



The influence of gender and sexist attitudes on juror verdicts and perceptions of domestic violence in heterosexual relationships

Natasha Leigh Bray

## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the impact of juror gender, perpetrator and victim gender and sexist attitudes on verdict decisions and perceptions in an ambiguous domestic violence case between heterosexual partners. Mock jurors read 1 of 2 case summaries in which the gender of the victim and perpetrator varied. Female jurors were found to be more likely to give a guilty verdict, view the offence more seriously and place less blame on the victim. Data also revealed that participants were more likely to find female perpetrators not guilty after a deliberation scenario and more likely to allocate them suspended sentences, whereas male perpetrators were more likely to be given prison sentences. Female-perpetrated violence was viewed as significantly less serious. Male victims are less likely to be believed and blamed more than female victims. Hostile sexists view the offence as less serious than non-sexists. Those high in benevolence towards men viewed the offence as less serious, the victim as more responsible and recommended lenient sentences for the perpetrator. Results suggest a chivalrous attitude towards female perpetrators and victims and a gender bias against male perpetrators and victims in the criminal justice system.

Key words:	Domestic violence	Ambivalent sexism	Gender bias	Social norms	Mock jurors
------------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------	--------------	-------------

## Introduction

Domestic violence is defined by the government as: “*Any incident of threatening behaviour, violence or abuse [psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional] between adults who are or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender or sexuality*” (Crown Prosecution Service, 2009). Although clearly defined as a form of violence against both genders, domestic violence research is predominantly based on female victims and male perpetrators who were (or still are) intimate partners. Although incidents of violence have been decreasing yearly, this form of assault is still a serious problem in the United Kingdom. Statistics have revealed that one in six men (39%) have experienced domestic abuse at the hands of their partner (Mankind Initiative, 2009). Yet, there is very little research regarding men as victims of domestic violence. This may be because of a general assumption in society that women do not commit this kind of crime and thus men cannot be a victim of it (Dobash & Dobash, 1976; Letellier, 1992).

## Trials and Juror decision-making

When any criminal case comes to trial, it is important that prejudices do not interfere with juror decision making. Jurors need to evaluate information presented and come to a rational decision that only takes relevant legal factors into account. Unfortunately, research has shown that extra-legal factors may sometimes get considered by a juror in the decision-making process, unconsciously allowing biases to occur (Mossiere & Dalby, 2008). Such factors related to defendant, juror, and victim characteristics are widely found to influence verdicts. Typical characteristics looked at include gender (Ferguson & Negy, 2004), race (ForsterLee *et al*, 2006) and even attractiveness (Burke *et al*, 1990).

There is extensive literature investigating mock juror verdicts in criminal cases of homicide (Terrance *et al*, 2000; Abwender & Hough, 2001), rape (Weir & Wrightsman, 1990) and child abuse (Mckoy & Gray, 2007), but few looking at criminal cases of intimate partner domestic violence. Although rape between intimate partners is a form of domestic violence, we cannot compartmentalise all forms of domestic violence as producing the same results as those found in rape research. A further distinction has also been made between perceptions in cases which involve intimate partner violence and those in cases of violence between married partners (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000).

The limited intimate partner mock trial studies found have been physically violent domestic violence cases which have resulted in a homicide and claims of self-defence by the accused (Russell, Ragatz & Kraus, 2008). This reinforces the feminist attitude that women only commit violence in order to defend themselves against violent men (Bograd, 1990), although this notion has been strongly disputed. Other studies even exclude males as victims of domestic violence altogether (Kern, Libkuman & Temple, 2007). Evidently, there is a gap in the literature for research investigating impacts on juror decisions in cases of male victims of domestic violence. There is also a need for research relating to domestic violence cases which do not end in homicide.

## **Influence of Gender in domestic violence research**

### **Participant gender**

The influence of gender on juror verdicts has been widely studied throughout trial research, indicating several differences between male and female jurors. In general, the most well-established finding is the tendency for female jurors to convict more than male jurors (ForsterLee *et al*, 2006). This is further supported by findings from a large study published by the Ministry of Justice which looked at jurors' verdict choices in real-life cases as well as mock cases (Thomas, 2010). Other research has revealed that females tend to treat domestic violence as more serious than males, with females being more sympathetic towards the victims (Home, 1994). Although research regarding male victims is limited, women have been found to have this view of seriousness regardless of the gender of the victim (Harris & Cook, 1994). These combined findings suggest females may be more likely to convict whether the victim is male or female. However, most research tends to focus on single jurors. In her analysis of verdict choices pre-deliberation and post-deliberation, Thomas (2010) reported female jurors were more open to persuasion to change their original verdict during deliberation than male jurors. It was rare for male jurors to change their mind about their original pre-deliberation verdict.

### **Victim and perpetrator gender**

Without bringing sexuality into research looking at the influence of gender in domestic violence cases, it is impossible to separate the effects of the combination of victim and perpetrator gender. The inclusion of same-sex relationships was beyond the scope of this study. However, one study which did include heterosexual and homosexual relationships has found that domestic violence against female victims is typically seen as more serious than violence against male victims (Seelau *et al*, 2003). Other research into domestic violence between heterosexual partners supports this view, with findings that male-perpetrated violence against women viewed as more serious than female-perpetrated violence (Harris & Cook, 1994). Additionally, Ferguson & Negy (2004) found male-perpetrated violence was viewed as significantly more criminal than female perpetrated violence by both genders. These findings suggest that gender of the perpetrator in heterosexual relationships may bias juror decisions and influence attitudes in domestic violence cases, regardless of the gender of the Juror.

Interestingly, higher responsibility is usually attributed to male perpetrators and male victims of domestic violence than female perpetrators and victims. Studies using police as participants found male victims found to be more responsible for the violence enacted against them than female victims (Finn & Stalans, 1997; Stewart & Maddren, 1997). A student sample revealed similar results (Harris & Cook, 1994). This finding is also supported by Seelau *et al* (2003), who suggested this may be due to perceptions that a woman must have been provoked to act in such a 'non-traditional' way. Men are seen as typically aggressive, therefore female victims are seen as less responsible for any abuse they suffer. In line with research relating to victim responsibility, domestic violence cases found that both genders hold female perpetrators less responsible for their actions (Feather, 1996; Harris & Cook, 1994).

In research that looks at other offences (McCoy & Gray, 2007; Quas *et al*, 2006), there is a suggestion that gender may influence victim believability. Female victims have generally been found to be more believable than male victims. However, there is no research investigating the effects of gender on victim believability in domestic violence cases. Evidently, the links between gender and victim believability in domestic violence cases need to be explored due to its importance in the jury-decision making process and perceptions of the offence. Further influences of gender are apparent when you look at the degree of sentencing given to male and female perpetrators. Feather (1996) found that men who abuse women are perceived as more deserving of harsher sentences. This is further supported by Poorman *et al* (2003), who found that participants recommended harsher punishments for male perpetrators than female perpetrators.

Based on the research on the influence of gender in perceptions of domestic violence, it can be concluded that female jurors may view the offence more seriously, especially when the victim is female. Male victims are more likely to be blamed for the violence perpetrated against them and female perpetrators are viewed as less responsible for their actions. Furthermore, female victims may be perceived as more believable than male victims and harsher punishments will be given to male perpetrators. It is proposed that social norms and stereotypes relating to gender may also have an impact on juror decisions and perceptions in domestic violence cases. In particular, perceptions of seriousness of the offence have been found to be related to traditional gender-role attitudes, with violence which follows the traditional 'male against female' norm being viewed as more serious (Seelau *et al*, 2003).

### **Social Norms and stereotypes**

Social norms can be defined as 'the written and unwritten rules of a society' which also 'constitute the foundation for appropriate behaviour within that society' (Sorenson & Taylor, 2005). Stereotypes are perceptions of groups which help to explain why people act in certain ways and help to structure society (McGarty *et al*, 2002). There are social norms and stereotypes which relate to gender. Throughout history, men have been portrayed as strong, dominant, masculine characters which protect women from harm. On the other hand, women have always been seen as the physically weaker sex, admired for their caring, maternal nature. This protection of women is known as 'chivalry'. Chivalry is defined as a form of sexism which justifies traditional gender roles (Glicke & Fiske, 1999). Felson (2000, 2002) found that there is a tendency for society to protect women, leading to greater punishment and condemnation of those men who do harm women. This norm could be a reflection of women's vulnerability due to men generally being physically stronger and more inclined to use violence (Felson & Field, 2009). Furthermore, Strauss (1999) proposed that there are gender differences in rules for violence affected by social norms. For example, a woman slapping a man across the face is perceived as acceptable feminine behaviour. This is supported by Simon *et al* (2001), who found that a woman hitting a man is reported as more acceptable in intimate relationships than a man hitting a woman. There is generally a strong social taboo against men using violence against women (Goodyear-Smith & Laidlaw, 1999).

Despite campaigns for gender equality in today's society, such as paternity leave for expectant fathers and equal rates of pay for women, some areas still have a long way to go. For many years, it was not accepted or even considered that men could

be victims of rape or sexual assault at the hands of women, due to stereotypical images of victims of such crimes as female. The idea that a woman could rape or sexually assault a man has been a controversial debate over the years. It is made clear in the law that either gender can rape or sexually assault the other, yet it would be very hard to convince a Jury of this. Just because something is recognised by the law, it doesn't mean society is open to believing it and perceptions may still be influenced by prejudice. Male victims of domestic violence face a similar fate. Women are the stereotypical victims of domestic violence and males are typically seen as the perpetrators. Furthermore, in cases where a woman is the perpetrator, she is still portrayed as a victim in the criminal justice system, with society viewing her as a 'battered woman' rather than a criminal. Although female-perpetrated violence is being reported, according to statistics it has a very low prosecution rate (Mankind Initiative, 2009). Nagel and Weitzman (1971) reported chivalrous treatment of women in the criminal justice system has been found to result in women more likely to receive a not-guilty verdict, or lesser imposed sentences if they do receive a guilty verdict. Although this research could be criticised for the attitudes of people forty years ago not applying to today's society, statistics suggest otherwise.

