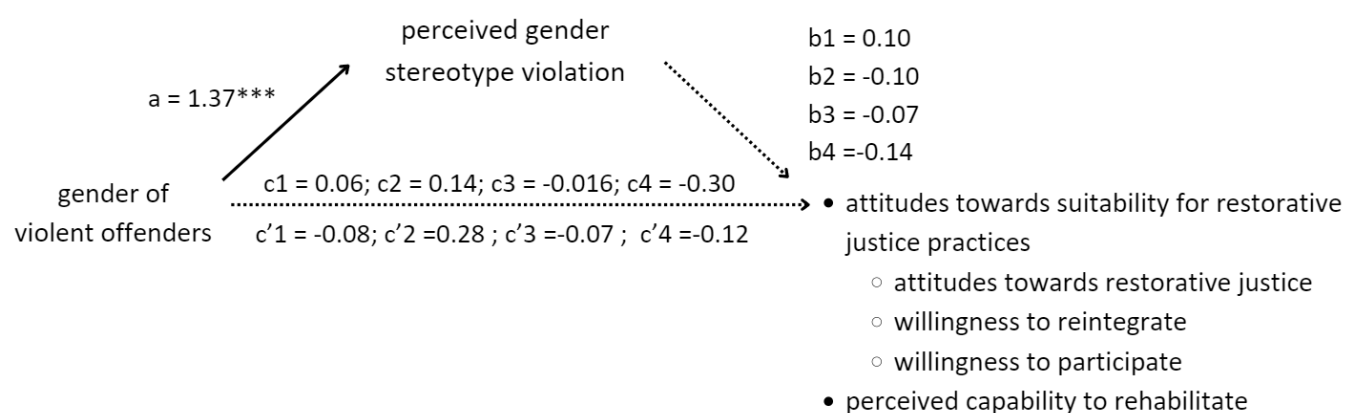
Note. Standardized coefficients. c' = direct effect of X on Y; c = combined effect of direct and indirect effect of X on Y; Dashed lines represent non-significant effects; solid lines represent significant effects. Paths b, c and c' are numbered corresponding to each outcome variable. 1: Attitudes towards restorative justice 2: willingness to reintegrate 3: willingness to participate 4: Capability to rehabilitate

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

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[3] Mediation analyses which omitted participants who failed the manipulation check (*N*=79), yielded similar results. The female offender condition reported higher levels of gender stereotype violation than the male offender condition ($β = 1.39$, $t = 7.08$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.394$). However, gender stereotype violation did not mediate the relationship between offender gender and attitudes towards restorative justice (indirect effect $β = -0.01$, 95% CI [-0.41, 0.37]), willingness to reintegrate (indirect effect $β = -0.23$, 95% CI [-0.61, 0.17]), willingness to participate (indirect effect $β = -0.24$, 95% CI [-0.76, 0.31]), or perceived capability to rehabilitate (indirect effect $β = -0.27$, 95% CI [-0.59, 0.12]). All mediation models remained non-significant (all $Fs_{(2,76)} < 1.52$, $ps > .225$).

Exploratory Analyses

The exploratory analyses had two main objectives. First, exploring how perceptions of the crime's seriousness, assessed by perceived wrongfulness and harmfulness, related to offender's gender, perceived gender stereotype violation as well as attitudes towards offender's suitability for restorative justice practices and perceived capability to rehabilitate. Second, investigating the role of sexist attitudes, both in relation to perceived gender stereotype violations and as potential moderators of the direct relationship between offender gender and the dependent variables.

On average, the sample perceived the offence as moderately wrongful (M = 3.75, SD = 0.72) and harmful (M = 3.97, SD = 0.63). A simple linear regression revealed that the female offender was not perceived as more wrongful (R^2 = .01, F(1, 116) = 0.82, p = .369) nor harmful (R^2 = .01, F(1, 116) = 1.59, p = .210) than the male offender. Perceived gender stereotype violation was not significantly associated with perceived wrongfulness or harmfulness of the offence in either condition (all rs < .21, all ps > .117), indicating that participants did not perceive the crime as more serious when the offender violated gender norms.

Pearson correlations (see Table 3) showed that participants who perceived the offence as more harmful reported lower levels of perceived capability to rehabilitate (r(119) = -.22) and less willingness to reintegrate (r(119) = -.23). Similarly, those who perceived the offence as more wrongful showed less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice (r(119) = -.23) and less willingness to reintegrate the offender (r(119) = -.31), regardless of the offender's gender. Moreover, older participants tended to perceive offences as both more wrongful (r(119) = .32) and more harmful (r(119) = .30), while more politically conservative participants perceived the offence as more wrongful (r(119) = .22).

To address the second objective, participants' sexist attitudes were examined. Generally, participants exhibited low levels of sexist attitudes towards both men (M = 2.32, SD = 0.55) and women (M = 2.17, SD = 0.62). Interestingly, attitudes towards men were more hostile (M = 2.60, SD = 0.69) than

benevolent (*M* = 2.04, *SD* = 0.63), while attitudes towards women were slightly more benevolent (*M* = 2.29, *SD* = 0.66) than hostile (*M* = 2.04, *SD* = 0.74). Sexist attitudes were associated with political affiliation (see Table 4), with more conservative views correlating with higher levels of sexism towards both women (*r*(119) = .36, *p* < .001) and men (*r*(119) = .24, *p* = .010).

Correlations between sexist attitudes and perceived gender stereotype violation, revealed an interesting pattern. Participants with higher hostile sexism towards women perceived greater gender stereotype violation of the male offender (*r*(56) = .28, *p* = .036), but not of the female offender.

Participants with higher hostile sexism towards women reported lower scores across all dependent variables (rs > -.20, ps < .05). To examine the potential moderating effect of sexism towards women, GLM analyses were conducted and revealed significant interactions between both overall (*F*(1, 111) = 4.67, *p* = .033, partial η^2 = .040) and hostile sexism (*F*(1, 111) = 5.95, *p* = .016, partial η^2 = .051) with offender gender on attitudes towards restorative justice. Follow-up analyses showed that higher sexist attitudes towards women predicted participants' less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice for male offenders (overall sexism: *B* = -.240, *p* = .010, *R²* = .116; hostile sexism: *B* = -.270, *p* < .001, *R²* = .235). No such relationships emerged for participants' attitudes towards restorative justice for female offenders (overall sexism: *B* = .035, *p* = .697, *R²* = .003, hostile sexism: *B* = -.018, *p* = .820, *R²* = .001). Notably, hostile sexism was a stronger predictor of less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice for male offenders than overall sexism. No moderating effects were found for benevolent sexism or any other dependent variables.

Table 4

Pearson Correlations Between Explorative Variables and Participant Characteristics

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
6. Perceived wrongfulness	1													
7. Perceived harmfulness	.42**	1												
8. Sexism towards women	.04	.11	1											
9. Sexism towards men	-.17	-.08	.65**	1										
10. Benevolent sexism towards women	-.04	.13	.88**	.65**	1									
11. Hostile sexism towards women	.10	.06	.90**	.50**	.58**	1								
12. Benevolent sexism towards men	-.12	-.05	.75**	.83**	.68**	.65**	1							
13. Hostile sexism towards men	-.15	-.08	.35**	.85**	.43**	.21*	.41**	1						
Participant characteristics														
14. Gender	-.09	-.15	-.05	-.05	.02	-.10	.08	-.16	1					
15. Age	.32**	.30**	.04	-.07	-.04	.09	-.08	-.04	-.14	1				
16. Nationality	-.02	-.04	.03	.03	-.01	.06	-.01	.06	-.09	-.09	1			
17. Academic Degree	-.05	.04	-.08	.01	-.11	-.04	-.01	.02	.04	.04	-.01	1		
18. Criminal Psychology Courses	-.07	-.02	.10	.07	.10	.08	.07	.05	.02	.03	-.03	-.14	1	
19. Political Affiliation	.22*	.17	.36**	.24*	.25**	.37**	.26**	.14	-.17	.13	.08	-.06	.03	1

Note. *Pearson correlation p <.05, **Pearson correlation p <.01.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to find out if public attitudes towards violent offenders' suitability for restorative justice practices and perceptions on their capability to rehabilitate differed based on the offender's gender. Additionally, it was investigated to what extent a perceived gender stereotype violation could explain different public attitudes and perceptions towards a male and female offender. There are three key findings of the present research. First, results did not support the hypothesis that a female offender is perceived as less suitable for restorative justice practices and less capable to rehabilitate compared to a male offender committing the same violent crime. Second, results did not confirm the hypothesis that this relationship is mediated by perceived gender stereotypes violation. Third, the female offender was perceived as violating gender stereotypes to a significantly higher degree than the male offender committing the same crime, but this did not translate into less favourable

attitudes towards her suitability for restorative justice practices or perceiving her as less capable of rehabilitation.

