



Empathy for victims of domestic violence of same-sex and heterosexual couples

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Abstract

Based on the explanation of gender roles and stereotypes, the resource theory, the just world theory and the defensive attribution theory, this study aims to examine whether or not there are differences between male and female victims of domestic violence of same-sex and heterosexual couples in the amount of empathy they receive, and possible differences between men and women in showing empathy towards these victims. Five different hypotheses are tested. The first hypothesis is that women receive more empathy than men when they become a victim of domestic violence. Further, both male and female victims receive less empathy when the offender is a woman. It is also expected that male victims of female offenders receive less empathy than female victims of female offenders. The final hypothesis is that women show more empathy for victims of domestic violence than men. In order to test these hypotheses, an online survey with 200 respondents has been used. The results show that only hypothesis one is supported. Hypothesis five is only partially verified. Suggestions for improvements in future research by adding other countries for respondents from different nations are provided.

1. Introduction

Research shows that victims of a crime often experience negative social consequences, and that they do not always receive empathy or support as they expect from others (Wakelin & Long, 2003; Marsh & Greenberg, 1996; Herbert & Dunkel-Schetter, 1992). Some observers of crimes even blame the victim by allocating responsibility for the victimization (Grubb & Harrower, 2008). It has, for instance, been shown in laboratory experiments that rape victims, who are described as sexually promiscuous or who are dressed provocatively, are perceived as more responsible for the crime that has taken place (Mitchell et al, 2008; Deitz & Byrnes, 1981). For observers, this leads to having less empathy for the victims. Several studies have explored attitudes that people have towards crime victims, and these have especially been done to specific victim types such as rape victims (Schneider et al., 1994; Davies et al., 2009; Howard, 1984; Rogers & Davies, 2007) or bullying victims (Rigby, 2005; Boulton et al., 2002). Within a number of these studies, attention has been paid towards the different ways in which male versus female victims are perceived by observers. The results of these studies are quite contradictory and inconsistent. While some of these studies show that respondents regularly attribute greater blame to female as opposed to male victims (Schneider et al., 1994; Davies et al., 2009), other studies show that male rape victims are judged more negatively than female rape victims (Howard, 1984; Rogers & Davies, 2007).

Looking at other crimes than rape or bullying, not much research has been done about the differences and/or similarities in attitudes towards male and female victims. Taking also the gender of the offender into account, almost no research has been done, except for Seelau and Seelau (2005), which will be discussed later on. Although a change is noticeable over the years, most research about rape for instance, has focused on female victims with male offenders (Chapleau et al., 2008; Davies et al., 2009). Another crime, which was also expected to be largely a problem of men assaulting female victims, is domestic violence (Johnson, 2003). However, research also documents domestic violence perpetrated by female offenders, as well as domestic violence among lesbian and gay couples (Frasier et al., 2001; Balsam & Szymanski, 2005; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). In fact, the few studies that have been done about same-sex domestic violence, show that this crime occurs with the same degree of frequency as heterosexual domestic violence (Kuehnle & Sullivan, 2003; Seelau & Seelau, 2005; Poorman et al., 2003). Van der Veen and Bogaerts (2010) showed that in the Netherlands a shift is visible in the distribution of male and female victims. This shift indicates that the estimated number of male victims increases faster than the estimated number of female victims. Further, the authors showed that although men are still by far in the majority in terms of perpetration of domestic violence, the estimated number of female offenders increases faster than the estimated number of male offenders. However, the annual number of victims and offenders of domestic violence is estimated on the basis of

police registration of domestic violence. Unfortunately, much of the domestic violence remains hidden from the police. Therefore, this registration does not contain all cases of domestic violence in the Netherlands. That part of domestic violence that is not registered, is referred to as the 'dark number'. That is why the total amount of victims of domestic violence can differ from the amount of victims often kept in policy documents, which are based on police registration. Although some studies have been done about same-sex domestic violence or heterosexual domestic violence with female offenders, there is still a gap in research for same-sex offenders of violence, as well as for female offenders of violence (Moore et al., 2015).

Comparing heterosexual and same-sex couples, Ristock and Timbang (2005) found that domestic violence among same-sex couples and heterosexual couples show multiple similarities. First, domestic violence among same-sex couples is just as prevalent as it is among heterosexual couples. So the rates of domestic violence among same-sex couples are similar to heterosexual couples (Kers, 2005; Brown & Groscup, 2009; Seelau & Seelau, 2005). Further, both heterosexual and same-sexual victims of domestic violence often have similar reasons to stay in their relationship. These reasons can be love for the offender, emotional dependence and/or financial dependence (Island & Lettelier, 1991; Carvalho et al., 2011). This latter will be discussed more extensively in later sections.