### **Ambivalent Sexism**

Before discussing the research relating to sexist attitudes, a description of what they are and what they suggest will be provided. Glick and Fiske (1996) designed a scale to measure the extent to which an individual advocates social norms about gender roles men and women should follow. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) was designed to predominantly measure men's sexist attitudes towards women. However, it has also been used to measure sexist attitudes held by women towards other women (Sibley *et al*, 2007).

The developers exaggerate a distinction between two forms of sexism in the scale: hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS). The two forms of sexism have been found to be related to each other and share components which favour beliefs such as 'women are the weaker sex'. Each sexism subscale assesses sub factors related to men's power, gender differentiation and homosexuality. HS and BS have been found to be positively correlated cross-culturally, suggesting they are complementary ideologies which are used to justify gender inequality in society. Ambivalent sexism is the combination of both forms of sexism that one person holds.

Hostile sexism is quite self-explanatory. It is a form of prejudice and consists of negative attitudes towards women and a view of men as superior. Hostile sexists are likely to view women who reject traditional female roles in a negative light. For example, feminists, seductresses' or high powered career women would be viewed negatively by hostile sexists as they are perceived as trying to gain more control over men or in society. They believe women are easily offended, exaggerate problems and use their sexuality to seek power. In contrast, benevolent sexism is characterized by a subjectively positive attitude towards women, but women are viewed stereotypically and in restricted roles, such as housewives and mothers. For example, benevolent sexist men recognize they are dependent on women, but see women as the weaker sex who need protection and have a strong endorsement of masculine dominance (Glick & Fiske, 1999). They believe women have higher morals, and are inherently good and pure. Benevolent sexists are not necessarily

likely to be hostile to women who do not embrace these roles unless they also score high on hostile sexism.

People who score high on both benevolent and hostile sexism are known as ambivalent sexists. They have the traits of both categories of sexism and tend to display extreme reactions to women depending on which aspect of their attitudes is activated. For example an ambivalent sexist may be hostile towards high powered career women, but respectful and protective towards mothers. Non-sexists (those who score low on both forms of sexism) tend to be more likely to treat all people as equals, no matter what their gender.

### **Ambivalence Towards Men**

The Ambivalence Towards Men Inventory (AMI) was developed a few years later (Glick & Fiske, 1999) to measure women's sexist attitudes towards men. However, more recent research has used the scale to measure men's sexist attitudes towards other men (Glick et al, 2004; Chapleau et al, 2008). The AMI is similar to the ASI; however, it successfully distinguishes between positive and negative beliefs about men (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Again, the scale is constructed from two subscales Hostility towards Men (HM) and Benevolence towards Men (BM).

Hostility towards Men is a form of prejudice which consists of negative attitudes towards men and a view of men as controlling, arrogant, naturally dominant and likely to sexually harass women. Hostility towards men is similar to HS in the respect they both express negative attitudes. However, this negativity towards men is encouraged by them acting as stereotypical males, whereas hostile sexism is induced by women who go against the stereotypical female role (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Benevolence toward men is characterized by a positive attitude which honours men for their role as protectors and providers who, in return for this, should receive the care of a woman at home (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Benevolence towards men is highly correlated with benevolent sexism because they both favour stereotypical, traditional gender roles.

Women may feel hostility towards men (HM) because they resent men for the power, strength and higher status attributed to them. On the other hand those who show benevolence towards men (BM) recognize that women also depend on men and hold subjectively positive attitudes towards them, relying on them for their strength and status at times. Male participants can hold these same attitudes towards men, but generally score higher on benevolence towards men than hostility towards men (Chapleau et al, 2008). Those who score high on both subscales are known as Ambivalent toward men (AM), a perception that men are bad as well as bold (Glick et al, 2004).

### **Sexism Research**

It is emphasized that the physical form of domestic violence being researched in this study is not considered as the same offence as rape. Rape is especially distinct due to the sexual aspect of the offence and the effect of this on perceptions of the case. However, rape research is used as a basis for development of theory relating to the influence of sexism and gender roles as it is an offence generally portrayed as male perpetrated against females. Research using the sexism scales has typically looked

at its influence in judgments of rape scenarios and acceptance of rape myths. A distinction between two categories of rape, 'acquaintance' or 'stranger', has been illustrated in the literature. 'Stranger' rape is self-explanatory and 'acquaintance' rape is when someone is raped by a person they know or are in a relationship with.

Rape myths are stereotypical or false beliefs about the responsibility of victims, the innocence of rapists, and the perception that rape is not a serious crime (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Most rape myth research typically focuses on sexist attitudes towards female victims. Burt's (1980) study on rape myths suggested that sex role stereotyping was one of the strong predictors of rape myth acceptance. Glicke and Fiske (1996; 1999) expanded on this with their sexism scales. Hostile sexists may be more likely not to believe the woman is a victim of rape or minimize the seriousness of the rape (Yamawaki, 2007) whereas benevolent sexists may see the need to protect the female and punish the perpetrator more harshly. However, it has also been acknowledged that benevolent sexists may have a contrasting view where they believe the woman has betrayed her feminine role by allowing a rape to take place (Viki & Abrahms, 2002). Interestingly, benevolent sexists have been found to be more likely to blame a female victim who was raped by someone she knew (acquaintance rape) than a female raped by a stranger because she is thought to have violated her gender role (Viki & Abrahms, 2002). In the case of ambivalent sexists, hostile and benevolent beliefs about women are said to conflict with each other resulting in the woman being categorized as 'bad' or 'good'. If the woman is categorized as 'good' she will be more likely to be shown chivalry (Chapleau *et al*, 2008). It is proposed that intimate partner domestic violence may be perceived in similar ways to acquaintance rape as it is also a crime committed against someone by a person they know and is influenced by 'norms' related to gender mentioned earlier.

Chapleau *et al* (2008) conducted an interesting study which looked at gender differences and sexism in a scenario where a man was the victim of rape using the AMI. They found that benevolence towards men was a strong predictor of male rape myth acceptance for men and women. Those participants higher in benevolent sexism generally supported rape myths that judge male victims as weak and not 'man enough' to escape being victimised due to their stereotypical image of men as strong, masculine characters. It was also found that benevolent sexism towards men was important in attributions of blame. The research supported previous research in the area that found men are more accepting of rape myths in general, against male and female victims (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1992). In other words, benevolent sexism towards men and women has been linked to victim blaming, as the victim is viewed to be violating traditional gender roles that benevolent sexists endorse.

More recently, the scales have been considered in domestic violence research in regards to attitudes towards the perpetrator. Russell *et al* (2009) proposed that higher attribution of blame will be placed on those men and women who violate traditional gender roles, thus it can be concluded that heterosexual male victims and perpetrators of domestic violence may be 'judged differently according to sex role violations and norms associated with domestic violence. However, when it comes to women violating social norms by being the perpetrators of domestic violence, there are two ways in which they can be seen. They may be treated more harshly by the criminal justice system due to conflicting with the traditional role of a woman as



caring and nurturing as well as for committing a crime, known as double deviance. On the other hand however, rather than being seen as deviants they may be treated with chivalry by the Criminal Justice System resulting in lenient sentences, or it is not accepted that they may have acted in such a way. There is more evidence for the 'chivalry' argument. Evidence of this comes from the low number of women who are convicted of domestic violence related charges. In their study on domestic violence in heterosexual and homosexual relationships, Russell et al (2009) found that hostility towards men, and benevolence towards men and women played a role in judgments of guilt for male and female perpetrators.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the research presented on sexist attitudes in cases of rape and domestic violence that can be explored in the present study regarding physical domestic violence in heterosexual relationships. Hostile sexists may be more likely to view female perpetrators as unfavourable because they are violating the submissive norm of the traditional female role and acting superior to men. They may also be more likely to punish a female perpetrator harshly and less likely to believe a female victim or minimize the seriousness of the attack if the victim is female. Benevolent sexists tend to only offer chivalry to a woman if she is seen as innocent and pure. If a female victim is seen as deserving of protection, the perpetrator will be punished more harshly. However, they may be likely to treat a female perpetrator more harshly due to the violation of the female role as submissive and caring.

Those who show hostility towards men may be influenced by this in judgments of guilt for male and female perpetrators. Those who are benevolent towards men may be more likely to punish a male perpetrator more harshly as he is going against the 'protection' gender role. They may also be more likely to blame a male victim for going against the strong, dominant male stereotype, resulting in lenience towards a female perpetrator.

### **Present Study**

It is proposed there is a bias in the literature influenced by social norms and stereotypes regarding domestic violence victims. Even when studies look at women as perpetrators, they tend to focus on intimate partner violence cases which end in homicide (battered woman syndrome) or involve claims of self-defence. There is evidence that these social norms and stereotypes may affect juror decisions in domestic violence court cases (Russell, Ragatz & Kraus, 2008). There is growing evidence to suggest that women are just as violent as men and do not always commit violence for self-defence reasons (George, 1994). Examination of real-life female-perpetrated domestic violence reveals that in fact many women are aggressive towards men for the same reasons men are aggressive towards women, such as bullying and control (George, 1992). Domestic violence trials are not limited to cases which end in homicide, yet this seems to be the content of most domestic violence research. Although many domestic violence cases are heard in a Magistrates Court, there are certain instances where the case is too serious and needs to be heard in a Crown Court with a Jury. Such instances include the use of a weapon, kicking to the head and threats to kill (Thomas, 2010).

This research aims to add to the limited literature researching jury decision making in domestic violence cases which do not end in homicide, especially cases where a

male is a victim of a female perpetrator. Furthermore, this research aims to identify the effects of gender on jury decision making and explore whether stereotypical attitudes about male and female roles could influence verdicts and perceptions in such cases.