The Link Between Offender Gender, Restorative Justice Attitudes, and Perceptions

As stated above, no support was found for the first hypothesis. Noteworthily, most participants who were exposed to the violent crime committed by a female offender assigned the attribute "male" to the female offender, suggesting inattentive reading of the materials. However, the non-support for the first hypothesis persisted even when analyses were restricted to participants who correctly identified the female offender, rendering participants' inattentiveness an inadequate explanation. Instead, this finding may be attributed to several interrelated factors and patterns, with particular emphasis on methodological considerations and participant characteristics.

The structure of the vignette likely influenced how participants processed the information presented. While the offender's gender was introduced at the beginning of the case description, information about restorative justice was introduced at the very end. This sequence is assumed to have primed participants to focus more on evaluating the principles of restorative justice than on the contextual information about the offender's gender. Such a pattern would align with the recency effect, a cognitive bias where more recently presented information tends to be more accessible in memory than earlier information (Baddeley & Hitch, 1993). When information is presented sequentially, later elements often carry more weight in decision-making processes (De Bruin, 2005), which might explain why gender-based considerations had less impact on participants' evaluations of restorative justice for the offender.

Also, the methodological presentation of the offenders' gender may have limited potential differences in perception. Participants watched a video in which the offender's face was not visible and read a written description disclosing the offender's gender as either male or female. The lack of clear male or female features may have reduced the salience of gender. Had the offender's gender been

explicitly visible from the start, it might have activated gender-related biases or stereotypes, potentially yielding more distinctive results in the perception of the offender.

Beyond methodological considerations, the findings may reflect the sample's predominantly liberal political affiliation. Politically conservative participants demonstrated consistently less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice, were less willing to reintegrate the offender, were less willing to participate in a community conference with the offender and perceived the offender as less capable of rehabilitation compared to their liberal counterparts. While these correlations cannot establish causality, they suggest an important relationship between political ideology and justice attitudes that may help contextualize our findings.

This pattern can be understood through the lens of social categorisation theory and ideological differences in decision-making. According to Stern (2022), citizens with more conservative affiliations are more likely to categorize others into social groups more frequently than liberals. They also tend to base their evaluations, policy attitudes and political behaviours on the traditional gender roles that come with this categorization (Stern, 2022). Liberals, on the other hand, tend to make more gender-neutral judgments and sometimes even display favourable bias towards women in certain contexts (Stern & Rule, 2018). Moreover, liberals generally exhibit higher awareness and recognition of gender-based discrimination compared to conservatives (Kim & Zauberman, 2024). When asked about sensitive topics, such as gender discrimination, people tend to adjust their responses in accordance with what they deem socially desired, such as gender-neutral attitudes.

Thus, the predominantly liberal sample may have recognized a potential bias against the female offender and adjusted their evaluations accordingly. Driven to maintain congruency with their liberal values of gender equality and inclusivity (Roman & Filatov, 2019), participants may have consciously or unconsciously avoided reinforcing traditional gender roles in their responses. In sum, the predominance of liberal views in our sample may have triggered this mechanism, contributing to the non-significant

difference in participants' attitudes towards suitability for restorative justice practices and perceived capability to rehabilitate a male and a female offender.

The Mediating Impact of Gender Stereotype Violation

Our study revealed that a female offender who committed a violent crime was perceived as violating gender stereotypes to a greater extent than a male offender. This finding confirms the first part of the "evil-women hypothesis" (Gibson, 2019; Phillips & De Roos, 2022), which suggests that women who commit violent crimes, violate stereotypical gender norms (Belknap, 2020). Similarly, Viki et al. (2005) found that a female offender of a violent crime was perceived to possess traits, such as unladylike, insensitive, unfriendly, ultimately violating female gender stereotypes.

Unlike in previous studies in which the violation of gender stereotypes led to a more negative evaluation of a female offender (Viki et al., 2005), the results of this study indicate that the stereotype violation did not translate into less favourable attitudes towards female than male offenders, even when omitting participants who failed the manipulation check. This finding contradicts the second part of the "evil-women hypothesis" which states that the public holds more punitive attitudes towards female offenders due to their deviation from the expected "feminine" behaviours (Gibson, 2019; Giomi & Magaraggia, 2022; Lloyd, 1995). It also challenges the expectancy violations theory, which posits that the transgression of socially expected behaviour evokes adverse emotional and behavioural responses (Bartholow et al., 2001) that can provoke social sanctions, such as ostracism of the violator (Douglas et al., 2024). Although participants in our study reported surprise at the violent crime committed by a female offender—indicating recognition of the gender stereotype violation—this surprise did not result in less favourable attitudes or her being perceived as less able to rehabilitate.

The effects of gender stereotype violations appear to hinge significantly on the cognitive processing style employed by evaluators. In their study, Keck and Babcock (2019) highlighted that when evaluators engaged in deliberative causal reasoning, they were more likely to give women the "benefit

of a doubt" for non-communal behaviours compared to men. Specifically, evaluators tended to attribute women's social transgressions to situational constraints rather than to inherent character flaws, a pattern less commonly applied to men exhibiting similar behaviours (Keck & Babcock, 2019). Thoughtful evaluation, thus, reflects a mechanism that mitigates evaluators' responses to women's stereotype violating behaviour. In this study, participants perceived the female to deviate from traditional gender roles yet may have engaged in deliberative thinking processes rather than relying on cognitive shortcuts based on gender stereotypes.

This deliberative processing gains further significance considering contemporary shifts of gendered characteristics. Recent research by Eagly (2022) indicates that women are increasingly perceived as possessing strong communal qualities—even more so than men. This shift, together with the assumed deliberative reasoning style may have led participants to interpret the transgression as an anomaly rather than as reflective of the offender's character. Participants' liberal orientation, which tends to encourage challenging stereotypes, may have amplified this dynamic. These three factors may explain the non-support for hypothesis two. Nevertheless, female stereotype violations may lead to less favourable attitudes in contexts where evaluators rely on heuristic reasoning or adhere to traditional gender norms. In these cases, female offenders' transgressions may be seen as indicative of character flaws rather than situational anomalies, undermining perceptions of their rehabilitative potential. Another explanation of the non-significant difference might be explained by the "boys will be boys" attitude. This static, stereotypical view of violent behaviour to be inherent in men's nature (Miedzian, 2002) could lead to perceptions of lower capability for change and personal growth, provoking more punitive reactions than support for restorative procedures and rehabilitation. On the one side, the violent offence of the female offender was perceived as violation of female stereotypes. On the other side, the same violent offence committed by the male offender might have been perceived as conformity to male stereotypes. While the 'boys will be boys' attitude was not investigated in this study,

the male offender's conformity to male stereotypes might have levelled out the female offender's

violation of female stereotypes, thereby resulting in the non-significant difference.

Furthermore, the vignette informed participants that the victims of the offence reported no

physical injuries. Had the offender caused physical harm, participants might have perceived the offence

as more violent and harmful, leading to less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice (Gromet &

Darley, 2009; Weimann-Saks et al., 2022). Additionally, reporting physical injuries could heighten the

perceived deviation from gender stereotypes for a female offender. This, in turn, might lead to a

significant difference in how participants perceive a male and female offender.

Explorative Analyses

Explorative analyses revealed unexpected patterns concerning the role of perceived crime

seriousness and participants' sexist attitudes on the relationships between the offender's gender and

perceived gender stereotype violations as well as attitudes towards offender's suitability for restorative

justice practices and perceived capability to rehabilitate.

Contrary to the double deviance theory, the female offender did not face more moral

condemnation than men for their violent behaviour (Gibson, 2019; Lloyd, 1995). Moreover, the male

and female offender's gender stereotype violations were unrelated to how wrongful or harmful

participants perceived their offence to be. This finding challenges the claim that a female offender's

gender stereotype violation is associated with the perceived seriousness of their offence (Herzog &

Oreg, 2008). Our results indicate a clear separation between gender-based expectations and moral

evaluations of the criminal act itself. Regardless of the offender's gender, participants who perceived

the offence as more harmful were less willing to reintegrate them and tended to view the offender as

less capable of rehabilitation. Likewise, participants who perceived the offence as more wrongful held

less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice and were less willing to reintegrate the offender.

This aligns with previous research, underlining that crimes perceived as more serious find less public support for restorative approaches (Roberts & Stalans, 2004).