Although there are many similarities in the frequency and justifications of domestic violence among same-sex and heterosexual couples, there are differences in response to heterosexual and same-sex victims of domestic violence (Knauer, 1998). These differences can be seen specifically in society's lack to identify the existence of domestic violence among same-sex couples, and the role that homophobia and stereotypes about gender roles play in the perceptions of domestic violence (Kers, 2005). Often people try to explain domestic violence among heterosexual couples based on theoretical frameworks about gender roles or gender socialization, where there is case of the historical oppression of women. This existing gendered model of domestic violence includes a male offender who is trying to seek control over a female victim. Meanwhile the only reason why women would use violence, is in order to defend themselves (Knauer, 1998; Salber & Taliaferro, 1998). However, domestic violence among same-sex couples cannot be explained by these gender differences. These similarities and differences between heterosexual and same-sex domestic violence will be discussed more extensively later on. Although researchers have shown growing interest in studies about domestic violence among same-sex couples, it is still a great challenge to include same-sexual domestic violence in order to overcome the heterosexual paradigm, which is still ruling in the domestic violence movement (Murray & Mobley, 2009; Wasarhaley et al., 2017). Therefore, in this paper a distinction is made between heterosexual and same-sex couples.

Considering the inconsistency of previous research in differences between the perception of male and female victims and the reality of empathy towards victims and the challenge to include both same-sexual and heterosexual victims of domestic violence, the research question of this paper reads the following:

To what extent are there differences between men and women in the amount of empathy they receive as a victim of domestic violence and to what extent are there differences between male and female victims with offenders from the same and opposite gender?

In order to answer this research question, an experimental vignette study will be conducted. In this study, three main questions are of interest. First, I will examine domestic violence among heterosexual couples in order to see whether there are differences between male and female victims in the amount of empathy they receive. Second, I will test whether there are differences between victims of heterosexual and same-sex couples in the amount of empathy they receive. Lastly, I will examine the influence of the gender of observers on the amount of empathy they have towards victims of domestic violence.

For governments it can be important to understand how people respond to victims of domestic violence because their policies are often influenced by such attitudes. Opinions and attitudes of people are important in politics and policy because politicians often base their decisions on these opinions (Worden & Carlson, 2005). Insight into perceptions and attitudes towards crimes and victims are relevant because they can have consequences for the criminal justice system, legislation, policy and investigation.

Previous research shows that the amount of empathy that people have towards victims is not well investigated. Answering the research questions and filling in, at least some of, the gaps in research concerning empathy towards victims of domestic violence will hopefully give better insight in this field of crime and will help us to understand the attitudes that people have towards these victims. There is a wide range of victims and crimes and therefore public attitudes towards victims are complex and often not generalizable (Clements et al., 2006). Research about possible risk factors and prevention and intervention strategies of domestic violence were primarily developed for heterosexual couples and then later applied to same-sex couples (Hassouneh & Glass, 2008). Although there has been an increase in the amount of studies about same-sexual domestic violence over the past years, this phenomenon still remains understudied compared to heterosexual domestic violence. Because of this, the focus of this paper is on empathy towards victims of domestic violence from heterosexual and same-sex couples.

In order to test the research questions, an online survey will be used. Four different possible scenarios will be tested and distinctions will be made between male and female victims and male and female offenders. Chapter 2 will elaborate further on the underlying

theories, hypotheses and previous research concerning empathy towards victims of domestic violence. Chapter 3 will explain the methodological design that was used and then chapter 4 will report and discuss the research results. Lastly, Chapter 5 will offer a conclusion and recommendation section.

2. Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

Since the focus of this paper is on domestic violence and empathy, I will start with definitions of both concepts. After these definitions, I will discuss domestic violence among heterosexual couples and perceptions of heterosexual victims of domestic violence. Then I will continue with discussing domestic violence among same-sex couples and the perceptions of same-sexual victims of domestic violence. I will finish with discussing possible gender differences in showing empathy towards victims of domestic violence.

Domestic violence can have many different definitions (Wilt & Olson, 1996). Research suggests that there are several forms of domestic violence such as psychological abuse, various controlling behaviors, physical abuse or compulsory intercourse and other forms of sexual pressure (Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002). In literature, domestic violence also often refers to other types of family violence such as violence towards children within a family or violence towards elderly (McClennen, 2005). However, in this paper, domestic violence only refers to intimate partner violence with the focus on physical abuse which is committed by a current intimate partner towards their significant other. Further in this paper, domestic violence does not say anything about the marital status of a couple or their ages.

Empathy as well can have many different definitions and there is no consistent agreed-upon view of what empathy is (Moore, 1990). However, most definitions have in common that it has to do with someone's ability to understand someone else's perspective. This includes some sort of emotional reaction by the observer (Marshall et al., 1995). However, the observer does not necessarily have to show his or her feelings in order to feel empathic. Therefore, the communication aspect of empathy is not always visible (Miller & Eisenberg, 1988). Davis (1983) argued that empathy involves four different components. The first component is perspective-taking. Davis (1983) describes this as the power to accept someone's point of view. The second component is fantasy, which is about the ability to convert into the feelings of fictional people. The third component is empathic concern. He describes this as having certain feelings of worry or concern for someone. The last component is called personal distress, which is about having a feeling of self-oriented distress. In this paper, I will focus mostly on empathic concern.