The present study explores the impact of mock juror gender, victim/ perpetrator gender and sexist attitudes in heterosexual intimate partner violence cases. For the purpose of explanation, the gender of the victim will be referred to throughout the analysis. However, it is important to recognize there will be a victim/perpetrator gender interaction which cannot be disentangled in this study without including same-sex relationships. It is impossible to do this because the research involves an interaction between two people, in exactly the same way it would occur in a real-life domestic violence scenario. Previous research which looks at the influence of mock juror gender has revealed some consistent differences between male and female jurors. Based on this it is hypothesized that:

*Hypothesis 1.* Female jurors will be more likely to return guilty verdicts than male jurors.

*Hypothesis 2.* All jurors will be more likely to deliver a guilty verdict when the victim is a female, than when the victim is male.

The present study will only look at single juror verdicts as investigating the process of deliberation is too time-consuming for the level of this research. However, participants will be given a hypothetical situation which will determine how likely they are to change their verdict in a deliberation situation where the majority of the jury are voting against their verdict choice. Previous research has revealed that female jurors are more likely to change their verdict after the deliberation process. There is yet to be a domestic violence study which analyses this, as well as looking at the influence the juror gender and victim gender interaction may have on likelihood to change verdict after deliberation. Therefore it is hypothesized that:

*Hypothesis 3.* Female jurors will be more likely to change their verdict after deliberation if the majority of the Jury vote against their original choice.

*Hypothesis 4.* Victim gender may also interact with juror gender to have an effect on the likelihood to change verdict after deliberation.

Based on research regarding the influence of gender on perceptions of domestic violence, it is hypothesized that:

*Hypothesis 5.* Female jurors will view the offence as more serious than male jurors, regardless of the gender of the victim.

*Hypothesis 6.* All jurors will consider violence against male victims as less serious than violence against female victims.

*Hypothesis 7.* Traditional gender-role views (depicted by benevolent sexism and benevolence towards men) will influence perceptions of seriousness of the offence.

*Hypothesis 8.* All jurors will hold male victims more responsible (blamed more) than female victims for the violence enacted against them.

*Hypothesis 9.* Male victims of domestic violence will be believed less than female victims.

Research on ambivalent sexism and ambivalence towards men has revealed that benevolent sexism towards men and women, and hostility towards men has been an influence on the blame/ responsibility attributed to victims it is hypothesised that:

*Hypothesis 10.* Sexist attitudes towards men and women will influence mock juror verdict decisions.

*Hypothesis 11.* Benevolence towards male and female victims will play a role in judgments of victim believability and responsibility (blame).

Previous research which looks at the influence of gender norms and stereotypes in the criminal justice system has revealed a chivalrous attitude towards female perpetrators. Based on this, it is hypothesised that:

*Hypothesis 12.* Female-perpetrated domestic violence against male victims is likely to receive more lenient sentences than male-perpetrated violence against female victims.

*Hypothesis 13.* Sexist attitudes towards males and females may influence the sentence the perpetrator is likely to receive.

## **Method : Design**

For the purpose of explanation, I shall refer to participants as 'mock jurors' throughout the rest of the study. The present study is a 2 (mock juror gender) × 2 (victim gender) × 2 (sexism type) × 2 (object of sexist attitude) mixed design. Juror gender followed a between subjects design with two levels (male/female). Victim gender also followed a between subjects design with two levels (male/female). Sexism type was within subjects with two levels (hostile/ benevolent) and object of sexist attitude was also within subjects with two levels (attitudes towards males/attitudes towards females). Mock jurors were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions- female perpetrator/male victim or male perpetrator/female victim. The independent variables were mock juror gender, victim gender, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, benevolence towards men and hostility towards men. The dependent variables were the verdict, seriousness of the offence, punishment offender should receive, likelihood to change verdict, believability of alleged victim, believability of defendant, responsibility of alleged victim, and the responsibility of defendant.

Experience of domestic violence was a control variable tested in order to exclude it from the analysis. The frequencies of mock jurors who had experienced domestic violence in each condition were as follows: female mock juror/ female victim 24 out of 53 (45.3%), female mock juror/ male victim 21 out of 45 (46.7%), male mock juror/female victim 15 out of 44 (34.1%) and male mock juror/male victim 17 out of 45 (37.8%). Sexuality was also used as a control variable as all scenarios involved

only heterosexual relationships. A total of 44.1 % of female mock jurors had experienced domestic violence, compared to 28.5% of male mock jurors.

A factorial design using MANOVA was used to analyse the results, as it can compare several means when more than two independent variables are used and at least one of these has been measured using the same participants and one other using different participants. This design can tell us whether there are gender differences in juror decisions and other factors relating to the case in domestic violence cases that do not end in homicide. It can also tell us whether the gender of the victim or sexist attitudes affects such decisions.

## Participants

This study began with a sample of 214 mock jurors recruited via opportunity sampling of students and community members. However, 17 of these did not match the Jury criteria (to have lived in the UK at least 5 years and have no criminal record) and a further 8 failed the manipulation check. These were therefore eliminated from the study and analysis, leaving a sample of 187 mock jurors (88 male and 98 female). Mock jurors mean age was 22 (SD=6; age range 18- 59). This included 151 students (80.7%) and 36 non-students (19.3%). Students were predominantly undergraduates from a range of disciplines at the University of Glamorgan. Those studying psychology were offered participation time towards their coursework assessments for taking part in the study. Those who studied another subject or who were not students were offered a small reward of refreshments as a thank you for their time. 96.8 per cent of the sample were white. The majority of Crown Courts in England and Wales have a black and ethnic minority population of below 10% in the juror catchment area resulting in a low likelihood of black and ethnic minorities serving on a jury in the vast majority of courts in this country (Thomas, 2007). Therefore, this sample is seen as ethnically representative. In regard to domestic violence, 77 (41.2%) of the sample had experienced domestic violence either directly or through someone close to them and 110 (58.2%) had not experienced domestic violence. Mock jurors education level was as follows: 11 (5.9%) were GCSE level or below, 21 (11.2%) had obtained A-levels, 138 (73.8%) were studying at an Undergraduate level, 17 (9%) had obtained a degree or post graduate qualification. Mock jurors were tested in various group sizes within the University or community and the two different mock cases were distributed evenly among these groups.

## Materials and procedure

Groups of students from the University of Glamorgan and people from the community were approached and asked to take part in a study about domestic violence, emphasizing that it could be a sensitive topic. Those willing to take part were randomly allocated one of the two trial summary experimental packs. Before proceeding with the study mock jurors were asked to sign a consent form which explained the study in more detail and informed them of their right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Mock jurors were each given one of two experimental packs that included a consent form, fictional trial summary, and jury instructions for grievous bodily harm with and without intent. The two scenarios were exactly the same except for the manipulation of the gender of victim independent variable. The pack also included further

questions relating to the offence, ambivalent sexism and ambivalence towards men scales, manipulation checks and a demographic questionnaire. Mock jurors were also asked to indicate whether they met the jury criteria and whether they or someone close to them had experience domestic violence.

A fictional written trial summary was created for the purpose of this study, as there was nothing similar that could be acquired from previous research. It is acknowledged mock jurors may respond differently to a written summary than a real-life scenario, reducing external validity. However, this form of design has been associated with high levels of internal validity due to greater experimental control over the independent variables (Mckoy & Gray, 2007; Ferguson & Negy, 2004). Therefore, it was an adequate design for the purpose of focusing solely on the effects of gender and gender related attitudes on domestic violence.

The trial summary alleged the physical assault of a male or female by their heterosexual partner, which ended in serious injury to the alleged victim. The trial summary began with a brief summary of the charge and that the defendant had pleaded not guilty. The prosecution put forward a version of events in which the defendant allegedly attacked the victim with a mobile phone after reading some upsetting text messages and intentionally pushed the victim down the stairs. The defendant threatened the victim with a knife before eventually phoning an ambulance.

This was followed by a presentation of the case for the defence. The defendant agreed an argument had broken out but claimed that the victim in fact lost their balance on the staircase causing them to fall down the stairs. This resulted in the several injuries the victim sustained. It was claimed that the victim fabricated the story of the attack in order to get revenge for the injuries caused and for the time off work needed to recover. A short description of medical evidence was also given in the trial summary. This included a list of injuries consistent with falling down the stairs, although the doctor could not determine whether the injuries to the face were caused by being attacked with the phone or due to the fall.

The case portrayed in the trial was intentionally ambiguous so that it was presented as one person's word against the other. This would hopefully reveal whether male victims were less likely to be believed than female victims. The trial summary was followed by instructions based on United Kingdom law around the offence of grievous bodily harm. After being instructed to carefully read all information, mock jurors were asked to deliver a verdict of 'Guilty with intent', 'Guilty without intent' or 'Not guilty'. They were also asked to rate how serious they thought the crime was on a seven-point scale (1= not very serious to 7 = very serious). Mock jurors were instructed to indicate the punishment the defendant should receive if their guilt was proved beyond all reasonable doubt. Punishments ranged from prison sentences (Life, five years, two years suspended sentence) to other forms of punishment such as community service, probation and counselling/anger management. Again using a seven-point scale, mock jurors were asked to rate how likely they would be to change their verdict if the majority of the jury voted against their verdict (1= not very likely to 7= very likely). Seven-point scales were also used to assess mock jurors perceptions of how believable and responsible each the alleged victim and defendant were for the situation (1= not very believable/responsible to 7= very

believable/ responsible). These additional measures were taken to assess 'indirect' hostility towards the victim and defendant.

Following completion of the trial information, participants were presented with two scales; the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and the Ambivalence Towards Men inventory. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) was developed by Glick and Fiske in 1996. This measured agreement on a six point scale (0= strongly disagree to 5 = agree strongly). The inventory is composed of 22 statements in relation to sexist attitudes towards women. This included 11 statements for each of the subscales benevolent (BS) and hostile sexism (HS). Higher scores on each scale indicated higher sexist attitudes towards women. 'Every man ought to have a woman he adores' is an example of a BS statement from the scale. HS statements included things such as 'Women seek to gain power by getting control over men'.