Previous research suggests that the evaluator's sexist attitudes weigh more heavily in their judgements of female and male offenders than the offender's gender alone (Herzog & Oreg, 2008; Torres, 2022). Inconsistent with Saxena's (2012) claim, participants' sexism towards women was not related to their perceptions on a female offender's gender stereotype violation. Surprisingly, overall and even more so hostile sexism towards women predicted less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice for the male but not the female offender. This contradicts previous findings where women were judged more harshly than men by people who held hostile attitudes towards women (Herzog & Oreg, 2008; Saxena, 2012; Viki et al., 2005). However, this finding is in line with the social desirability explanation for the non-support of the first hypothesis. People holding sexist views against women might have intentionally refrained from reporting less favourable attitudes towards the female offender to avoid social disapproval for disclosing hostile attitudes against women. This study found that participants' hostile, but not benevolent, sexism towards women predicted less favourable attitudes towards a male offender. Given these results, this explanation seems most applicable since social desirability can mask hostile sexism more than benevolent sexism, as the latter is less recognized as prejudice (Agut et al., 2023).

This study underpins the importance of considering evaluators' characteristics rather than the offenders'. Our findings suggest that public attitudes towards offenders' suitability for restorative justice and potential rehabilitation were not influenced by the offenders' deviation from traditional gender roles but instead interacted with evaluators' sexist attitudes towards women.

Generalisability

The study's findings are likely influenced by the predominantly liberal political views of the sample (42.1%). Participants with conservative views held less favourable attitudes towards restorative justice,

were less willing to reintegrate offenders, and perceived them as less capable of rehabilitation compared to those with liberal views. This aligns with research showing conservatives prefer punitive measures over rehabilitation (O'Hear & Wheelock, 2016; Park, 2009; Silver et al., 2017) and are less supportive of ex-offender reintegration compared to liberals (Applegate et al., 1997; Hirschfield & Piquero, 2010; Rade et al., 2016). The study also revealed associations between conservatism and higher levels of sexism towards both men and women, consistent with literature linking conservatism to more sexist attitudes (Christopher, 2006; De Geus et al., 2022), stronger gender role attitudes (Bartkowski & Hempel, 2009; Lye & Waldron, 1997) and more pronounced negative stereotypes (Beyer, 2020) than liberals. Given the associations between conservatism, sexism, and punitive attitudes, a more representative sample with greater conservative representation might reveal different patterns in the perception of female and male offenders. Specifically, more conservative participants might demonstrate stronger gender-based evaluations due to their adherence to traditional gender roles and higher levels of sexism.

The sample composition limits generalisability, with only 2.5% Dutch participants and a predominantly German, liberal-leaning sample. Given that only 14.24% of German citizens self-reported liberal views in 2023 (Statista Research Department, 2024), these findings cannot be reliably extrapolated to Germany's broader population. Future studies should replicate the experiment across nations and in more conservative populations to examine whether the effect of political orientation on attitudes towards ex-offenders (Piquero & Steinberg, 2010; Rade et al., 2016) extends to the context of restorative justice and differing attitudes towards male and female offenders.

Strengths and Limitations

This study addressed a significant gap in socially relevant research by applying established feminist criminological theories to the context of restorative justice. Using a between-subjects experimental design allowed for the manipulation of the offender's gender, enabling a direct comparison of public

attitudes towards a male and female offender in identical crime scenarios. This methodologic approach was well-suited to answer the research question. Noteworthily, exploratory factor analyses supported construct validity of the two newly developed scales, measuring willingness to participate in a restorative justice practice and perceived gender stereotype violation. The study showed strong reliability in assessing participants' attitudes towards restorative justice practices, with tools for its three sub-facets—attitudes towards restorative justice, willingness to reintegrate, and willingness to participate—demonstrating good internal consistency.

One limitation of this study is a potential misunderstanding in the manipulation check item. Many participants chose the attribute 'male' to describe the female offender, despite being consistently presented with her feminine name ('Maaike'), and female pronouns throughout the questionnaire. While this might suggest inattentive reading of the materials, the similarity in results when excluding those participants from the analyses points to a different phenomenon. Instead, two theoretical explanations are more likely. Participants may have assigned the attribute "male" either because they associate violent crimes with male offenders, or because they interpreted the violent behaviour itself as characteristically masculine. Both interpretations align with criminological research showing that violent crimes are more often perceived as typically committed by men than by women (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996), and that females' violence has often been explained by their adoption of masculine traits (Hayes, 2014; Irwin & Chesney-Lind, 2017; Russell, 2012). In a study that explored perceptions of violent crimes in relation to perpetrators' gender, 98% of participants attributed an armed robbery to a man instead of a woman (Hendree & Nicks, 2000).

The misunderstanding may have been due to the manipulation check item appearing immediately after the gender stereotype violation scale. This coupling of items could have led participants to falsely interpret the item, assuming it was about whether the behaviour shown in the video aligned with stereotypically female or male traits. Alternatively, they may have misinterpreted it

as asking whether such violent offending is typically committed by males or females. While this misunderstanding is a limitation, it does not invalidate the findings. In fact, the findings reinforce the notion that violent crimes are perceived as atypical for women (Hendree & Nicks, 2000; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). It also highlights the strong impact of gender stereotypes, as participants who were repeatedly informed the offender was female still labelled her as male. To minimize potential misunderstandings and enhance response reliability, the item should be placed at the end of the questionnaire.

Second, the sequence of information in the vignette may have shifted participants' focus towards the newly introduced concept of restorative justice, rather than the offender's gender. Considering the recency effect, introducing participants to the concept of restorative justice at the beginning and disclosing the offender's gender at the end may enhance memory retention of offender-related details. This sequence could make the offender's gender more accessible in participants' minds, leading them to place greater emphasis on it during decision-making and to base their judgments more on the offender's gender.

Third, the video of the crime lacked visual features of the offender which might have decreased participants' accurate perception of the offender's gender. Thus, the presentation of the offender should be altered to make the offender's gender more salient. Research consistently underscores the critical role of facial features in forming first impressions, which subsequently shape individuals' judgments about personality traits, including trustworthiness, competence, and aggressiveness (Willis & Todorov, 2006, Wolffhechel et al., 2014). Offenders' physical appearance has been identified as primary influence on peoples' social perception, which is driven by automatic cognitive processes that categorize them based on observable features and mentally link them to existing stereotypes and biases (Stangor et al., 1992; Todorov, 2017; Wilson & Rule, 2015). One way to attach visual representation would be to provide mugshots along with the crime description. Alternatively, AI may soon be able to generate

videos that realistically simulate a violent crime in public and visualize the face of a female and male perpetrator. In short, visual stimuli could increase the accurate perception of an offender's gender and thus result in more gender-based judgements.

Directions for Future Research

To further develop theoretical insights, future research should consider examining additional variables. The impact of perceived gender stereotype violation on other variables related to public attitudes towards restorative justice warrants further investigation. As feelings towards the offender can influence public attitudes towards rehabilitation (Coppola, 2021; Fisher, 2013), citizens' emotional reactions should be measured. Wallis (2014) suggests that people tend to favour restorative justice when they feel empathy towards the offender. Phillips and De Roos (2022) found that gender stereotypes significantly affected emotional responses to offenders, with female perpetrators facing stronger negative reactions for violating feminine norms. It is proposed that negative emotions, such as anger and fear, towards female offenders may influence individuals' willingness to reintegrate or participate in a restorative justice process with a female offender.

Future research should disentangle the confounding impact of perceived consistency with male gender stereotypes and perceived inconsistency with female gender stereotypes on attitudes towards suitability for restorative justice practices and perceived capability to rehabilitate. A 2 (Offender Gender: Male, Female) x 2 (Consistency with Gender Stereotypes: Consistent, Inconsistent) factorial design could enable a controlled examination of how gender stereotypes influence perceptions of male and female offenders' suitability for restorative justice and their rehabilitation potential. Such insights could inform future interventions about the necessity to mitigate gender stereotypes when including citizens in restorative justice practices and reintegration efforts. Decreasing gender-specific preoccupations could increase offenders' chances for reconciliation and reintegration.

Practical Implications

Although the perceived gender stereotype violation of the female offender did not translate into less favorable attitudes towards restorative justice in this study, research indicates that gender biases shape real-life restorative justice processes for female offenders (Cook, 2006; Rodriguez, 2005; Österman & Masson, 2016). Österman and Masson (2016) highlight that both restorative justice practitioners and conference participants tend to approach female offenders with greater scepticism than male offenders, often perceiving them as manipulative or insincere. This bias reduces their ability to engage in open and trusting interactions, ultimately limiting female offenders' chances for a fair resolution. Given that this study found female offenders to be perceived as deviating more from gender stereotypes than male offenders, addressing these biases is crucial for ensuring fairer and more effective restorative justice processes.