Looking at the history of domestic violence, it was not always seen as a crime. Until the end of the 1990's, physical abuse towards a wife was accepted by society and seen as a legal means for a husband to exercise control over the wife and the rest of the family. A man had the right to discipline his wife (Willis, Hallinan & Melby, 1996; Epstein, 1999). Around the 1970's, the battered women's movement took shape, where activists were philosophically in tune with broader feminist movements. Activists of the battered women's movement focused primarily on victims of domestic violence at individual level by creating support groups and the first domestic violence shelters (Schechter, 1982). Because the battered

women's movement grew so fast, it became clear that domestic violence was not so much an individual problem that could be resolved in the private sphere. While it was a more hidden and obscure problem before, the battered women's movement made it a more socio-political problem (Goodman & Epstein, 2005). However, during this period of time domestic violence was mostly focused on heterosexual women who were abused by their husband. According to radical feminists, the offender of domestic violence was always a man while the victim was always a woman (Brinkgreve & Daalen, 1991). Same-sex relationships were not discussed within this movement because radical feminists stuck to the opinion that domestic violence was exclusively a male activity towards women, which were also the prevailing ideas within society (Dutton & Nicholls, 2005). Therefore, domestic violence among same-sex couples was neglected, not only in literature but also in society, for a long time.

2.2 Domestic violence among heterosexual couples

As already mentioned above, often people try to explain domestic violence among heterosexual couples based on theoretical frameworks about gender roles or gender stereotypes. These gender-role stereotypes can be described as sets of roles, behaviours and expectations which are determined by a society as feminine or masculine. These sets of roles are embodied in the behaviour of a man or a woman and are socially regarded as adequate for males or females (O'Neil, 1981). Traditional gender-role stereotypes, related to domestic violence, portray women as non-abusers. Women are seen as non-violent, passive and dependent because they are expected to be nurturers and not aggressors (Girshick, 2002). On the other hand, traditional gender-role stereotypes, related to domestic violence, often portray men as aggressive, dominant and authoritarian, who cannot be abused (Renzetti, 1992; Hassouneh & Glass, 2008). According to radical feminists, men are people who are over-socialized and who got locked into their sexist patriarchal values (Browne, 1987). These patriarchal values are about the systematic dominance of men over women (Ali & Naylor, 2013). Feminists suggest that there is a certain gender inequality where men and women have different motivations for the use of violence. While women are found to use violence to express themselves or for self-defence, men are found to use violence for exercising power (Melton & Belknap, 2003; Hamberger et al., 1997). These given gender roles and stereotypes are seen as a social mechanism that creates and maintains the ideology that legitimizes men's greater power and resources. On the other hand, Elliot (1996) argues that not only men want to exercise power. Both men and women can have this urge to exercise power over someone and therefore use violence. Presser (2013) develops in her book *Why We Harm* a kind of power paradox. This paradox entails that someone feels to have a moral claim to legitimately perpetrate an act that is harmful for someone else, while he or she feels powerless to stop the harm. In case of domestic violence, this means that

offenders of domestic violence underline both the power to abuse and their powerlessness to act otherwise.

Besides gender roles and stereotypes, Goode (1971) proposed another theory, which is called the resource theory. This theory argues that domestic violence is not per se about men and women wanting to control someone else's life, but that it can be seen as a result of a battle between men and women over limited resources and/or incompatible goals within a social context that legitimizes the use of power. In a marriage or any other form of intimate relationship, the person who has the most resources in terms of occupational status, income or education may have more to say and thus has more power within that relationship. These resources of occupational status, income or education are referred to as relative resources. The relative resources of men and women determine the balance of power in a relationship and have an influence on the risk of domestic violence (Ali & Naylor, 2013). The person who lacks these relative resources, will be more likely to rely on violence to achieve greater power within the relationship (Anderson, 1997). Other studies have provided support for this theory by showing that some men or women became a victim of domestic violence because they had more relative resources than their partners (Atkinson, Greenstein & Lang, 2005).

Although a lack of relative resources can be a motivation for someone to use violence against his or her partner, it can also be a reason why a victim of domestic violence stays in an abusive relationship. One of the main reasons, that physically victimized men and women give for staying in such relationship is concern about money or children (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2005). The economic consequences of leaving a violent relationship are often severe for people who lack these relative resources. Being in an abusive relationship typically restricts someone's economic independence, which leads to staying in this relationship (Anderson, 2005; Ford-Gilboe et al., 2009).

2.3 Perception of heterosexual victims of domestic violence

I described how domestic violence occurs within heterosexual couples and that there are several differences between men and women in why they would commit the crime or become a victim of domestic violence. Looking at the perception of heterosexual victims of domestic violence, also differences can be found between men and women.

Earlier I mentioned that some observers of crimes even blame the victim by allocating responsibility for the victimization. Several studies tried to explain this blaming the victim (Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Back 1998). At least two different theories can possibly explain this tendency. The first theory is by Lerner (1980), which is called the just world theory. This theory entails that people have the inherent need to believe in a just world, where good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people. People have this need because without this belief, it can be hard for someone to pursue his or her long-term goals

or even everyday behavior (Lerner & Miller, 1978; Furnham, 2003). Believing in a just world entails that people believe that the world is fair and just. People can control their own actions and behavior, and therefore people feel safe (Hayes et al., 2013). However for people with this need to believe in a just world, it is hard to react to people who become a victim. They will often react in a less positive way. In order to protect someone's sense of justice, people can use one or more of several possible strategies (Lerner, 1980). People can for instance resolve crime problems by blaming, derogating or outdistancing victims for their fate. Therefore if someone becomes a victim of a crime, people tend to look at the person's behavior (Back, 1998). People with this inherent need to believe in a just world, can decide that the victim deserved to suffer, which can lead to blaming the victim. The second theory is the defensive attribution theory by Shaver (1970). This theory indicates that if an observer and a victim share similar characteristics, beliefs or values, the observer will ascribe less responsibility to the victim. So more similarities between the observer and the victim, leads to less victim blaming. Blaming people who encounter negative life outcomes, such as victimization, can reduce someone's empathy for those people (Savani et al., 2011).