The Ambivalence Towards Men Inventory (AMI) was also developed by Glick and Fiske (1999). This also measured agreement on a six-point scale. The inventory is composed of 20 statements in relation to sexist attitudes towards men. This comprised of 10 statements for each of the subscales Benevolence towards men (BM) and hostility towards men (HM). Higher scores indicated higher sexist attitudes towards men. An example of a statement indicating benevolence towards men includes 'Men are more willing to put themselves in danger to protect others'. An example of a statement indicating hostile sexism includes 'When it comes down to it most men are really like children'.

At the end of the study, mock jurors were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire and a manipulation check. The manipulation check involved correctly identifying the gender of the alleged victim. The demographic questionnaire included information relating to the mock jurors gender, age, occupation, ethnicity and education level. Jury service criteria were presented as 'living in the UK at least five years and have no criminal convictions'. Mock jurors were asked to indicate if they did or did not qualify. The criteria were presented as a combined question in order for participants to be less affected by social desirability and more relaxed about admitting whether they have any criminal convictions. Mock jurors were also asked to answer 'yes' or 'no' to whether they or anyone close to them had experienced domestic violence.

In total the experimental pack took around 20 minutes to complete. Upon completion mock jurors were given a debrief sheet which fully explained the purpose of the study and included domestic violence helpline phone numbers for any issues which may have been raised by the nature of the study. Once all data had been collected, BS, HS, BM and HM scores were calculated for each mock juror.

## **Results**

Due to the extensive amount of data collected in the current study, this section provides results based only on the hypotheses of the study.

### **Influence of juror gender on verdict preference**

A Pearson's Chi-square was conducted to examine juror differences in verdict preference (Table 1).

**Table 1 : Percentage of guilty and not guilty verdicts by juror gender**

	Female mock juror	Male mock juror
Guilty verdict		
With intent	40.8	31.5
Without intent	56.1	53.9
Total	96.9	85.4
Not guilty	3.1	14.6

The above table shows that the percentage of females who gave a guilty verdict was higher than the percentage of males who gave a guilty verdict. Chi-square analysis indicated that there was a significant association between verdict and juror gender,  $\chi^2(1) = 7.95$ ,  $p = 0.005$ . A large part of this difference appears to come from the 'guilty with intent' verdict, as a higher percentage of females than males have chosen this whereas a higher percentage of males have chosen 'Not guilty' than females. Analysis of the standardised residuals revealed that women were significantly less likely to give a 'not guilty' verdict whereas men were significantly more likely to give them. This suggests that the gender of the juror may influence verdicts in domestic violence cases, regardless of the gender of the victim, supporting *Hypothesis 1: Female jurors will be more likely to return guilty verdicts than male jurors.*

### **Influence of victim gender on verdict preference**

A Pearson's Chi-square was conducted to examine differences in verdict based on the gender of the victim.

**Table 2: Percentage of guilty and not guilty verdicts by victim gender**

	Female victim	Male victim
Guilty verdict		
With intent	42.6	30.1
Without intent	52.1	58.1
Total	94.7	88.2
Not guilty	5.3	11.8

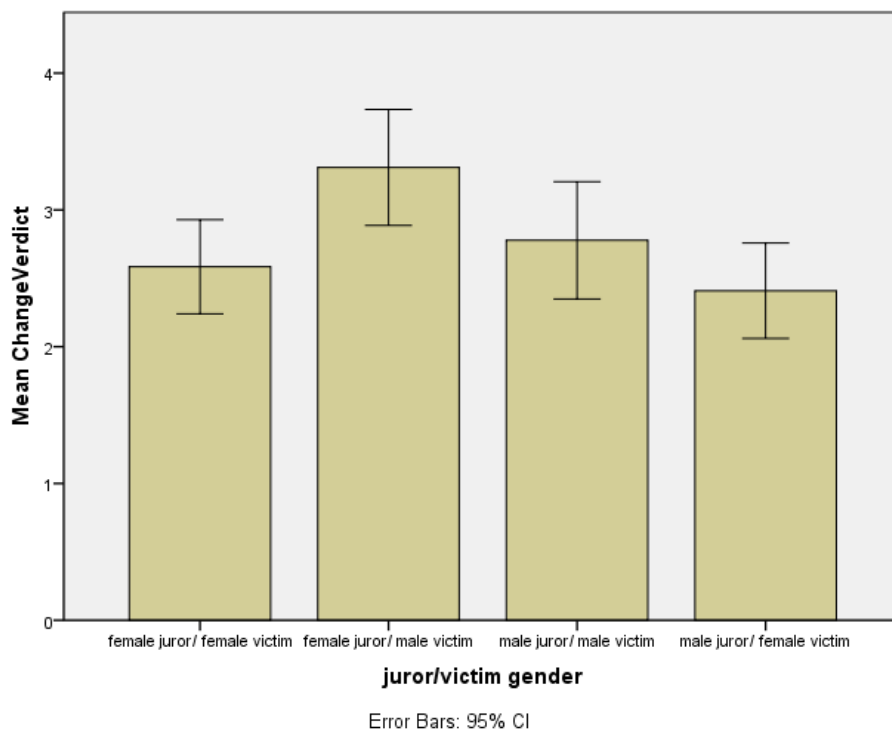
The table above (Figure 2) shows that a higher percentage of male perpetrated violence against female victims was given a guilty verdict. Chi-square analysis revealed there was no significant association between victim gender and verdict preference  $\chi^2(1) = 2.53$ ,  $p = 0.11$ . This suggests that jurors are not significantly more likely to give a guilty verdict when the victim is female than when the victim is male. Therefore *Hypothesis 2: All jurors will be more likely to deliver a guilty verdict when the victim is female than when the victim is male* is rejected in favour of the null hypothesis.

### Influence of Juror gender on likelihood to change verdict after deliberation

A 2 x 2 (Juror Gender x Victim Gender) ANOVA<sup>1</sup> was used with likelihood of changing verdict as the dependent variable. On average, female jurors were more likely to change their verdict after deliberation ( $M= 2.92$ ,  $SD= 1.37$ ) than male jurors ( $M= 2.60$ ,  $SD= 1.31$ ). However, the ANOVA analysis revealed that, although approaching significance, there was no significant main effect for juror gender on the likelihood to change verdict after deliberation,  $F(1, 182)= 2.83$ ,  $p= 0.09$ . Therefore, *Hypothesis 3: Female jurors will be more likely to change their verdict after deliberation than males if the majority of the Jury vote against their original choice*, is rejected in favour of the null hypothesis.

### Influence of Juror and victim gender interaction on likelihood to change verdict after deliberation

The graph below (figure 1) shows that there are differences in the mean scores between juror/victim gender conditions for the likelihood to change verdict after deliberation. On average, female jurors and male jurors are more likely to change their verdict after deliberation when the victim is male than when the victim is female.



<sup>1</sup> A between-subjects MANOVA was conducted to compare the means of all the dependent variables of interest with juror gender and victim gender as the independent variables. A MANOVA has been chosen compared to several ANOVAs as it reduces the likelihood of making a Type I error and can detect whether groups differ along a combination of variables. The associated univariate ANOVAs produced will be discussed in relation to the relevant hypothesis (Hypothesis 3,4,5,6,8 and 9). There was a highly significant effect of juror gender on the dependent variables as a whole,  $F(6, 177) = 4.93$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . Univariate analysis revealed that this applied to seriousness, victim believability and victim responsibility. Similarly, there was a highly significant effect of victim gender,  $F(6, 177) = 5.10$ ,  $p < 0.001$  on the dependent variables and this time seriousness, change verdict, victim believability and victim responsibility. The multivariate interaction effect of juror and victim gender was not significant, but was approaching significance,  $F(6,177)= 1.871$ ,  $p= 0.088$ . However, due to the overall non-significant multivariate effect, any univariate interaction effects will be interpreted with caution.



### Figure 1: Mean likelihood of changing verdict based on juror and victim gender

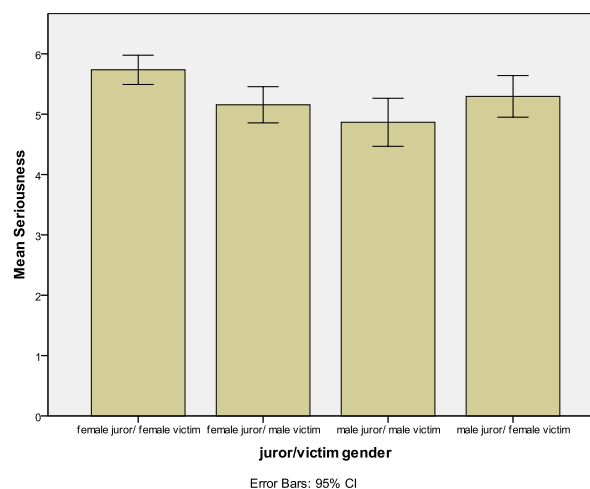
The 2 x 2 (Juror Gender x Victim Gender) ANOVA as mentioned above revealed there was no interaction between victim and juror gender,  $F(1, 182) = 1.01, p = 0.32$ . This does not support *Hypothesis 4: Victim gender may also interact with juror gender to have an effect on the likelihood to change verdict after deliberation*. Therefore the null hypothesis is accepted. However, a highly significant main effect **was** found for victim gender on the likelihood of changing verdict after deliberation,  $F(1, 182) = 9.06, p = 0.003$ . Mock jurors reported a lower mean likelihood to change the verdict ( $M = 2.48, SD = 1.20$ ) when the victim was female, compared to when the victim was male ( $M = 3.07, SD = 1.43$ ). This suggests that jurors are significantly more likely to change their original verdict when the domestic violence case involves a female perpetrator and a male victim.