To prevent reinforcing social inequalities in restorative justice practices (Balfour, 2008; Cook, 2006; Gaarder & Presser, 2006), interventions targeting gender stereotypes should be implemented. Meta-analytic research identifies three potentially effective approaches for reducing gender stereotypes (Lenton et al., 2009), of which so-called 'within-category heterogeneity interventions' are particularly suitable for the work with female offenders. They encourage people to focus on individual differences rather than relying on stereotypes. In practice this could involve presenting participants with case examples before conferences that challenge stereotypical assumptions about female offending. Examples could include cases where violence was strategic rather than emotional or where women's complex life circumstances coexisted with full accountability for their actions. The goal is to prevent stereotype-based judgements by highlighting the diversity in female offending (Hodgson, 2022; Österman & Masson, 2016). This approach ensures that restorative justice participants assess female offenders based on their individual actions rather than gender-stereotypical notions, which were also detected in this study.

Conclusion

This study represents the first empirical investigation into the relationship between an offender's gender and public attitudes towards restorative justice, encompassing attitudes towards restorative justice, willingness to reintegrate and willingness to participate in restorative justice practices, as well as perceptions on the offender's capability to rehabilitate. This study contributes to the existing literature by extending the feminist criminological assumption that public perception of violent offenders differs depending on the offenders' gender (Phillips & De Roos, 2022; Russell, 2012). Notably, the results affirm that a female offender committing a violent crime was seen as not only violating the law but also social expectations of "feminine" behaviour. To work towards more societal acceptance and increase offenders' chances for rehabilitation, exploring the role of gender is crucial to ensure equal chances for offenders, regardless of their gender. From a feminist criminological perspective, this study's findings emphasise the need for further research to examine how the violation of gender norms impacts social perceptions and public attitudes of restorative justice, especially among more conservative populations. Such investigations could inform policy development and implementation strategies that promote more equitable outcomes in restorative justice practices.

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Appendix

A
Survey English Version "Beyond the crime: How do you perceive violent offenders?"

Both conditions

Informed Consent
Hello and welcome to this study!
You are invited to participate in this research study connected to my master's thesis on the public perception of offenders.
I am researching how violent crimes impact citizens' perceptions of offenders and the criminal justice system. In the following, you will be presented with a video containing violence in public. You will then be asked to answer some questions. This will take approximately 20 minutes; however, you can spend as much time as needed to complete the survey. Please note that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions in this study.
To ensure the validity and reliability of the research findings, we kindly ask you to answer each question as truthfully as possible based on your genuine thoughts and feelings, even if they differ from what you believe others might expect.
If you are a student at the University of Twente, you will receive 0.25 SONA credits for participating in this study. If you participate via SurveySwap or SurveyCircle, this study contains a completion code for you. For all those who take part: We thank you in advance. Your participation is greatly appreciated!
 Before we start, please read the following statements carefully:
  1. You are over 18 years old.
  2. Participation in this study is voluntary, and you are under no obligation to take part.
  3. You can withdraw at any moment without giving a reason and will not face any consequences.
  4. All responses will be anonymous.
  5. Collected responses will be used exclusively for data analysis. The data will be stored securely for five years for possible publication and review, and may be made freely accessible.
 If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor:
 • Researcher: Joline Klein j.r.klein@student.utwente.nl
 • Supervisor: Dr. Jiska Jonas-Van Dijk j.jonas-vandijk@utwente.nl

Content Warning: Exposure to Violent Content! This study involves viewing a graphic video depicting an act of violence and reading a written description of the event. Please be advised that this content may be disturbing or unsettling and your comfort and safety are of utmost importance. If at any point during the study, you feel uncomfortable or distressed, you have the right to stop participating without any consequences and your data will be deleted.
Trigger Warning: If you have been diagnosed with or suspect you may have post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), we strongly advise against participating in this study to protect your mental health and well-being.
This study was reviewed and received ethical approval from the BMS ethics committee of the University of Twente.

By clicking the button below, you acknowledge that you have read, understood, and consent to participate in this study, which includes exposure to potentially disturbing violent content and potential risks.
        Answer option:

I have read and understood the above information and consent to participate in this study

Demographics

If you participate via Sona, please enter your Sona ID below
      Answer Option: [Text entry]

What gender do you identify with?
      Answer Options: Female| Male| Non-binary / other

What is your age in years?
      Answer Option: [Number entry]

What is your nationality?
      Answer Options: Dutch| German| Other [Text entry]

What is your highest academic degree?
      Answer options: No formal education| Primary / Elementary School| Secondary / High school Diploma| Bachelor's degree| Master's Degree| Doctor's Degree or higher| Other [Text entry]

Have you ever taken courses in Criminology, Forensic Psychology, or related fields?
      Answer options: Yes| No

Thinking about your political views, where would you place yourself on this scale?
      Answer options: Extremely liberal| Liberal| Slightly Liberal| Neutral| Slightly Conservative| Conservative| Extremely Conservative

Video

If you are ready, click the play button in the middle to start the video. Please note that the video is soundless. After watching, proceed to the next page for additional information about this offence.

📱 Tip for Smartphone Users: Rotate your device to landscape mode (sideways) for a full video view.

[Video content]

	FEMALE OFFENDER CONDITION	**MALE OFFENDER CONDITION**

Carefully read the crime's description below, then proceed to the next page to answer some questions.

| **Crime Description** | On Tuesday evening, Maaike Smit 32-year-old mother of two, committed an armed robbery at the Aldi on Main Street. Maaike Smit recorded and uploaded footage of the crime, showing her entering the store with a handgun. She is seen forcing a staff member to open the safes by threatening him with a gun. After being handed the cash, pointing her gun at families and children shopping at the time, and firing a scare shot, Smit fled the scene with an undisclosed amount of money. No physical injuries were reported, though several customers and staff members | On Tuesday evening, Marco Smit 32-year-old father of two, committed an armed robbery at the Aldi on Main Street. Marco Smit recorded and uploaded footage of the crime, showing him entering the store with a handgun. He is seen forcing a staff member to open the safes by threatening him with a gun. After being handed the cash, pointing his gun at families and children shopping at the time, and firing a scare shot, Smit fled the scene with an undisclosed amount of money. No physical injuries were reported, though several customers and staff members |

sought counselling to recover from the incident.

Maaike Smit was sentenced to four years in prison for the violent offense involving a weapon. In addition to the prison sentence, the court has offered her the opportunity to participate in a community conference upon release. A community conference is a voluntary gathering that brings together offenders, victims, and community members affected by a crime or conflict. Led by a trained, neutral facilitator, this meeting allows all participants to share their experiences, express their feelings, and discuss the harm caused by the incident. This approach helps offenders understand the impact of their actions, take responsibility for their wrongdoing, and collectively develop a plan to make amends. It gives victims a voice, enabling them to be heard, while community members offer support and perspectives, providing everyone with the chance to be involved in the justice process. The focus is on repairing harm by fostering cooperative communication to rebuild trustworthy communities.

ATRJ

The following statements specifically refer to Maaike Smit, the offender you saw in the video and whom you read about in the crime description. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement for her case.

1. It is important to empathize with Maaike who has caused harm to others
2. It is important to show empathy towards her
3. People should empathize with her, even though she caused harm 4. Showing support to her can be beneficial in helping her accept responsibility for her actions
5. It is important to understand the needs of her that are connected to the

harm she caused

6. She has needs associated with the harm she caused that justice processes should address

7. There should be a greater emphasis on understanding the offender who caused harm

8. I believe there should be an equal concern toward healing the lives of both those who have been harmed and the offender

9. She should work to restore relationships with those whom she hurt

10. She should repair relationships with those who have been harmed

11. It is important for her and the victims to engage in face-to-face dialogue

12. Inclusive, collaborative processes between victims and her are necessary to repair harm

13. It is important that she accepts responsibility for her actions

14. It is important for her to acknowledge her wrongdoing

15. I believe she should be encouraged to understand the impact of her harm

16. Truth-telling in the form of an admission of responsibility for what happened on the part of her is important

17. Community members should have an active voice in defining justice for the victims of the offender

18. Justice processes should be more inclusive of individuals within the community in her case

19. I believe the victims of Maaike need the community's support in order to heal

20. The community has a responsibility to help the victims of Maaike address their needs

he caused

6.He has needs associated with the harm he caused that justice processes should address

7. There should be a greater emphasis on understanding the offender who caused harm

8. I believe there should be an equal concern toward healing the lives of both those who have been harmed and the offender

9.He should work to restore relationships with those whom he hurt

10. He should repair relationships with those who have been harmed

11. It is important for him and the victims to engage in face-to-face dialogue

12. Inclusive, collaborative processes between victims and him are necessary to repair harm

13. It is important that he accepts responsibility for his actions

14. It is important for him to acknowledge his wrongdoing

15. I believe he should be encouraged to understand the impact of his harm

16. Truth-telling in the form of an admission of responsibility for what happened on the part of him is important

17. Community members should have an active voice in defining justice for the victims of the offender

18. Justice processes should be more inclusive of individuals within the community in his case

19. I believe the victims of Marco need the community's support in order to heal

20. The community has a responsibility to help the victims of Marco address their needs

Answer Options:

|Strongly Disagree| Somewhat disagree| Neither agree nor disagree| Somewhat agree| Strongly agree

Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

| **Willingness to reintegrate scale** | 1. It would be OK with me if she lived close to my home after she has served her prison sentence
2. It would bother me if she started living in my community after she has served her prison sentence
3. If I owned a business, I would be willing to hire her after she has served her prison sentence
4. I think she could be trusted as an employee of a company after she has served her prison sentence | 1. It would be OK with me if he lived close to my home after he has served his prison sentence
2. It would bother me if he started living in my community after he has served his prison sentence
3. If I owned a business, I would be willing to hire him after he has served his prison sentence
4. I think he could be trusted as an employee of a company after he has served his prison sentence |

Answer Options:
|Strongly Disagree| Somewhat disagree| Neither agree nor disagree| Somewhat agree| Strongly agree

| **Willingness to participate scale** | 1.If invited, I would consider attending a community conference with her after she has served her prison sentence.
2. I would be willing to participate in a conference with her after she has served her prison sentence, to restore the harm that has been done.
3. I would be willing to share my perspective on the impact of the crime during a community conference with her after she has served her prison sentence. | 1. If invited, I would consider attending a community conference with him after he has served his prison sentence.
2. I would be willing to participate in a conference with him after he has served his prison sentence, to restore the harm that has been done.
3. I would be willing to share my perspective on the impact of the crime during a community conference with him after he has served his prison sentence. |

Answer Options:
|Strongly Disagree| Somewhat disagree| Neither agree nor disagree| Somewhat agree| Strongly agree

| **Adopted BiR** | Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements. | |
| | 1. For her, changing her life is more about personal effort than luck
2. She has as much control over her future as anyone else
3. It's possible for her to change dramatically for the better
4. It's possible for her to change and lead a law-abiding life
5. Despite her best efforts, she just can't manage to go back to living straight
6. She will always be a criminal | 1. For him, changing his life is more about personal effort than luck
2. He has as much control over his future as anyone else
3. It's possible for him to change dramatically for the better
4. It's possible for him to change and lead a law-abiding life
5. Despite his best efforts, he just can't manage to go back to living straight
6. He will always be a criminal |

Answer Options:
|Strongly Disagree| Somewhat disagree| Neither agree nor disagree| Somewhat agree| Strongly agree

| **Perceived wrongfulness scale** | Please answer the following questions by using the scales below. Remember, we are interested in your personal view. There are no right or wrong answers. |

1.To what extent is the offence morally reprehensible? 2. To what extent do you think that she intended to commit this offence?	1. To what extent is the offense morally reprehensible? 2. To what extent do you think that he intended to commit this offense?

Perceived harmfulness scale	1. How great is the emotional damage caused by this offence? 2. How great is the overall damage caused by the offence? (make a sum of the physical, emotional, economic and potential damage)	1. How great is the emotional damage caused by this offence? 2. How great is the overall damage caused by the offence? (make a sum of the physical, emotional, economic and potential damage)
Perceived gender stereotype violation	1. How surprised were you that it was a woman who committed this crime? 2. To what extent does the behaviour of the offender deviate from traditional gender roles? 3. How inappropriate is it for a woman to engage in aggressive behaviour? 4. How inconsistent is the offender's behaviour with societal expectations of women? 5. How unexpected is it for a woman to engage in this type of criminal activity? 6.How much do her actions deviate from beliefs about typical female behaviour?	1. How surprised were you that it was a man who committed this crime? 2. To what extent does the behaviour of the offender deviate from traditional gender roles? 3. How inappropriate is it for a man to engage in aggressive behaviour? 4. How inconsistent is the offender's behaviour with societal expectations of men? 5. How unexpected is it for a man to engage in this type of criminal activity? 6. How much do his actions deviate from beliefs about typical male behavior?

Answer Options: Not at all| Slightly |Moderately| Quite a bit| Very much

Both Groups

Manipulation check item

Reflecting on the individual in the video, which of the following best describes the person you saw? You can choose one or multiple answer options. – same for both conditions

> Answer Options: A young person| An elderly person| An authoritative person| A poor person| A male person| A female person| An angry person| A desperate person| Other characteristics [Text entry]

Short-ASI

Below are a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

1.Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess
2. Women should be cherished and protected by men
3. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men
4. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores
5. Men are incomplete without women
6. Women exaggerate problems they have at work
7. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash
8. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against

9. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances

10. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility

11. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives

12. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men

   Answer Options:

|Strongly Disagree| Somewhat disagree| Neither agree nor disagree| Somewhat agree| Strongly agree

Short-AMI

Below are a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. Even if both members of a couple work, the woman ought to be more attentive to taking care of her man at home

2. When men act to "help" women, they are often trying to prove they are better than women

3. Every woman needs a male partner who will cherish her

4. A woman will never be truly fulfilled in life if she doesn't have a committed, long-term relationship with a man

5. Men act like babies when they are sick

6. Men will always fight to have greater control in society than women

7. Men are mainly useful to provide financial security for women

8. Even men who claim to be sensitive to women's rights really want a traditional relationship at home, with the woman performing most of the housekeeping and child care

9. Men are more willing to put themselves in danger to protect others

10. When it comes down to it, most men are really like children

11. Men are more willing to take risks than women

12. Most men sexually harass women, even if only in subtle ways, once they are in a position of power over them

Answer Options:
|Strongly Disagree| Somewhat disagree| Neither agree nor disagree| Somewhat agree| Strongly agree

Debriefing
Thank you for your participation!
Want to know what this was really about? This study explores how a violent offender's gender might affect the public perceptions of them, specifically:
Are they capable to change and reintegrate into society?
Are they suitable for programs that focus on repairing harm rather than just punishing them?
Those questions follow the concept of "Restorative justice", which aims to repair the harm caused by crime through dialogue between offenders, victims, and community members (through practices like community conferencing).
I want to know if people view a female offender who commits a violent offence differently than a male offender who commits the same type of violent offence. I also want to know if gender stereotypes influence these views.
You were randomly assigned to either a male or female offender scenario. All other details remained the same. The specific focus on gender was not initially disclosed to avoid biasing your responses.
If this makes you uncomfortable and you wish to withdraw your initial consent, please press the button below. Your data will be deleted without any consequences.
 Otherwise, you can complete this study by clicking the "**Finish!**" button below.
Code for Survey Swap: ILM9-PTDE-84HY
Code for Survey Circle: 58Y6-VH63-XL22-326M
In case you feel distressed after participating in this study, please don't hesitate to reach out to your personal support system (family, friends, therapists etc.)
 or official support systems:
For Dutch speakers: MIND Korrelatie
For German speakers: Telefonseelsorge
For international support: Crisis Text Line
        Answer options: Finish! | I wish to withdraw my initial consent

B
Survey German Version

<div align="center">**Beide Gruppen**</div>

Einverständniserklärung

Willkommen zu dieser Studie! Sie sind eingeladen, an dieser Forschungsstudie im Rahmen meiner Masterarbeit teilzunehmen. Dabei geht es um die öffentliche Wahrnehmung von Straftätern. Ich untersuche, wie Gewaltstrafttaten die Wahrnehumg der Bevölkerung in Bezug auf Täter und das Strafrechtssystem beeinflussen. Im Folgenden sehen Sie ein Video, das Gewalt in der Öffentlichkeit zeigt. Anschließend beantworten SIe dann einige Fragen dazu. Dies wird etwa 20 Minuten dauern, nehmen Sie sich aber gerne so viel Zeit, wie Sie benötigen. Bitte beachten Sie: Es gibt hier keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten. Um aussagekräftige Forschungsergebnisse zu erhalten, bitte ich Sie, jede Frage so ehrlich wie möglich zu beantworten. Ich verlasse mich darauf, dass Ihre Antworten auf Ihren Gedanken und Gefühle basieren, auch wenn diese von dem abweichen, was andere Ihrer Meinung nach erwarten könnten. Für Ihre Teilnahme erhalten Sie:

Als Student der Universität Twente: 0,25 SONA-Punkte

Bei Teilnahme über SurveySwap oder SurveyCircle: einen Abschlusscode Als Teilnehmende: unseren Dank im Voraus! Ihre Teilnahme wird sehr geschätzt.