Looking at differences between men and women, Feather (1996) found that cases, where men are the abusers and women the ones who are abused, are perceived as more negatively than cases where women are the abusers and men the ones who are abused. Respondents admitted that they would call the police faster if they would witness an abuse with a male offender and female victim instead of a female offender and male victim. Poorman et al. (2003) confirmed this research by showing in their paper that people are more concerned about domestic violence committed by men. Respondents recommended higher sentences for male offenders than for female offenders.

Looking at resisting abuse as well, there are some differences between male and female victims. Resistance can be seen as a form of self-help, where someone tries to protect oneself in order not to become a victim. The most common form of self-help is when someone makes an active attempt to stop the abuse that has already been started by an offender in order to minimize the injury that can be caused. Self-help can be successful in order to decrease the probability that the abuse will be completed (Bachman, Lachs & Meloy, 2005). When it comes to self-help, people also have certain gender stereotypes. Again, women are seen as weak, vulnerable and submissive, while men are seen as strong and dominant. Respondents view self-help by a male victim as having a greater probability of success compared to a female victim. By resisting an attempt of abuse, men confirm the male stereotype. This confirmation is viewed by respondents as favourable and appropriate (Marsh & Greenberg, 1996).

However a term which is worth mentioning, is the term "mutual battering". Over the past years there has been a notable discussion about whether or not domestic violence is usually

mutual (Rohrbaugh, 2006). There are several suggestions that domestic violence can be described as mutual battering when both partners have perpetrated and experienced the violence (Duke & Davidson, 2009; Johnson, 1999). From origin, mutual battering was applied to heterosexual women, who used physical violence towards male offenders. The concept of mutual battering is about how men and women use emotional and/or physical aggression in their relationship in order to resolve fights. The violence does not have to take place at the same time. Often the role of the victim and the role of the offender are a bit blurred. Research done about mutual battering focuses often on incidence studies. These incidence studies investigate which partner receives the heaviest injuries or which partner started the physical aggression and what specific motives were given for the aggression (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Salber & Taliaferro, 1998; Marujo & Kreger, 1996). Results show that women most often use physical aggression in order to defend themselves. Linking this to empathy, female victims would receive more empathy than male victims. This is because of the idea that the woman is trying to defend herself and a man is the instigator of the violence.

Looking at previous research, Poorman, Seelau and Seelau (2003) examined the effects of gender of the respondents, gender of the offenders and gender of the victims of domestic violence among heterosexual, gay male and lesbian relationships. The results showed that both men and women are more likely to assist or to protect a female victim than a male victim.

In short, if women are seen as more vulnerable than men, it can be expected that they will receive more empathy if they cannot defend themselves successfully when they become a victim of domestic violence. Based on this, it seems that women receive more empathy than men when they become a victim of domestic violence because of their smaller chance of having success with self-defence and because they are seen as more weak and vulnerable. Further, if people think that when it comes to mutual battering men are almost always the offenders of violence, while women's use of violence is almost always an act of self-defense (Ali & Naylor, 2013), again it can be expected that people would have more empathy towards female victims of domestic violence. Based on the above, regarding the idea of self-defence and previous research results of attitudes towards victims of a crime, the following hypothesis is stated:

Female victims of domestic violence receive more empathy than male victims of domestic violence (H1).

2.4 Domestic violence among same-sex couples

As already mentioned, domestic violence among same-sex couples was neglected, not only in literature but also in society, for a long time. The first publications about domestic violence

among same-sex couples appeared in the 1980's (Kers, 2005). As already mentioned, research suggests that the rates of domestic violence among same-sex couples are similar to heterosexual couples (Kers, 2005; Brown & Groscup, 2009; Seelau & Seelau, 2005). For feminists, the existence of domestic violence among same-sex couples is a challenge, because there are no gender differences present. As already discussed, feminists argue that domestic violence is a gender-specific problem of power and violence with a male offender and a female victim (Knauer, 1998). However, Ristock and Timbang (2005) found that domestic violence among same-sex couples often has the same causes as domestic violence among heterosexual couples. For both couples, the violence involves conscious manipulation and control of one person by another by using any form of violence. Further, some of the previously mentioned theories for heterosexual domestic violence, are also applicable for same-sex couples. Although gender roles and stereotypes are not applicable, the resource theory can apply to same-sex couples. Also wanting to have power over someone can apply to same-sex couples. To clarify, within same-sex couples it can also be the case that one wants to exercise power over the other and therefore uses violence. Regardless of the gender of the offender and the victim, the offender can do this because he or she wants to control the life of someone else. To clarify the resource theory, within same-sex couples it can also be the case that there is a battle between two people over limited resources and/or incompatible goals. Again, the person who lacks these resources, could use violence to achieve greater power within the relationship (Anderson, 1997).