Further analysis looking only at likelihood of changing guilty verdicts did not result in any major changes to the original result due to the low amount of 'not guilty' verdicts in the data,  $F(1, 167) = 9.73, p = 0.002$ , with lower likelihood of changing the guilty verdict when the victim was female ( $M = 2.45, SD = 1.16$ ) than when the victim was male ( $M = 3.09, SD = 3.09$ ). This suggests that female perpetrated violence against male victims is significantly more likely to result in a 'not guilty' verdict after deliberation than male-perpetrated violence.

### Influence of mock juror gender on perceptions of seriousness

A 2 x 2 (Juror Gender x Victim Gender) ANOVA was used with seriousness as the dependent variable. On average, female jurors found the domestic violence offence more serious ( $M = 5.47, SD = 0.98$ ) than male jurors ( $M = 5.12, SD = 1.17$ ). The ANOVA analysis revealed that there was a significant main effect for juror gender on the perceptions of seriousness of the offence,  $F(1, 182) = 4.85, p = 0.029$ . This suggests that female mock jurors are likely to perceive domestic violence as more serious than male mock jurors, supporting *hypothesis 5: Female jurors will view the offence as more serious than male jurors, regardless of the gender of the victim*.

### Influence of victim gender on perceptions of seriousness



## Figure 2: Mean seriousness rating based on juror and victim gender

The graph above (Figure 2) shows that domestic violence against male victims was considered less serious than domestic violence against female victims by both male and female jurors, with male jurors viewing violence against males as the least serious condition. However, the univariate interaction effect of victim and juror gender on seriousness ratings was non-significant,  $F(1, 186)=1.19, p=0.28$ . Victim gender was isolated from juror gender revealing that on average, violence against female victims was generally perceived as more serious ( $M=5.56, SD=1.02$ ) than violence against male victims ( $M=5.04, SD=1.089$ ). The ANOVA revealed a highly significant main effect of victim gender,  $F(1, 182) = 10.98, p=0.001$ . This suggests that male perpetrated violence against female victims is highly likely to be viewed as more serious than female-perpetrated violence against male victims. This supports *Hypothesis 6: All jurors will consider violence against male victims as less serious than violence against female victims.*

## The influence of benevolent attitudes on perceptions of seriousness

Hostile attitudes have been consistently found to correlate with benevolent attitudes. Therefore, a partial correlation method was used to analyse the relationship between benevolent attitudes and mock jurors' perceptions of seriousness of the offence, as recommended by Glick and Fiske (1996; 1999), as it allows us to control for the effects of hostile sexism.

The partial correlation revealed no significant relationship between benevolent sexism (BS) and seriousness ratings,  $r=.09, p=0.21$ . However, benevolence towards men (BM) was significantly negatively correlated with seriousness ratings,  $r=-.155, p=0.03$ . This suggests that the higher the person scores on benevolence towards men, the less serious they viewed the offence.

As only traditional gender-role views towards men (BM) were significantly related to the seriousness of the offence, *Hypothesis 7: Traditional gender-role views (depicted by benevolent attitudes, BS and BM) will influence perceptions of seriousness of the offence*, is only partially supported.

A partial correlation looking at the effects of hostile sexism (HS) on seriousness ratings was conducted, whilst controlling for BS. Analysis revealed there was a significant negative relationship between HS and ratings of seriousness,  $r=-.25, p=0.001$ . The direction of the correlation suggests that the higher the HS score, the less serious the view of the offence. No significant relationship was found between hostility towards men (HM) and seriousness ratings,  $r=.85, p=0.25$ .

## The influence of juror and victim gender on perceptions of victim responsibility

A 2 x 2 (Juror Gender x Victim Gender) ANOVA was used with victim responsibility as the dependent variable. There were significant main effects for juror gender and victim gender, in addition to a significant two way interaction effect. Female jurors gave victims a mean responsibility rating of 3.00 ( $SD=1.64$ ) on a 7-point scale whereas male jurors gave victims a mean responsibility rating of 3.68 ( $SD=1.71$ ). Analysis revealed a significant main effect of juror gender on perceptions of victim responsibility,  $F(1, 182)=8.234, p=0.005$ . This means that victim responsibility ratings

were significantly different for male and female jurors. Female jurors rated the victim as significantly less responsible than male jurors.

Ignoring juror gender, female victims were rated as less responsible ( $M=2.85$ ,  $SD=1.55$ ) than male victims ( $M=3.8$ ,  $SD=1.72$ ). Analysis revealed that this difference was highly significant,  $F(1,182)=15.447$ ,  $p<0.001$ . This suggests that male victims are held more responsible for violence perpetrated against them by their female partners, supporting *hypothesis 8: All jurors will hold male victims more responsible (blamed more) than female victims for the violence enacted against them.*

**Table 3: Mean and standard deviation (SD) of victim responsibility ratings by juror and victim gender**

<i>Juror gender</i>	<i>Victim Gender</i>	
	Female	Male
Female	2.24, $SD=1.21$	3.79, $SD=1.68$
Male	3.5, $SD=1.62$	3.82, $SD=1.80$

The table above (table 3) reveals that there is a large difference in female jurors perceptions of female and male victims responsibility, whereas male jurors only differ slightly in their responsibility attributions to male and female victims. The ANOVA revealed a significant two-way interaction effect of victim and juror gender on perceptions of victim responsibility,  $F(1, 186)=7.59$ ,  $p=0.006$ . This suggests female jurors view female victims as significantly less responsible (blameworthy) than male victims for the domestic abuse against them. This is strong evidence for a female same-sex bias in regards to ratings of victim responsibility.

### **The Influence of victim gender on victim believability**

A 2 x 2 (Juror Gender x Victim Gender) ANOVA was used with victim believability as the dependent variable. On average, female victims were given a mean believability rating of 5.27 ( $SD=1.29$ ) on a scale of 7 whereas male victims were given a lower mean rating of 4.71 ( $SD=1.36$ ). The ANOVA revealed that this finding was highly significant,  $F(1,182)=8.32$ ,  $p=0.004$ , supporting *hypothesis 9: Male victims of domestic violence will be believed less than female victims.*

There was also a highly significant main effect found for juror gender and victim believability,  $F(1,182)=14.174$ ,  $p<0.001$ . Female jurors ( $M=5.33$ ,  $SD=1.10$ ) were significantly more likely to find victims more believable than male jurors were ( $M=4.61$ ,  $SD=1.497$ ). This suggests female jurors are more likely to believe a victim of domestic violence regardless of the victim's gender. The two-way interaction between juror and victim gender was not significant,  $F(1, 186)=1.407$ ,  $p=0.24$ .

### **Influence of sexist attitudes on mock juror verdicts**

Four individual chi-squares were carried out for each form of sexism: benevolent sexism (BS), hostile sexism (HS), benevolence towards men (BM) and hostility towards men (HM). Chi-square analysis indicated there was no significant association between any of the forms of sexism and verdict choice. BS,  $\chi^2(2)=2.17$ ,  $p=0.34$ . HS,  $\chi^2(2)=2.50$ ,  $p=0.29$ . BM,  $\chi^2(2)=0.745$ ,  $p=0.69$ . HM,  $\chi^2(2)=2.14$ ,  $p=0.34$ .

= 0.34. Therefore, *Hypothesis 10: Sexist attitudes towards men and women will influence mock juror verdict decisions* is rejected in favour of the null hypothesis.

### **Influence of benevolence on ratings of victim believability and responsibility**

A partial correlation looking at the influence of BS on ratings of victim believability, whilst controlling for HS, revealed no significant relationship,  $r=-.064$ ,  $p=0.40$ . Similarly, a partial correlation looking at the effects of BM on ratings of victim believability revealed no significant relationship,  $r=-.07$ ,  $p=0.34$ .

A partial correlation looking at the influence of BS on ratings of victim responsibility, whilst controlling for HS, revealed no significant relationship,  $r=.04$ ,  $p=0.61$ . However, a partial correlation looking at the effects of BM on ratings of victim responsibility revealed a significant relationship,  $r=.18$ ,  $p=0.016$ . The direction of the correlation suggests that the higher the BM endorsed, the more responsibility applied to the victim.

These findings provide partial support for *Hypothesis 11: Benevolence towards male and female victims will play a role in judgments of victim believability and responsibility (blame)*.

### **Influence of victim/perpetrator gender on severity of sentence**

A Pearson's chi-square was conducted to examine differences in sentences given to male-perpetrated violence against female victims and female-perpetrated violence against male victims. Combinations of recommended sentencing which were only chosen by one or two mock jurors were filtered out of the analysis, leaving data for 160 mock jurors to be included.

**Table 4: Percentage of sentence decisions and expected values based on victim gender**

	<i>Female Victim (Male perpetrator)</i>		<i>Male Victim (Female perpetrator)</i>	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
5 years imprisonment	<b>40</b>	29.7	<b>18</b>	28.3
2 years suspended sentence	<b>12</b>	19.5	<b>26</b>	18.5
Counselling/ anger management	<b>4</b>	6.7	<b>9</b>	6.3
5 years imprisonment & Counselling/anger management	<b>16</b>	15.4	<b>14</b>	14.6
2 years suspended & Counselling/ anger management	<b>10</b>	10.8	<b>11</b>	10.2

Table 4 shows that a much higher percentage of prison sentences were given to the domestic violence offences against female victims compared to offences against male victims. Female-perpetrated violence against male victims was more than twice more likely to be given a suspended sentence or counselling/anger management than male-perpetrated violence against females. Chi-square analysis indicated there was a significant association between victim gender and recommended sentences,  $\chi^2(4) = 15.52$ ,  $p = 0.004$ . The Cramers V statistic of 0.31 represents a medium association between victim gender and sentence recommendations for the perpetrator. Analysis of the standardised residuals reveals that a large part of this significance is in fact due to the differences between prison sentences and suspended sentences influenced by victim gender.