 Bitte lesen Sie die folgenden Aussagen sorgfältig durch:

  1. Sie sind über 18 Jahre alt.

  2. Die Teilnahme an dieser Studie ist freiwillig, Sie stehen unter keiner Verpflichtung teilzunehmen.

  3. Sie können jederzeit ohne Angabe von Gründen und ohne Konsequenzen ihre Teilnahme abbrechen.

  4. Alle Antworten sind anonym.

  5. Die gesammelten Antworten werden ausschließlich für die Datenanalyse verwendet. Die Daten werden für eine mögliche Veröffentlichung und Überprüfung fünf Jahre lang sicher aufbewahrt und können frei zugänglich gemacht werden.

Bei Fragen oder Bedenken kontaktieren Sie bitte:

Forscherin: Joline Klein (j.r.klein@student.utwente.nl)

Betreuerin: Dr. Jiska Jonas-Van Dijk (j.jonas-vandijk@utwente.nl)

Warnung: Diese Studie enthält gewalttätige Inhalte! Sie sehen ein Video und lesen eine Beschreibung einer Gewalttat. Dies kann für manche beunruhigend sein. Ihr Wohlbefinden hat oberste Priorität. Sie können die Teilnahme jederzeit beenden, wenn Sie sich unwohl fühlen.

Trigger-Warnung: Wenn bei Ihnen eine posttraumatische Belastungsstörung (PTBS) diagnostiziert wurde oder wenn Sie vermuten, dass Sie daran leiden könnten, raten wir Ihnen von der Teilnahme an dieser Studie ab.

Diese Studie wurde von der BMS Ethikkommission der Universität Twente geprüft und genehmigt. Durch Klicken auf die Schaltfläche unten bestätigen Sie, dass Sie die Informationen gelesen und verstanden haben und der Teilnahme an der Studie zustimmen.

> **Antwort Möglichkeit:** Ich habe die oben genannten Informationen gelesen und verstanden und bin mit der Teilnahme an dieser Studie einverstanden.

<div align="center">**Demographie**</div>

Wenn Sie über Sona teilnehmen, geben Sie bitte unten Ihre Sona-ID ein.

> Antwort Möglichkeiten: _____

Mit welchem Geschlecht identifizieren Sie sich?

     Antwort Möglichkeiten**:** Weiblich| Männlich| Non-Binär / Andere

Wie alt sind Sie (in Jahren)?

     Antwort Möglichkeiten: _____

What is your nationality?

     Antwort Möglichkeiten: Niederländisch| Deutsch| Andere _____

Was ist Ihr höchster akademischer Abschluss?

     Antwort Möglichkeiten: Kein formaler Bildungsabschluss| Grundschule|
     Sekundarschulabschluss| Bachelor-Abschluss| Master-Abschluss / Diplom /
Staatsexamen| Doktortitel oder höher| Andere _____

Haben Sie jemals Kurse in Kriminologie, forensischer Psychologie oder verwandten Bereichen belegt?

     Antwort Möglichkeiten: Ja| Nein

Wenn Sie an Ihre politischen Ansichten denken, wo würden Sie sich auf dieser Skala einordnen?

     Antwort Möglichkeiten: Extrem liberal| Liberal| Etwas liberal| Neutral| Etwas
     konservativ| Konservativ| Extrem konservativ

<div align="center">

Video

</div>

Wenn Sie bereit sind, klicken Sie auf die Wiedergabetaste in der Mitte, um das Video zu starten. Bitte beachten Sie, dass das Video keinen Ton hat. Fahren Sie nach dem Anschauen mit der nächsten Seite fort, um weitere Informationen über diese Straftat zu erhalten.

🎛 Tipp für Smartphone-Nutzer: Drehen Sie Ihr Gerät seitlich (Querformat), um das Video in voller Größe zu sehen.

<div align="center">

[Video Widergabe]

</div>

	GRUPPE WEIBLICHE TÄTERIN	GRUPPE MÄNNLICHER TÄTER
	Lesen Sie die folgende Beschreibung des Verbrechens aufmerksam durch und gehen Sie dann zur nächsten Seite, um einige Fragen zu beantworten.	
Verbrechens Beschreibung	Am Dienstagabend beging Maike Schmit, 32-jährige Mutter von zwei Kindern, einen bewaffneten Raubüberfall auf den Aldi-Markt in der Hauptstraße. Maike Schmit hat Aufnahmen von der Tat gemacht und hochgeladen, die zeigen, wie sie den Laden mit einer Pistole betritt. Man sieht, wie sie einen Angestellten mit einer Waffe bedroht und ihn zwingt, die Tresore zu öffnen. Nachdem ihr das Bargeld ausgehändigt worden war, richtete sie ihre Waffe auf Familien und Kinder, die gerade einkauften, und gab einen Schreckschuss ab, bevor sie mit einem nicht genannten Geldbetrag flüchtete. Es wurden keine körperlichen	Am Dienstagabend beging Marco Schmit, 32-jähriger Vater von zwei Kindern, einen bewaffneten Raubüberfall auf den Aldi-Markt in der Hauptstraße. Marco Schmit hat Aufnahmen von der Tat gemacht und hochgeladen, die zeigen, wie er den Laden mit einer Pistole betritt. Man sieht, wie er einen Angestellten mit einer Waffe bedroht und ihn zwingt, die Tresore zu öffnen. Nachdem ihm das Bargeld ausgehändigt worden war, richtete er seine Waffe auf Familien und Kinder, die gerade einkauften, und gab einen Schreckschuss ab, bevor er mit einem nicht genannten Geldbetrag flüchtete. Es wurden keine

Verletzungen gemeldet, allerdings suchten mehrere Kunden und Mitarbeiter Beratung auf, um sich von dem Vorfall zu erholen.	körperlichen Verletzungen gemeldet, allerdings suchten mehrere Kunden und Mitarbeiter Beratung auf, um sich von dem Vorfall zu erholen.
Maike Schmit wurde wegen des Gewaltdelikts mit einer Waffe zu vier Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt. Zusätzlich zu der Haftstrafe hat das Gericht ihr angeboten, nach ihrer Entlassung an einer sogenannten "Community Conference" (zu Deutsch = Gemeinschaftskonferenz) teilzunehmen. Eine Community Conference ist eine Versammlung, bei der Täter, Opfer und Mitglieder der Gesellschaft, die von einer Straftat oder einem Konflikt betroffen sind, freiwillig zusammenkommen. Unter der Leitung eines geschulten, neutralen Moderators haben alle Teilnehmer die Möglichkeit, ihre Erfahrungen auszutauschen, ihre Gefühle zu äußern und den durch den Vorfall verursachten Schaden zu besprechen. Dieser Ansatz hilft Tätern, die Auswirkungen ihrer Handlungen zu verstehen, Verantwortung für ihr Fehlverhalten zu übernehmen und gemeinsam einen Plan zur Wiedergutmachung zu entwickeln. Er gibt den Opfern eine Stimme und ermöglicht es ihnen, sich Gehör zu verschaffen, während die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft ihre Unterstützung und Perspektiven anbieten, sodass jeder die Chance hat, sich am Justizprozess zu beteiligen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Wiedergutmachung von Unrecht, indem eine kooperative Kommunikation gefördert wird, um eine vertrauenswürdige Gesellschaft wieder aufzubauen.	Marko Schmit wurde wegen des Gewaltdelikts mit einer Waffe zu vier Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt. Zusätzlich zu der Haftstrafe hat das Gericht ihm angeboten, nach seiner Entlassung an einer sogenannten "Community Conference" (zu deutsch = Gemeinschaftskonferenz) teilzunehmen. Eine Community Conference ist eine Versammlung, bei der Täter, Opfer und Mitglieder der Gesellschaft, die von einer Straftat oder einem Konflikt betroffen sind, freiwillig zusammenkommen. Unter der Leitung eines geschulten, neutralen Moderators haben alle Teilnehmer die Möglichkeit, ihre Erfahrungen auszutauschen, ihre Gefühle zu äußern und den durch den Vorfall verursachten Schaden zu besprechen. Dieser Ansatz hilft Tätern, die Auswirkungen ihrer Handlungen zu verstehen, Verantwortung für ihr Fehlverhalten zu übernehmen und gemeinsam einen Plan zur Wiedergutmachung zu entwickeln. Er gibt Opfern eine Stimme und ermöglicht es ihnen, sich Gehör zu verschaffen, während Mitglieder der Gesellschaft ihre Unterstützung und Perspektiven anbieten, sodass jeder die Chance hat, sich am Justizprozess zu beteiligen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Wiedergutmachung von Unrecht, indem eine kooperative Kommunikation gefördert wird, um eine vertrauenswürdige Gesellschaft wieder aufzubauen.
ATRJ Die folgenden Aussagen beziehen sich konkret auf Maike Schmit, die Täterin, die Sie im Video gesehen und über die	Die folgenden Aussagen beziehen sich konkret auf Marco Schmit, den Täter, den Sie im Video gesehen und

Sie in der Tatbeschreibung gelesen haben. Bitte geben Sie an, wie sehr Sie den einzelnen Aussagen in Maike Schmits Fall zustimmen.