However, comparing domestic violence among heterosexual and same-sex couples, differences can be seen as well. I already mentioned that gender roles cannot explain domestic violence among same-sex couples. Furthermore, it can be harder for same-sex couples to confess that they are involved in an abusive relationship. Often gays or lesbians do not tell anyone about the experienced aggression (Kuehnle & Sullivan, 2003). Although being part of a same-sex relationship is more accepted and tolerated in society nowadays, same-sex couples still experience prejudices and stigmatization related to their relationships and to their individual identities as lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (Otis et al., 2006). Therefore, not everybody from a same-sex relationship has revealed being part of this. Being part of an abusive relationship can make this even harder. Therefore, many gays and lesbians stay in their abusive relationship, because the offender could reveal their homosexuality where this is unknown (Elliot, 1996). Because of this extortion, it can be more difficult for same-sexual victims of domestic violence to talk about the violence. Members of a same-sex relationship could also idealize their relationship in order to outweigh the stigma of being lesbian or gay. They could fear reinforcing society's homophobia by telling the truth. Previous research about same-sex domestic violence has mainly focused on the United States. International comparisons have been nonexistent and therefore the relationship

between the same-sex community and the criminal justice system of different countries has not been carefully examined (Burke et al., 2002). However, it can be arguable that in countries where same-sex relationships are not even allowed, it would preclude the possibility to report any violence occurring within that relationship. Therefore, not everything is known about domestic violence among same-sex couples. In many countries less services are available for gay or lesbian victims of domestic violence because of the misperception that there is no or less domestic violence among the same-sex couples (Renzetti, 1998).

2.5 Perception of same-sexual victims of domestic violence

It has already been described how victims of domestic violence are perceived. However, this description is about heterosexual couples. For victims of domestic violence within same-sexual relationships, this perception might be different. Looking at the quality of relationships, Harrison and Cook (1994) found in their study, where they make a comparison between heterosexual and same-sexual couples, that people perceive gay and lesbian relationships as less permanent and binding or less valid and meaningful. Therefore domestic violence among gays and lesbian couples may be tolerated more than domestic violence among heterosexual couples. However, this finding has slowly changed over the years because later studies about the comparison between same-sex and heterosexual couples, concerning the perception of relationships, show that there are no significant differences between these couples (Otis et al., 2006; Seelau & Seelau, 2005).

Even though there are no gender differences among same-sex couples, there are still some common held misconceptions and stereotypes about same-sex domestic violence. A first misconception is that it is more than logical that gay male domestic violence occurs, but that it is not logical that lesbian domestic violence occurs (Zemsky, 1990). This misconception is based on the previously described gender roles where most men are viewed as prone to violence, while women are not. A second misconception is that when partners have the same gender, domestic violence is mutual battering. Both partners then perpetrate and receive the abuse in an equal way (Merrill, 1996). This mutual battering is already discussed. Letellier (1994) showed that police officers often dismiss cases that involve domestic violence among same-sex couples or even confuse it for mutual battering. They do this because they often think that mutual battering among gay or lesbian partners can be seen as friends or roommates who fight (Murray et al., 2007). Research suggest that the level of frequency of mutual battering among same-sex couples is often a stereotype. West (2002) argues that lesbian battering is hardly ever mutual abuse. There is a clear distinction between the offender and the victim. Even if the victim fights back, this is most often in order to secure her own safety instead of causing harm towards her partner (Renzetti, 1992). However, domestic violence in these relationships is often believed by

people to be mutual (McLaughlin, 2001).

However, it can be argued that if people have the idea that domestic violence among same-sex couples is more often a mutual thing compared to heterosexual couples, they might feel less empathy towards same-sex couples because there is not just one offender and one victim. Both stereotype thinking about same sex relationships and people's views about what is feminine and masculine can lead to the idea that domestic violence among same-sex couples is mutual. It is hard for people to imagine that someone does not fight back when the offender has the same gender and thus the same physical strength. It is also hard for people to imagine that someone is a victim of domestic violence if he or she is more masculine or stronger than the offender. These misconceptions can lead to the minimization of the effect of domestic violence among same-sex couples (Kers, 2005)

In 2005, Seelau and Seelau found that respondents rate female victims in greater need of assistance compared to male victims. It did not matter if the perpetrator was a woman or a man. This is also expected within hypothesis 1. Further, they found that male offenders were seen as more threatening than female offenders. It did not matter if the victim was a man or a woman. This would indicate that there are no effects for same-sex couples. However, the authors did find that if respondents rated romantic relationships between same-sex couples not as stable as those between heterosexual couples, respondents would feel less concerned about domestic violence among same-sex couples compared to domestic violence among heterosexual couples. However, an important finding of the article is that the gender of the victim was the biggest predictor of the responses that most respondents gave. It was not his or her sexual orientation, as it was expected.

In short, although people are becoming more accepting and supportive of same-sex couples (Stotzer, 2008), same-sex couples still experience prejudices and stigmatization related to their relationships and to their individual identities as lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals. Therefore, gays and lesbians could be afraid to tell about the domestic violence that they suffer. Further, domestic violence among same-sex couples is often viewed as mutual battering where members of these couples are both offenders and victims. This could minimize the effect of domestic violence and therefore it could be that people have less empathy towards lesbian victims compared to heterosexual female victims. Even though it can be expected that heterosexual male victims will receive less empathy than heterosexual female victims, it can also be expected that gay male victims will receive even less empathy than heterosexual male victims. This is due to the combination of the minimization of the impact of domestic violence for same-sex couples, the perception that same-sex relationships might be less permanent and binding, and perhaps homophobic attitudes that people have. Further, since I expect that male victims receive less empathy than female victims, and Seelau and Seelau (2005) showed that the gender of the victim is the biggest

predictor for empathy, it can also be expected that male victims receive less empathy than female victims, regardless of the gender of the offender. Based on the above, the following hypotheses are stated:

Female victims of domestic violence receive less empathy when the offender is a woman compared to a male offender (H2).