These results provide support for *Hypothesis 12:- Female-perpetrated domestic violence against male victims is likely to receive more lenient sentences than male-perpetrated violence against female victims.*

### **Influence of sexist attitudes on recommended sentences**

Pearson's Chi-square was employed in order to examine the effects of sexist attitudes on recommended sentences. Four individual chi-squares for each form of sexism (BS, HS, BM, HM) were conducted. Again, combinations of recommended sentencing which were only chosen by one or two mock jurors were filtered out of the analysis, leaving data for 160 mock jurors to be included. As validated by the authors of the scales (Glicke & Fiske, 1996; 1999), each sexism variable was recoded to high (sexist, score of 2.5 or above on a scale of 1 to 5) or low (non-sexist, score of 0 to 2.5). Chi-square analysis revealed no significant association between benevolent sexism and recommended sentences,  $\chi^2(4) = 5.21$ ,  $p = 0.27$ . However, they were more likely than expected to give a suspended sentence (expected count 14.3 %, count 20%) and those who had low benevolent sexism (non-sexists) were less likely than expected to give a suspended sentence (expected count 23.8%, count 18%).

There was also no significant association between hostile sexism and recommended sentences,  $\chi^2(4) = 5.45$ ,  $p = 0.24$ . However, hostile sexists were more likely than expected to give prison sentences (expected count 29%, count 33%) whereas non-hostile sexists were less likely to give a prison sentence (expected count 29%, count 25%). Analysis also revealed no significant association between hostility towards men and sentence recommendation,  $\chi^2(4) = 2.70$ ,  $p = 0.61$ . However, analysis did reveal a significant association between benevolence towards men and recommended sentences,  $\chi^2(4) = 10.05$ ,  $p = 0.04$ . The table below (Figure 7) shows the observed and expected values for those high or low in benevolent sexism towards men.

**Table 5: Percentage of recommended sentences and expected values based on benevolence towards men**

	<i>High BM</i>		<i>Low BM</i>	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
5 years imprisonment	<b>16</b>	18.9	<b>42</b>	39.2
2 years suspended sentence	<b>18</b>	12.4	<b>20</b>	25.7
Counselling/ anger management	<b>7</b>	4.2	<b>6</b>	8.8
5 years imprisonment & Counselling/anger management	<b>7</b>	9.8	<b>23</b>	20.3
2 years suspended & Counselling/ anger management	<b>4</b>	6.8	<b>17</b>	14.2

Table 5 shows that those with high benevolence towards men were more likely to give a suspended sentence or counselling/anger management, whereas those low in benevolence towards men were more likely to give prison sentences and less likely to give a suspended sentence.

As only benevolence towards men was significantly associated with sentence recommendations, *Hypothesis 13: Sexist attitudes towards males and females may influence the sentence the perpetrator is likely to receive* is only partially supported.

## Discussion

### Mock Juror gender

As hypothesised, female jurors were more likely to deliver guilty verdicts to the defendant in the domestic violence trial scenario, regardless of the gender of the victim. A large part of this difference was due to female jurors being much more likely to deliver the harsher verdict of 'guilty with intent' than male jurors and much less likely to deliver a verdict of 'not guilty'. Female jurors were also more likely to change their guilty verdict to a 'not guilty' after deliberation. However, this finding was only approaching significance. Compared to male jurors, female jurors significantly viewed the offence as more serious and the victim as less responsible, regardless of the gender of this victim. This compliments the finding of higher conviction rates give by females.

These results support previous research in the area including those which look at mock trial scenarios (ForsterLee *et al*, 2006) as well those that include research on real-life court cases (Thomas, 2010). The differences found between male and female jurors may be because women are generally thought to be able to empathise more with victims (Home, 1994; ForsterLee *et al*, 2006). This is perhaps due to their

image as a typical victim themselves, reflected in the larger amount of females (compared to males) who had experienced domestic violence in the sample. Also, Gilligan (1982) proposed there are gender differences in moral reasoning. Women have been found to value compassion, sensitivity and responsibility to people, resulting in them being more empathetic towards others. Men tend to be more concerned with justice and individual rights. These gender differences in moral reasoning may explain some of the differences found in this study. Additionally, there may be gender differences in what is viewed as acceptable violence (Velicer *et al*, 1989; Simon *et al*, 2001), which could explain the differences found in this study. This could be investigated further by including a measurement of attitudes towards violence in future research.

The one discrepancy between the present study and previous research is that Thomas (2010) found females were significantly more likely to change their verdict after deliberation, whereas the present study was only approaching significance. However, the non-significant finding could be due to methodological constraints as participants were asked to imagine a deliberation scenario rather than actually take part in one.

### **Victim/ perpetrator gender**

It was predicted that violence against female victims would be more likely to receive a guilty verdict than violence against males. Although findings were not significant, frequencies did follow the trend of what was expected. Male perpetrated violence was more likely to be found guilty (especially with intent), and more female perpetrated violence was found not guilty than male perpetrated. Lenient sentences were significantly more likely to be recommended for female perpetrators as they were found to be twice as likely to receive suspended sentences compared to males. Males were twice as likely to receive prison sentences. After deliberation, female-perpetrated violence against males was significantly more likely to result in 'not guilty' verdicts than male-perpetrated violence against females. In other words, mock-jurors are more likely to be persuaded that a female defendant did not commit the crime of domestic violence than a male defendant. This was not hypothesised, but it reveals some interesting suggestions in relation to gender bias.

As hypothesized, violence against male victims was viewed as significantly less serious than violence against female victims. Female victims were considered much less responsible for the violence enacted against them and male victims were highly significantly less likely to be believed than female victims of domestic violence.

These findings support real-life statistics that reveal female perpetrators are less likely to be convicted than males (Mankind Initiative, 2009) and previous research on recommended sentences (Poorman *et al*, 2003) seriousness, victim responsibility and victim believability (Finn & Stalans, 1997; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Seelau *et al*, 2003). It may be possible that the finding that after deliberation, jurors were more likely to deliver a not guilty verdict to female perpetrators is perhaps due to male victims being less likely to be believed. The general finding that females were found guilty of an offence but given lenient sentences supports past research which has suggested that female-perpetrated violence against males is seen as more acceptable by society (Simon *et al*, 2000).

One explanation for these differences may be because of the gender-based stereotype that men are strong, dominant and masculine and seen as typical aggressors. This stereotype defies the perception of a victim as it goes against the male 'norm'. Previous research into rape cases has suggested that views of men as protectors and providers (benevolence towards men) and views of women as the weaker sex who need to be protected (benevolent sexism) invoke a chivalrous attitude towards protecting women and a harsher view of those who go against this (Feather 1996). This chivalrous attitude is thought to be the reason behind harsher punishment for male perpetrators and lenient sentences for female perpetrators.

The pattern of male-blaming revealed in this study falls in line with the view that women only commit domestic violent acts if they are provoked to act so 'out of character', such as in a retaliation to abuse they are suffering themselves. This bias is even evident in the domestic violence mock trial literature by the lack of research looking at male victims and the extensive research into excusing female-perpetrated violence as self-defence (Bograd, 1990; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Miller, 2001). As all the facts of the scenario were kept exactly the same apart from the gender of the victim and perpetrator, this finding suggests that attitudes females only commit violent acts in self-defence are still widespread in today's society. Furthermore, the suggestion that male victims are more responsible for the violence against them implies they are somewhat more deserving of the violence than a female would be.

There are several methodological issues to consider when interpreting results relating to victim/perpetrator gender. Most importantly, it must be noted it is not always clear whether results are due to the gender of the perpetrator or victim, or combination of the two. This would need to be investigated further. However, in a study which looked at homosexual and heterosexual violence, it was found that violence against women was generally seen as more serious even when it was female on female domestic violence (Seelau *et al*, 2003; Ferguson & Negy, 2004). Initial verdict results may not have been significant due to a perceived stronger argument for the prosecution than for the defence, which may have been influenced by investigator bias. This could be reduced in future by conducting pilot studies on the details of the case in order to ensure they are equally weighted. On the other hand, the explicit statement of domestic violence as 'a crime against any gender' within the definition on the front page of the experimental pack may have induced demand characteristics in participants, explaining the higher conviction rates. Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1992) recognised a similar problem with their research and suggested their provision of a definition of the crime in the instructions educated the participants. Finally, the non-significant result for verdicts may have been due to the fact that the focus was only on single juror verdict decisions rather than jury deliberation verdicts, as deliberation revealed a bias towards convicting male perpetrators.

### **Interactions between Victim/perpetrator gender and juror gender**

Based on the hypotheses, interaction effects were not extensively explored in the present study. In regard to the influence of deliberation on verdicts, the interaction of juror and victim gender failed to result in any significant findings. Interaction effects for victim responsibility were also considered. This interaction was found to be highly significant, female jurors viewed female victims as significantly less responsible (blameworthy) than male victims for the domestic abuse against them. There were



no significant differences in male jurors' perceptions of male or female victim responsibility. We can conclude from this that earlier differences found for victim responsibility based on victim gender may depend on the gender of the juror.

Findings suggest the earlier differences found between male and female jurors after deliberation may not be evident when gender of the victim is also taken into account. In relation to victim responsibility, the results revealed a possible strong in-group bias for female jurors' perceptions of female victims' responsibility in domestic violence cases. Social identity theory and social categorisation theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Hogg & Abrams, 1988) would explain this bias as some degree of in-group identification with the victim who is of the same gender as female mock jurors, and out-group denigration of those victims not of the same gender. This suggests females in particular place more blame on male victims and considerably less blame on female victims.

### **Sexism**

Contrary to what was hypothesized, sexist attitudes held by mock jurors did not significantly affect verdict decisions or perceptions of victim believability. However, high benevolence towards men (BM) and hostility towards women (HS) were associated with lower seriousness ratings of the offence. Analysis revealed that BM was also associated with victim responsibility (the higher the level of BM endorsed, the more responsibility attributed to the victim) as well as recommended sentences for perpetrators of domestic violence (those high in BM were more likely to give lenient sentences compared to prison sentences).