1. Es ist wichtig, Mitgefühl für Maike zu haben, die anderen Schaden zugefügt hat
2. Es ist wichtig, ihr gegenüber Empathie zu zeigen
3. Die Leute sollten Mitgefühl mit ihr haben, auch wenn sie Schaden angerichtet hat
4. Ihr Unterstützung zu zeigen, kann hilfreich sein, damit sie die Verantwortung für ihre Handlungen übernimmt
5. Es ist wichtig, ihre Bedürfnisse zu verstehen, die mit dem von ihr verursachten Schaden verbunden sind
6. Sie hat Bedürfnisse, die mit dem von ihr verursachten Schaden zusammenhängen und die von der Justiz berücksichtigt werden sollten
7. Es sollte mehr Wert darauf gelegt werden, die Person zu verstehen, die den Schaden verursacht hat
8. Ich bin der Meinung, dass man sich gleichermaßen um die Heilung des Lebens der Geschädigten und der Täterin bemühen sollte.
9. Sie sollte daran arbeiten, die Beziehungen zu denen wiederherzustellen, die sie verletzt hat
10. Sie sollte die Beziehungen zu den Geschädigten wiederherstellen
11. Für sie und die Opfer ist ein persönlicher Dialog wichtig
12. Um den Schaden wiedergutzumachen, sind inklusive, kollaborative Prozesse zwischen den Opfern und ihr notwendig
13. Es ist wichtig, dass sie die Verantwortung für ihre Handlungen übernimmt
14. Es ist wichtig, dass sie ihr Fehlverhalten eingesteht

über den Sie in der Tatbeschreibung gelesen haben. Bitte geben Sie an, wie sehr Sie den einzelnen Aussagen in Marco Schmits Fall zustimmen.

1. Es ist wichtig, Mitgefühl für Marco zu haben, der anderen Schaden zugefügt hat
2. Es ist wichtig, ihm gegenüber Empathie zu zeigen
3. Die Leute sollten Mitgefühl mit ihm haben, auch wenn er Schaden angerichtet hat
4. Ihm Unterstützung zeigen, kann hilfreich sein, damit er die Verantwortung für seine Handlungen übernimmt
5. Es ist wichtig, seine Bedürfnisse zu verstehen, die mit dem von ihm verursachten Schaden verbunden sind
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7. Es sollte mehr Wert darauf gelegt werden, die Person zu verstehen, die den Schaden verursacht hat.
8. Ich bin der Meinung, dass man sich gleichermaßen um die Heilung des Lebens der Geschädigten und des Täters bemühen sollte.
9. Er sollte daran arbeiten, die Beziehungen zu denen wiederherzustellen, die er verletzt hat
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12. Um den Schaden wiedergutzumachen, sind inklusive, kollaborative Prozesse zwischen den Opfern und ihm notwendig
13. Es ist wichtig, dass er die Verantwortung für seine Handlungen übernimmt
14. Es ist wichtig, dass er sein Fehlverhalten eingesteht

15. Ich finde, sie sollte ermutigt werden, die Auswirkungen ihres Schadens zu verstehen

16. Ehrlichkeit in Form eines Geständnisses für das was sie zu verantworten hat ist wichtig

17. Mitglieder der Gesellschaft sollten bei der Entscheidung um Gerechtigkeit für die Opfer der Täterin aktiv einbezogen werden

18. In ihrem Fall sollten die Gerichtsverfahren die einzelnen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft stärker einbeziehen

19. Ich glaube, dass die Opfer von Maike die Unterstützung der Gesellschaft brauchen, um zu heilen

20. Die Gesellschaft hat die Pflicht, den Opfern von Maike zu helfen, ihre Bedürfnisse zu äußern

15. Ich finde, er sollte ermutigt werden, die Auswirkungen seines Schadens zu verstehen

16. Ehrlichkeit in Form eines Geständnisses für das was er zu verantworten hat ist wichtig

17. Mitglieder der Gesellschaft sollten bei der Entscheidung um Gerechtigkeit für die Opfer des Täters aktiv einbezogen werden

18. In seinem Fall sollten die Gerichtsverfahren die einzelnen Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft stärker einbeziehe

19. Ich glaube, dass die Opfer von Marco die Unterstützung der Gemeinschaft brauchen, um zu heilen

20. Die Gesellschaft hat die Pflicht, den Opfern von Marco zu helfen, ihre Bedürfnisse zu äußern

Antwort Möglichkeiten:
Stimme überhaupt nicht zu|Stimme nicht zu|Unentschlossen|Stimme zu|Stimme voll und ganz zu

Willingness to reintegrate scale

Geben Sie bitte an, wie sehr Sie den folgenden Aussagen bezüglich Maike Schmits zustimmen.

1. Für mich wäre es ok, wenn sie nach dem Absitzen ihrer Haftstrafe in der Nähe meines Zuhauses wohnen würde

2. Es würde mich stören, wenn sie nach dem Absitzen ihrer Haftstrafe in meiner Gemeinde leben würde

3. Wenn ich ein Unternehmen hätte, wäre ich bereit, sie nach dem Absitzen ihrer Haftstrafe einzustellen

4. Ich denke, man könnte ihr als Mitarbeiterin eines Unternehmens vertrauen, nachdem sie ihre Haftstrafe abgesessen hat

Geben Sie bitte an, wie sehr Sie den folgenden Aussagen bezüglich Marco Schmits zustimmen.

1. Für mich wäre es ok, wenn er nach dem Absitzen seiner Haftstrafe in der Nähe meines Zuhauses wohnen würde

2. Es würde mich stören, wenn er nach dem Absitzen seiner Haftstrafe in meiner Gemeinde leben würde

3. Wenn ich ein Unternehmen hätte, wäre ich bereit, ihn nach dem Absitzen seiner Haftstrafe einzustellen

4. Ich denke, man könnte ihm als Mitarbeit eines Unternehmens vertrauen, nachdem er seine Haftstrafe abgesessen hat

Antwort Möglichkeiten:
Stimme überhaupt nicht zu|Stimme nicht zu|Unentschlossen|Stimme zu|Stimme voll und ganz zu

Willingness to participate scale

1. Wenn ich eingeladen würde, würde ich in Erwägung ziehen, nach ihrer Entlassung mit ihr an einer

1. Wenn ich eingeladen würde, würde ich in Erwägung ziehen, nach seiner Entlassung mit ihm an einer

Community Conference teilzunehmen.
2. Ich wäre bereit, mit ihr an einer Community Conference teilzunehmen, um den angerichteten Schaden wiedergutzumachen.
3. Ich wäre bereit, ihr im Rahmen einer Community Conference meine Sichtweise über die Auswirkungen des Verbrechens mitzuteilen.

Community Conference teilzunehmen.
2. Ich wäre bereit, mit ihm an einer Community Conference teilzunehmen, um den angerichteten Schaden wiedergutzumachen.
3. Ich wäre bereit, ihm im Rahmen einer Community Conference meine Sichtweise über die Auswirkungen des Verbrechens mitzuteilen.

Antwort Möglichkeiten:
Stimme überhaupt nicht zu|Stimme nicht zu|Unentschlossen|Stimme zu|Stimme voll und ganz zu

Adopted BiR Scale

Bitte geben Sie an, wie sehr Sie den folgenden Aussagen bezüglich Maike Schmit zustimmen.
1. Für sie ist die Veränderung ihres Lebens mehr eine Frage der persönlichen Anstrengung als des Glücks
2. Sie hat genauso viel Kontrolle über ihre Zukunft wie alle anderen
3. Es ist möglich, dass sie sich dramatisch zum Besseren verändert
4. Es ist ihr möglich, sich zu ändern und ein gesetzestreues Leben zu führen
5. Trotz aller Bemühungen schafft sie es einfach nicht, wieder ein normales Leben zu führen
6. Sie wird immer eine Kriminelle sein

Bitte geben Sie an, wie sehr Sie den folgenden Aussagen bezüglich Marco Schmit zustimmen.
1. Für ihn ist die Veränderung seines Lebens mehr eine Frage der persönlichen Anstrengung als des Glücks
2. Er hat genauso viel Kontrolle über seine Zukunft wie alle anderen
3. Es ist möglich, dass er sich dramatisch zum Besseren verändert
4. Es ist ihm möglich, sich zu ändern und ein gesetzestreues Leben zu führen
5. Trotz aller Bemühungen schafft er es einfach nicht, wieder ein normales Leben zu führen
6. Er wird immer ein Krimineller sein

Antwort Möglichkeiten:
Stimme überhaupt nicht zu|Stimme nicht zu|Unentschlossen|Stimme zu|Stimme voll und ganz zu

Perceived wrongfulness scale

Bitte beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen anhand der untenstehenden Skala. Bedenken Sie, dass uns Ihre persönliche Meinung interessiert. Es gibt keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten.