Male victims of domestic violence receive less empathy when the offender is a man compared to a female offender (H3)

Male victims of female offenders receive less empathy than female victims of female offenders (H4)

2.6 Gender differences in showing empathy

In this last part I will take a look at the influence of the gender of observers on the amount of empathy they have towards victims of domestic violence. I will first describe the differences between men and women in the level of empathy overall. Then I will describe the differences between men and women specifically for victims of domestic violence.

The most found result in previous research is that females show greater levels of empathy than males do (Ang & Goh, 2010). Also Jolliffe and Farrington (2006) found in their study that women score significantly higher than men when it comes to cognitive, affective and total empathy. According to Lennon and Eisenberg (1987), people have a stereotype that women are seen as more emotional and caring than men. This could lead to possible stereotype-confirming answers of female respondents in surveys. This means that women are more likely to behave empathically and give more empathically desirable answers in self-reports and interviews (Rueckert & Naybar, 2008; Klein & Hodges, 2001). Further, gender differences could occur because men and women are socialized in a different way when it comes to emotion. Overall, men are socialized to be tougher, while women are socialized to be more emotional and caring (Karniol et al., 1998).

Looking at the level of empathy for victims, previous research suggest that differences between men and women can be found within the tendency of blaming the victim. Earlier, I described what this tendency is and that there are two explanations for victim blaming. Looking at the two explanations of victim blaming, the findings of most studies are that women are more likely to assign responsibility to the offender of the crime than men do (Harris & Cook, 1994; Locke & Richman, 1999). Following the just world theory, men tend to have stronger beliefs in a just world than women (Whatley, 1993). Therefore, men tend to believe stronger that a victim's behavior is to blame when he or she becomes a victim. Following the defensive attribution theory by Shaver (1970), it has been consistent in

previous research that men, regardless of the victims' and offenders' gender, may identify with the offender more than women. Therefore, it is suggested that male observers blame the offender significantly less than female observers. On the other hand, women, regardless of the victims and offenders gender, may identify with the victim more than men (Kahn et al., 2011; Bruggen, & Grubb, 2014). This identification has to do with gender characteristics. Men identify themselves more with traits that are associated with power. Examples are dominance or strength. Women on the other hand identify themselves more with traits such as gentleness and warmth. In terms of domestic violence, the offender shows similar power traits (Gerber et al., 2004). Therefore, it is easier for men to identify with the offender and thus male observers blame the offender significantly less than female observers.

Consistent with greater prevalence rates of females who become a victim and males who are offenders, it can be assumed that women can identify easier with victims than men and have more empathy for victims (Deitz & Byrnes, 1981; Osman, 2011). Further, women consider domestic violence less acceptable and see it as more violent than men (Seelau & Seelau, 2005). Based on the above, the following hypothesis is stated:

Women show more empathy for victims of domestic violence than men (H5).

3. Data and Methodology

3.1 Participants

A total of two hundred Dutch people (111 women and 89 men) voluntarily participated in an online survey held, which was distributed via a website from Social Media. The survey was placed on the website Facebook, and people were asked to read the scenario and fill in the questionnaire. Ages ranged from 18 to 63 ($M = 32,64$, $SD = 10,72$). Anonymity was protected because people were not asked to give their names.

3.2 Materials

Each participant received one of the four scenarios depicting a case of domestic violence (see Appendix). There were fifty respondents per scenario. The scenarios were specifically constructed for this study and were loosely based on scenarios used in other research (Lane & Knowles, 2000). The sex of the offender and the victim were manipulated orthogonally to create four between-subjects offender-victim conditions: male–female, female–male, female–female and male–male. Each scenario was written in such a way that all the details were consistent within the four situations. Only the masculine and feminine pronouns varied across the four different scenarios.

Interpersonal reactivity index Davis

In order to measure empathy, questions from the Interpersonal reactivity index from Davis (1980) were used. This is a multidimensional scale composed of 28 self-report items with answer possibilities from 1 to 5. It is designed to measure both cognitive and emotional components of empathy. By performing a factor analysis, four subscales of the IRI showed up, and each subscale consisted of seven items: *perspective taking* (IRIpt), *fantasy scale* (IRIfs), *empathic concern* (IRIec), and *personal distress* (IRIpd). The Interpersonal reactivity index has demonstrated good intra-scale and test–retest reliability (Davis, 1980). For this study, the questions and subjects that measured empathic concern (IRIec) were applied to four different scenarios. Davis (1994) described empathic concern as an emotional part of empathy which is featured by having apprehension for the emotions or feelings of other people. This also increases the possibility to react to other people in a caring way. Empathic concern (IRIec) is measured by Davis (1980) by giving respondents 14 different statements. Afterwards, a selection process took place and in order to produce a reliable subscale, items were examined to determine which ones loaded most heavily. This resulted in a seven-item subscale, which is called empathic concern (IRIec). The dependent variable giving or receiving empathy is thus measured by questions about empathic concern from the Interpersonal reactivity index from Davis (1980). The original seven statements from the

empathic concern scale were:

- When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them.
- When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel pity for them.
- I often have concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.
- I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.
- Sometimes I don't feel sorry for people when they are having problems.
- Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me.
- I am often quite touched by things that I see happen (Davis, 1980).