Non-significant findings were surprising because previous research on mock trials regarding various crimes has suggested that sexist attitudes do influence verdict decisions. In a domestic violence case, Russell *et al* (2009) found that hostility towards men and benevolence towards men and women played a role in judgements of guilt for male and female perpetrators. Findings relating to perceptions of seriousness are similar to those found in rape research by Yamawaki (2007), which revealed HS resulted in minimization of the seriousness of the offence. Findings also suggest BM has a similar effect on victim blaming in domestic violence cases to that found in Chapleu's (2008) research on male rape. Men are blamed more because they violating traditional gender norms by being a victim of crime typically viewed as a crime against females. Viki & Abrams (2002) proposed that benevolence is associated with victim blaming to protect an individual's belief in a just world. Those with a high level of BM may believe that a male victim must have shown some form of weakness which goes against the gender stereotype which provoked the attack.

The non-significant findings for the influence of sexist attitudes on verdicts may be due to methodological differences between the present study and previous research. In Russell *et al*'s study participants were asked to rate the level of guilt on a scale of one to seven as well as giving a verdict choice, whereas in this study sexism was only compared with the guilty verdict. A further problem here is that we cannot disentangle whether the sexist attitudes towards the victim or the perpetrator are responsible for the significant effects found for the minimization of seriousness, male victim blaming and lenient sentences for perpetrators. Further analysis would be needed to confirm this.

## **Contribution to theory and research**

This research has investigated a unique combination of variables of interest relating to juror characteristics and victim and perpetrator characteristics, resulting in several contributions to theory and research in the relevant literature. In general, this study has shown that there are gender differences and bias affected by social norms and stereotypes in domestic violence cases in today's society. The largest contribution of this research is the addition of information relating to cases which involve male victims of female perpetrated domestic violence, an area that is severely understudied.

## **Trials and juror-decision making**

As already mentioned, most findings have generally supported previous research in the area. However, this study has confirmed that juror gender differences and prejudices exist in domestic violence cases not previously researched: ambiguous scenarios which do not end in homicide. The verdict decisions reveal that individual mock jurors do not necessarily let extra-legal factors influence their decisions in such cases. However, this may be disputed due to methodological constraints. On the other hand, extra-legal factors do affect their perceptions of several aspects relevant to the decision-making process, such as seriousness of the offence, victim believability and victim responsibility.

## **The influence of gender**

The findings suggest that there is differential treatment and perceptions of male and female victims and perpetrators by society and the criminal justice system. In the present study, all aspects of the case were kept constant apart from the gender of the victim and perpetrator. Therefore, the bias shown by mock jurors reflected a definite gender bias towards male victims of domestic violence.

This study was the first to explore the influence of victim gender on perceptions of believability, something not yet known to have been conducted in domestic violence research. In an ambiguous scenario, male victims are less likely to be believed than female victims. It is also the first known study which has considered the effect experiencing domestic violence may have on the results. This enquiry revealed no significant effects of the experience of domestic violence on the variables of interest. However, significant results were found for perceptions of defendant responsibility, an aspect which can be explored further in future. An attempt was made to research the effects of victim/perpetrator gender on likelihood to change verdicts after deliberation. This has resulted in a unique contribution of the effects of victim gender on deliberation: mock jurors are more likely to be persuaded that a female perpetrator is not guilty after deliberation, compared to male perpetrators.

## **Sexist attitudes**

This study has revealed there are some similarities between sexist attitudes relating to perceptions of rape and those relating to perceptions of domestic violence. In particular, the significance of HS in relation to seriousness and BM in relation to perceptions of seriousness and victim blaming is similar to that found in rape research. However, it is important to note that there are also significant differences

between the influences of sexist attitudes in rape and domestic violence research. For example, hostile sexism was not of importance to perceptions of believability of victim, and benevolent sexism towards women did not influence recommended sentences or verdicts.

Interestingly, it is predominantly attitudes towards men which were significant in perceptions of ambiguous domestic violence cases. The importance of BM in perceptions of domestic violence cases has been highlighted, supporting the idea that gender-based stereotypes of men as strong and masculine protectors of women are still widespread in today's society. This could be explained as participants drawing on their knowledge of social norms and stereotypes surrounding male gender roles in violent situations, because so little is known of female violence and how it should be reacted to. A further original aspect of this research is the exploration into whether sexist attitudes could influence recommended sentences for those found guilty of a domestic violence related offence. Again, BM was a significant factor related to this.

## **Practice**

Juries in England and Wales decide less than 1% of all criminal cases (Thomas, 2010). However, defendants in these cases are accused of very serious criminal offences and face serious consequences if they are found guilty. Therefore, ensuring that juries are fair is a fundamentally important aspect of the criminal justice system. Although actual verdict decisions were not affected by sexist attitudes, there is evidence to suggest that these attitudes are still influential in perceptions of other factors relating to the case and also sentencing decisions. It is clear that there are biases towards victims of domestic violence in regards to their gender. This research has also highlighted the possibility for enquiries into the effects that being educated that domestic violence is a crime against both genders may have on jury perceptions and verdicts. It could be that more awareness of males as victims of domestic violence may reduce the influence of extra-legal factors such as gender bias and sexist attitudes in trial juries. The findings of this study should not just be taken into account in legal settings. They should be considered in other areas where such biases may have an impact, such as support work, counselling and government agencies. In particular, the tendency to blame male victims is problematic for encouraging males to report the violence against them or to seek help for any physical or psychological injury from such violence. This perception may unintentionally come through from the professionals they do try to seek help from.

## **Study-wide limitations**

Although the findings of the present study are interesting, there are a number of ways in which they are limited. An attempt was made at a large diverse sample (which included students and community members of all ages), but the end result contained predominantly students. The majority of the sample was also of a younger age. Therefore 18-24 years old were over represented in proportion to those who would be likely to be called for jury service. This majority of young students may not necessarily have captured the differences in attitudes and experiences held by the general public likely to be called for jury service. However, this is debatable as empirical support for differences in student and community samples is inconsistent. Nunez *et al* (2007) found that undergraduates significantly differed due to their

younger age, higher education levels and experience of serving on a Jury but suggested there is actually no theoretical reason to suspect a significant difference between students and community samples in jury research. This could be verified by recruiting a larger community sample in future studies in order to make comparisons to rule out differences in community versus student samples, and also to include a sample that would be more representative of the jury selection pool.

In regards to the methodology, the mock trial scenarios were relatively brief accounts. Actual cases are longer and more detailed. Physical factors such as a person's body language and tone of voice may also have an effect on jurors' perceptions and verdict decisions and such factors were obviously not included. Other defendant or victim characteristics such as race may have influenced decisions as suggested in previous research (Harrison & Esqueda, 2000). However, some external validity was sacrificed in order to specifically examine the variables of interest. The conviction rate was much higher in general than expected based on previous research findings. This could be due to a number of reasons. Real-life court cases in Wales reveal that cases which involve GBH or threats to kill have some of the lowest conviction rates (36% and 48% respectively) (Thomas, 2010), perhaps due to the necessity to be sure of the *mens rea* behind the offence. This difference in conviction rates could be due to the lack of realism in the 'mock trial' methodology used. Participants did not have the pressure of having the life of a real person in the balance of their hands.

On the other hand, the large differences in conviction rates between this study, past research, and real-life trials of a similar nature may be due to the lack of actual deliberation between mock jurors. Although this was explored slightly, future research should utilise deliberation as a fundamental part of the study to expand on the findings of this research. The literature does reveal differences in group decisions over individual decisions, as deliberation tends to enhance the quality of decision making (Nunez et al, 2011). However, the utilisation of group research posed difficult and would have been too time-consuming for the present study. Therefore the results found could be considered as preliminary research.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this research has provided some interesting insight into influences and bias on jurors verdicts and perceptions in 'ambiguous' domestic violence cases which do not end in homicide. It has also added to the limited area of research which includes male victims of domestic violence, thus successfully meeting the aims of the study. This research has demonstrated that there are gender differences in jurors' perceptions and verdict decisions in domestic violence cases. Female jurors are more likely to judge a defendant more harshly and to deliver a guilty verdict. However, they may also be more likely to be persuaded to change this verdict after deliberation. They are more inclined to empathise with the victim by viewing the offence more seriously and placing less responsibility on the victim for the crime against them. It also demonstrates that perceptions of domestic violence cases may be influenced by extra-legal elements such as prior beliefs and stereotypes they hold about typical victims and perpetrators and gender roles. The impact of stereotypes and gender bias was especially evident in regards to male victims of domestic violence, in which the offence was viewed less seriously, they were much less likely to be believed and they were blamed more for the offence against them. It has also

been demonstrated that sexist attitudes (benevolence towards men in particular) can influence perceptions of some aspects of the case. However, mock jurors did not let any sexist attitudes held affect their verdict decision. Methodological problems aside, this is a welcome finding which may suggest that those who qualify for jury service are less biased by any sexist attitudes they may hold when it comes down to prosecuting or acquitting a defendant accused of domestic violence. In general, results suggest a potential for chivalrous attitudes towards female perpetrators and victims and a gender bias against male perpetrators and victims in the criminal justice system.