1. In welchem Ausmaß ist die Straftat moralisch verwerflich?
2. In welchem Ausmaß denken Sie, wollte oder beabsichtigte Maike diese Straftat?

1. In welchem Ausmaß ist die Straftat moralisch verwerflich?
2. In welchem Ausmaß denken Sie, wollte oder beabsichtigte Marco diese Straftat?

Perceived harmfulness scale

1. Wie schwerwiegend ist der emotionale Schaden, der durch diese Straftat verursacht wurde?
2. Wie schwerwiegend ist der durch die Straftat verursachte Gesamtschaden? (fassen Sie den

1. Wie schwerwiegend ist der emotionale Schaden, der durch diese Straftat verursacht wurde?
2. Wie schwerwiegend ist der durch die Straftat verursachte Gesamtschaden? (fassen Sie den

	physischen, emotionalen, wirtschaftlichen und potenziellen Schaden zusammen)	physischen, emotionalen, wirtschaftlichen und potenziellen Schaden zusammen)
Perceived gender stereotype violation	1. Wie überrascht waren Sie, dass es eine Frau war, die dieses Verbrechen begangen hat? 2. Inwieweit weicht das Verhalten der Täterin von traditionellen Geschlechterrollen ab? 3. Wie unangemessen ist es für eine Frau, sich aggressiv zu verhalten? 4. Inwieweit steht das Verhalten der Täterin im Widerspruch zu den gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen an Frauen? 5. Wie unerwartet ist es, dass eine Frau an dieser Art von krimineller Aktivität teilnimmt? 6. Wie sehr weichen Maike Schmits Handlungen von Vorstellungen über typisch weibliches Verhalten ab?	1. Wie überrascht waren Sie, dass es ein Mann war, der dieses Verbrechen begangen hat? 2. Inwieweit weicht das Verhalten des Täters von traditionellen Geschlechterrollen ab? 3. Wie unangemessen ist es für einen Mann, sich aggressiv zu verhalten? 4. Inwieweit steht das Verhalten des Täters im Widerspruch zu den gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen an Männer? 5. Wie unerwartet ist es, dass ein Mann an dieser Art von krimineller Aktivität teilnimmt? 6. Wie sehr weichen Marco Schmits Handlungen von Vorstellungen über typisch männliches Verhalten ab?

Antwort Möglichkeiten: Überhaupt nicht| Ein wenig| In Maßen| Ziemlich viel| Sehr viel

Beide Gruppen

Manipulation check item

Wenn Sie an die Person im Video denken, welche der folgenden Beschreibungen trifft am besten auf die Person zu, die Sie gesehen haben? Sie können eine oder mehrere Antwortmöglichkeiten auswählen.

> Antwort Möglichkeiten: Eine junge Person| Eine ältere Person| Eine männliche Person| Eine weibliche Person| Eine autoritäre Person| Eine arme Person| Eine wütende Person| Eine verzweifelte Person|andere Eigenschaften _____

Short-ASI

Nachfolgend finden Sie eine Reihe von Aussagen zu Männern und Frauen und ihren Beziehungen in der heutigen Gesellschaft. Geben Sie bitte an, inwieweit Sie jeder Aussage zustimmen oder nicht.

1. Viele Frauen haben eine Reinheit, die nur wenige Männer besitzen
2. Frauen sollten von Männern geschätzt und beschützt werden
3. Frauen versuchen, Macht zu erlangen, indem sie Kontrolle über Männer erlangen
4. Jeder Mann sollte eine Frau haben, die er anbetet
5. Männer sind ohne Frauen unvollständig
6. Frauen übertreiben ihre Probleme am Arbeitsplatz
7. Wenn eine Frau einen Mann dazu bringt, sich an sie zu binden, versucht sie normalerweise, ihn an die kurze Leine zu nehmen
8. Wenn Frauen in einem fairen Wettbewerb gegen Männer verlieren, beschweren sie sich in der Regel über Diskriminierung
9. Viele Frauen haben Spaß daran, Männer zu necken, indem sie sexuell verfügbar erscheinen und dann männliche Annäherungsversuche zurückweisen.

10. Frauen haben im Vergleich zu Männern tendenziell ein höheres moralisches Empfinden
11. Männer sollten bereit sein, ihr eigenes Wohlergehen zu opfern, um die Frauen in ihrem Leben finanziell zu versorgen
12. Feminist*innen stellen unangemessene Forderungen an Männer
Antwort Möglichkeiten:
Stimme überhaupt nicht zu|Stimme nicht zu|Unentschlossen|Stimme zu|Stimme voll und ganz zu

Short-AMI
Below are a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.
1. Auch wenn beide Partner berufstätig sind, sollte die Frau sich zu Hause mehr um ihren Mann kümmern
2. Wenn Männer Frauen „helfen", versuchen sie oft zu beweisen, dass sie besser sind als Frauen
3. Jede Frau braucht einen männlichen Partner, der sie wertschätzt
4. Eine Frau wird im Leben nie wirklich erfüllt sein, wenn sie keine feste, langfristige Beziehung zu einem Mann hat
5. Männer benehmen sich wie Babys, wenn sie krank sind
6. Männer werden immer darum kämpfen, in der Gesellschaft mehr Kontrolle zu haben als Frauen
7. Männer sind vor allem für die finanzielle Absicherung von Frauen nützlich
8. Selbst Männer, die behaupten, für Frauenrechte sensibilisiert zu sein, wünschen sich eigentlich eine traditionelle Beziehung zu Hause, in der die Frau den Großteil der Haushaltsführung und Kinderbetreuung übernimmt
9. Männer sind eher bereit, sich selbst in Gefahr zu begeben, um andere zu schützen
10. Wenn es darauf ankommt, sind die meisten Männer wirklich wie Kinder
11. Männer sind eher bereit, Risiken einzugehen als Frauen
12. Die meisten Männer belästigen Frauen sexuell, wenn auch nur auf subtile Art und Weise, sobald sie in einer Machtposition über ihnen sind
Antwort Möglichkeiten:
Stimme überhaupt nicht zu|Stimme nicht zu|Unentschlossen|Stimme zu|Stimme voll und ganz zu

Debriefing
Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme! Möchten Sie wissen, worum es in dieser Studie wirklich ging?
Diese Studie untersucht, wie sich das Geschlecht eines Gewalttäters auf die öffentliche Wahrnehmung auswirkt, insbesondere:
Sind sie in der Lage, sich zu ändern und sich wieder in die Gesellschaft zu integrieren?
Sind sie für Programme geeignet, die sich auf die Wiedergutmachung von Schäden konzentrieren, anstatt sie nur zu bestrafen?
Das Konzept dahinter nennt sich „wiederherstellenden Gerechtigkeit". Dies zielt darauf ab durch Straftaten verursachten Schäden durch Austausch zwischen Tätern, Opfern und Gemeindemitgliedern (mit Praktiken wie unter anderem "Community Conferencing") zu reparieren. Ich möchte wissen, ob eine weibliche Straftäterin, die ein Gewaltverbrechen begeht, diesbezüglich anders wahrgenommen wird als ein männlicher Straftäter, der dieselbe Art von Gewaltverbrechen begeht. Ich möchte auch wissen, ob Geschlechterstereotype diese Ansichten beeinflussen.
Sie wurden zufällig entweder einem Szenario mit einem männlichen oder einem weiblichen Straftäter zugewiesen. Alle anderen Details blieben gleich. Der spezifische Fokus auf das Geschlecht wurde zunächst nicht bekannt gegeben, um eine Beeinflussung Ihrer Antworten zu vermeiden.

Wenn Sie auf Grund dessen Ihre ursprüngliche Einwilligung widerrufen möchten, klicken Sie bitte auf die Schaltfläche unten. Ihre Daten werden dann ohne Konsequenzen gelöscht.

Andernfalls können Sie diese Studie beenden, indem Sie unten auf "Fertig!" klicken.

Code für Survey Swap: ILM9-PTDE-84HY

Code für Survey Circle: 58Y6-VH63-XL22-326M Falls Sie sich nach der Teilnahme an dieser Studie unwohl fühlen, wenden Sie sich bitte an Ihr persönliches Unterstützungssystem (Freunde, Familie, Therapeut*innen etc.) oder an offizielle Unterstützungssysteme:

Für Deutschsprachige: Telefonseelsorge

Für Niederländischsprachige: MIND Korrelatie

Für internationale Unterstützung: Crisis Text Line

   Antwort Möglichkeiten: Fertig!| Meine ursprüngliche Einwilligung widerrufen