These statements could all apply to one of the four scenarios (male– female, female–male, female–female and male-male), apart from the statement "I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person". Therefore, this statement was excluded from the online survey. After reading the scenario, participants completed a 6-item questionnaire. The exact questions were: "Do you feel concerned for X being slapped in the face by Y? Do you feel sorry for X being slapped in the face by Y? Do you feel protective towards X? Does X's misfortune disturb you? Do you feel pity for X being slapped in the face by Y? Are you touched by what has happened to X?" Each person's empathy score was then calculated by totalling the individual item scores. So the six questions were combined to form one scale that measured empathy. Questions were asked with answers on a 5-point Likert-type scale. The scale of the questions went from 1 to 5, where 1 is not at all., 2 indicates slightly, 3 neutral, 4 very and 5 indicates extremely.

Although the IRI (Davis, 1980) has demonstrated good intra-scale and test–retest reliability, a reliability test with Cronbach's α was done for the six items that measured empathy. The Cronbach's Alpha was 0,917. For all six items, the Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted was below 0,917. That indicated that all items together formed a reliable scale for measuring empathy. Based on this, it was concluded that the internal consistency could be seen as good.

Further, the age of respondents was added as a control variable. It could be arguable why age or cohort effects could have an influence on the amount of empathy male and female victims of domestic violence receive. For example, older people can find it more common that a man hits his wife. Domestic violence was not always seen as a hard crime since the practice of beating your wife was legally acceptable throughout most of history (Willis, Hallinan & Melby, 1996; Robbins, 1999). Therefore, older people might grow up with this view and will not see it as it crime. This could lead to older people having less empathy for victims of domestic crime because they might not consider people as a victim.

3.3 Procedure

Respondents were recruited for this study by a notification on the Social Media website Facebook to participate. Participants voluntarily signed up for participating in the questionnaire, which was made in the program Qualtrics. All participants randomly received one of the four scenarios. The various manipulations were contained in the scenarios. After reading the scenario, participants completed a questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered in English. At the end of the survey, participants were thanked for their co-operation. Further, an e-mail address was provided so that respondents were encouraged to contact if they wanted to find out more information regarding the study, or if they had any questions. No manipulation checks were done.

4. Results

4.1 Methods

In order to test the hypotheses formulated in chapter 2, first an ANCOVA test was used. However, since the covariate age turned out to be non-significant, the covariate was later removed from the analysis $F(1, 191) = 0,013, p = 0,905$. Therefore, a three-Way ANOVA was conducted to determine a statistically significant difference between male and female victims, between male and female offenders and between male and female respondents on empathy, whilst controlling for age. No post-hoc tests were done because variables consist out of fewer than three groups.

First I present a table with the descriptive statistics of the level of empathy male and female victims receive from male and female respondents with male and female offenders.

[Table 1]

[Table 2]

The continuous dependent variable is analyzed with a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ (gender of offender x gender of victim x gender of respondent) analysis of variance, which can be seen in table 2.

Preliminary checks were conducted to ensure that there was no violation of the assumptions of normality, homogeneity of variances and of regression and independency of samples. The Levene's test is significant ($F = 8,839, p = 0,000$), indicating that the group variances are not equal (hence, the assumption of homogeneity of variance is likely been violated). However, this may only be a serious problem when sample sizes are unequal. Here, all sample sizes are fifty.

4.2 Main effects

Looking at the main effects, both the effect of gender of the respondent and gender of the victim are significant. The main effect of gender of the victim, ($F=1,192 = 24,318, p = 0,000$), indicates that female victims receive more empathy than male victims of domestic violence. The partial eta-squared ($\eta^2 = 0,120$) was of medium size.

Looking at the gender of the respondent, the results show that female respondents show more empathy than male respondents ($F=1,192 = 5,484, p = 0,016$). The partial eta-squared ($\eta^2 = 0,030$) was of small size. This would indicate that hypothesis 6, women show more empathy for victims of domestic violence than men, would find support.

4.3 Interaction effects

The results show that there is no significant three-way interaction between gender of the victim, gender of the offender and gender of the respondent ($F=1,192 = 3,724, p = 0,057$).

[Figure 1]

Further, a significant two-way interaction was observed among the gender of the victim and the gender of the respondent ($F=1,192 = 6,639$, $p = 0,008$, which can be found in figure 1. The partial eta-squared ($\eta^2 = 0,036$) was of small size. This two-way interaction indicates that the amount of empathy male and female victims of domestic violence receive, differs between male and female respondents. The graph shows that both male and female respondents have more empathy for female victims than for male victims. Further, the average of empathy that male respondents have for male victims ($M=2,678$, $SD=0,134$) is much less than female respondents have for male victims ($M=3,389$, $SD=0,140$). Even though a significant two-way interaction is found among the gender of the victim and the gender of the respondent, the statistics show that both male and female respondents have more empathy for female victims than for male victims. It can be concluded that hypothesis 1 does find support. Female victims of domestic violence receive more empathy than male victims of domestic violence ($F=1,192 = 6,639$, $p = 0,008$).