## References

- Abwender, D. A. & Hough, K. (2001). Interactive Effects of Characteristics of Defendant and Mock Juror on U.S. Participants' Judgment and Sentencing Recommendations. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 141, 603-615.
- Bograd, M. (1990). Why we need gender to understand human violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 5 (1), 132-135.
- Burke, D. M., Ames, M. A., Etherington, R., & Pietsch, J. (1990). Effects of victim's and defendant's physical attractiveness on the perception of responsibility in an ambiguous domestic violence case. *Journal of Family Violence*, 5, 199–207.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and support for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 217-230.
- Chapleau, K. M., Oswald, D. L. & Russell, B. L. (2008). Male rape myths: The role of gender, violence and sexism. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Retrieved 26<sup>th</sup> January, 2011, from: <http://jiv.sagepub.com/content/23/5/600>.
- Crown Prosecution Service (2009) *CPS Policy for Prosecuting Cases of Domestic Violence*. Retrieved 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2010, from: <http://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/docs/domesticviolencepolicy.pdf>
- Dobash, R. E. & Dobash, R. P. (1979). *Violence against wives*. New York: Free Press
- Feather, N. (1996). Domestic violence, gender and perceptions of justice. *Sex Roles*, 35, 507-519.
- Felson, R. B. (2000). The normative protection of women from violence, *Social Forum* 15, 91-116.
- Felson, R. B. (2002). *Violence and Gender Re-examined*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Felson, R.B & Feld, S. L. (2009). When a Man Hits a Woman: Moral Evaluations and Reporting Violence to the Police. *Aggressive Behaviour*, 35, 447-488.
- Ferguson, C. J. & Negy, C. (2004). The Influence of Gender and Ethnicity of Judgements of Culpability in a Domestic Violence scenario. *Violence and Victims*, 19 (2) 203-220.
- Finn, M. & Stalans, L. (1997). The influence of gender and mental state on police decisions in domestic assault cases. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 24, 157-176.

ForsterLee, R., ForsterLee, L., Horowitz, I. & King, E. (2006). The effects of defendant race, victim race and juror gender on evidence processing in a murder trial. *Behavioural Sciences & the Law*, 21, 215-237.

George, M. J. (1992). *A preliminary investigation of instrumental domestic abuse of men*. House of Commons Home Affairs Committee. Domestic violence: Memoranda of Evidence. No. 14 HMSO.

George, M. J. (1994). Riding the donkey backwards: men as the unacceptable victims of marital violence. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 3 (2), 137-145.

Gerber, G. L. (1991). Gender stereotypes and power: Perceptions of the roles in violent marriages. *Sex Roles*, 24, 439-458.

Gilligan, C. (1982) *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Glicke, P. & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70 (3) 491-512.

Glicke, P. & Fiske, S.T. (1999). The Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Beliefs About Men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23, 519-536.

Glicke, P. & Whitehead, J. (2010). Hostility toward men and the perceived stability of male dominance. *Social Psychology*, 41 (3), 177-185.

Glick, P., Lameiras, M., Fiske, S. T., Eckes, T., Masser, B., Volpato, C., Manganelli, A. M., Pek, J., Huang, L., Sakalli-Ugurlu, N., Castro, Y. R., Pereira, M. L. D., Willemsen, T. M., Brunner, A., Six-Materna, I., Wells, R. (2004) Bad but Bold: Ambivalent Attitudes Toward Men Predict Gender Inequality in 16 Nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86 (5), 713-728

Goodyear-Smith, F. A. & Laidlaw, T. A. (1999). Aggressive acts in intimate relationships: towards an understanding of the literature. *Behavioural Sciences and the Law*, 17, 285-304.

Harris, R. J. & Cook, C. A. (1994). Attributions about spouse abuse: it matters who the batterers and victims are. *Sex Roles*, 30, 553-565.

Harrison, L. A. & Esqueda, C. W. (2000). Effects of race and victim drinking on domestic violence attributions. *Sex Roles*, 42, 1043-1057.

Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London: Routledge.

Home, A. M. (1994). Attributing responsibility and assessing gravity in wife abuse situations: A comparative study of police and social workers. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 19, 67-84.

Johnson, M. P. & Ferraro, K. J. (2000). Research on domestic violence in the 1990's: making distinctions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 4, 948-963.

Kern, R., Libkuman, T. M. & Temple, S. L. (2007). Perceptions of domestic violence and Mock Jurors sentencing decisions. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Retrieved 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2010, from <http://jiv.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/22/12/1515>.

Letellier, P. (1996). Twin epidemics: Domestic violence and HIV infection among gay and bisexual men. In C. M. Renzetti, & C. H. Miley (Eds.), *Violence in gay and lesbian domestic partnerships* (pp. 69–82). Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park.

Lonsway, K. A. & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1994). Rape Myths: In Review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 18, 133-164.

Mankind Initiative (2009). *The Mankind Initiative: Domestic abuse statistics*. Retrieved 20<sup>th</sup> May 2010, from:

[http://www.mankind.org.uk/pdfs/Key%20Statistics%20Feb%2009\\_final.pdf](http://www.mankind.org.uk/pdfs/Key%20Statistics%20Feb%2009_final.pdf)

McCoy, M. L. & Gray, J. M. (2007) The Impact of Defendant Gender and Relationship to Victim Juror Decisions in a Child Sexual Abuse case. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 37 (7), pp1578-1593.

McGarty, C., Yzerbyt, V.Y., & Spears, R. (2002). *Stereotypes as explanations*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Miller, S. L. (2001). The paradox of women arrested for domestic violence: Criminal justice professional and service providers respond. *Violence Against Women*, 7, 1339-1376.

Mossiere, A. & Dalby, J. T. (2008). The Influence of Gender and Age in Mock Juror Decision Making. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*. Retrieved 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2010, from: [http://www.ejop.org/archives/2008/11/the\\_influence.html](http://www.ejop.org/archives/2008/11/the_influence.html)

Nagel, S. & Weitzman, L. J. (1971). Women as litigants. *Hastings Law Journal*, 23, 171-198.

Nunez, N., McCrea, S. M. & Culhane, S. E. (2011). Jury decision making research: Are researchers focusing on the mouse and not the elephant in the room? *Behavioural Sciences and the Law*. Retrieved 26<sup>th</sup> April 2011, from: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ergo.glam.ac.uk/doi/10.1002/bsl.967/full>

Poorman, P. B., Seelau, E.P. & Seelau, S. M. (2003). Same-sex relationships and implications for Criminal Justice and mental health responses. *Violence and victims*, 18 (6), 659-669.

Povey, D.(Ed). (2009) *Homicides, Firearms and Intimate Violence 2007/08: Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England and Wales 2007/08*. London: Home Office. Retrieved 12<sup>th</sup> December, 2010, from: <http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/hosb0209.pdf>

Quas, J. A., Bottoms, B. L., Haegerich, T. M. & Nysse- Carris, K. L. (2006). Effects of Victim, Defendant, and Juror Gender on Decisions in Child Sexual Assault Cases. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 32, 10, pp. 1993-2021

Russell, B., Ragatz, L. L., & Kraus, S. W. (2009). Does Ambivalent Sexism Influence Verdicts for Heterosexual and Homosexual Defendants in a Self- Defense Case? *Journal of Family Violence* 24(3) 145-157\_24(3), 145-157. Retrieved September 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010, from ProQuest Psychology Journals.

Seelau, E. P., Seelau, S. M. & Poorman, P. B. (2003). Gender and Role-Based Perceptions of Domestic Abuse: Does Sexual Orientation Matter? *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 21, 199–214

Sibley, C. G., Overall, N. C. & Duckitt, J. (2007). When women become more hostilely sexist towards their gender: The system justifying effect of benevolent sexism. *Sex Roles*, 57, 743-754.

Simon, T. R., Anderson, M., Thompson, M. P., Crosby, A. E., Shelley, G. & Sacks, J. J. (2001). Attitudinal acceptance of intimate partner violence among U.S. adults. *Violence and Victims*, 16, 115-126.

Sorenson, S. B. & Taylor, C. A. (2005). Female aggression toward male intimate partners: an examination of social norms in a community-based sample. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29, 78-96.

Stanlans, L., & Lurigio, A. (1995). Public preference for the court's handling of domestic violence situations. *Crime and Delinquency*, 41, 399-413.

Stewart, A. & Maddren, K. (1997) Police officers' judgements of blame in family violence: The impact of gender and alcohol. *Sex Roles*, 37, 921-933

Straus, M. A. (1999). The controversy over domestic violence by women: a methodological, theoretical and sociology of science analysis. In X. Arriaga, & S. Oskamp(Eds), *Violence in intimate relationships* (17-44), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage  
Struckman-Johnson, C. & Struckman-Johnson, D. (1992). Acceptance of male rape myths among college men and women. *Sex Roles*, 27, 85-100.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.) *Psychology in intergroup relations* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Terrance, C. A., Matheson, K. & Spanos, N. P. (2000). Effects of judicial instructions and case characteristics in a mock jury trial of battered women who kill. *Law and Human Behaviour*, 2, 207-229.

Thomas, T. (2007). *Diversity and fairness in the jury system*. Ministry of Justice Research Series 2/07. Retrieved 20<sup>th</sup> March 2011, from <http://www.justice.gov.uk/publications/docs/PagesfromJuries-report2-07C1.pdf> .



Thomas, T. (2010). *Are juries fair?* Ministry of Justice Research Series 1/10. Retrieved 20<sup>th</sup> March 2011, from <http://www.justice.gov.uk/about/docs/are-juries-fair-research.pdf>.

Velicer, W. F., Huckel, L. H. & Hansen, C. E. (1989). A measurement model for measuring attitudes toward violence. *Social Psychology Bulletin*, 15, 349-364.  
Viki, G. T. & Abrams, D. (2002). But she was unfaithful: Benevolent sexism and reactions to rape victims who violate traditional gender role expectations. *Sex Roles*, 47, 289-293.

Yamawaki, N. (2007). Rape perception and the function of Ambivalent Sexism and gender-role traditionality. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 22, 406-423.

Weir, J. A. & Wrightsman, L. S. (1990). The determinants of mock juror verdicts in a rape case. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 20 (11), 901-919.

Willis, C., Hallinan, M., & Melby, J. (1996). Effects of sex role stereotyping among European American students on domestic violence culpability attributions. *Sex Roles*, 34, 475-491.