Further, the two-way interaction of gender of the victim and gender of the offender, and the two-way interaction of gender of the offender and gender of the respondent are not significant. Looking at the effects of gender of the victim and gender of the offender, the results show female victims receive less empathy when the offender is a woman compared to a male offender. Further, the results show that male victims receive more empathy when there is a male offender instead of a female offender, which was not expected. At last, male victims of female offenders receive less empathy than female victims of female offenders. However, all of these effects are not significant since the two-way interaction of gender of the victim and gender of the offender is not significant. Therefore, hypotheses 2, 3, and 4 do not find support.

It should be made clear that since one two-way interaction is significant, changes in the dependent variable cannot be explained by one of the three independent variables apart. Therefore, hypothesis 5 cannot be concluded based on the simple main effect of the gender of the respondent because of the significant two-way interaction found among the gender of the victim and the gender of the respondent. Again, looking at the two-way interaction effect and figure 1, male respondents show less empathy for male victims ($M=2,678$, $SD=0,134$) than female respondents ($M=3,389$, $SD=0,140$). Because of this significant two-way interaction, I cannot conclude that women show more empathy for victims of domestic violence than men. The two-way interaction shows that this is only true for cases with male victims. Therefore, hypothesis 5 can only be partially verified.

5. Discussion

This study examined possible differences in the amount of empathy that heterosexual or same-sexual victims of domestic violence receive. For a long time, it was expected that heterosexual domestic violence is largely a problem of men assaulting female partners. Therefore, domestic violence among same-sex couples was neglected. In this study, I took a specific look at the gender of the victim, the gender of the offender and the gender of a respondent concerning empathy. It is important to study attitudes that people have towards victims, because the public acceptance of the offender's and victim's guiltiness and accountability for a crime can support and enforce new laws (Worden & Carlson, 2005). However, this principle also works the other way around. The attitudes that people have are often shaped by their subjective judgements of what they consider as right and wrong or just and unjust. These judgments are most often shaped by politics and policy (Hall, 2012). Further, it could be relevant for governments to have a better understanding of processes that are related to empathy. Empathy can be seen as an indicator of social behaviour. Having more insight in this attitude can be helpful when governments for instance want to decrease anti-social behaviour (Eisenberg et al, 2010).

Looking at the gender of the victim, it was expected that female victims of domestic violence receive more empathy than male victims. Because of gender-roles and stereotypes that people have, women are often seen as weak and more vulnerable. Therefore, women are less able to defend themselves compared to men. Looking at the gender of the offender, it was expected that female victims receive less empathy when the offender is a woman, while male victims receive less empathy when the offender is a man. This was expected because people could perceive gay and lesbian relationships as less permanent and binding or less valid and meaningful. Therefore domestic violence among gays and lesbian couples may be tolerated more than domestic violence among heterosexual couples. Further, domestic violence among same-sex couples is often viewed as mutual battering, which could minimize the impact of domestic violence among same-sex couples. Looking at the gender of the respondent, it was expected that female respondents show more empathy than male respondents. This was expected because women are less likely to blame the victim compared to men and women can easier identify with a victim than men do.

The results showed that both male and female respondents had more empathy for female victims than for male victims. So it is consistent with previous research about gender stereotypes that female victims of domestic violence indeed receive more empathy than male victims. Further, the results showed that male respondents only show less empathy for male victims than female respondents. This indicates that only partial support is found for the last hypothesis that women show more empathy for victims of domestic violence than men.

I previously argued that men tend to have stronger beliefs in a just world than women and that therefore men tend to believe stronger that a someone's behavior is to blame when someone becomes a victim of a crime (Whatley, 1993). For male respondents showing empathy towards male victims, this tendency seems to be true. Further, according to the defensive attribution theory, men may identify with the offender more than women (Shaver, 1970). Therefore, it is suggested that male observers blame the offender significantly less than female observers. For male respondents showing empathy towards male victims, this tendency also seems to be true. The results further show that there is no significant interaction effect between the gender of the victim and the gender of the offender. Therefore I cannot conclude that, in accordance with previous research (Seelau & Seelau, 2005), domestic violence with male offenders and female victims receive more empathy than domestic violence with female offenders and male victims, female offenders and female victims, or male offenders and male victims. Also no support is found for the idea that people would have less empathy about domestic violence among same-sex couples than among heterosexual couples.

The contribution of this research lies in the fact that it can be an addition to the existing literature knowledge on domestic violence and the attitudes that people have towards victims of domestic violence. I already discussed that the amount of empathy that people have towards victims are not well investigated and that domestic violence among same-sex couples is still understudied compared to heterosexual domestic violence. Because no significant three-way interaction with the gender of the victim, the gender of the offender and the gender of the respondent is found, this might indicate that there are perhaps no differences between male and female respondents in the amount of empathy that they have for heterosexual and same-sexual victims of domestic violence. Since no significant differences are found about heterosexual and same-sex couples, it can be expected that someone's sexual orientation does not matter (or less) for the amount of empathy someone receives when someone becomes a victim of domestic violence. This is also in accordance with previous research of Seelau and Seelau (2005), where the authors stated that various perceptions of same-sex relationships do not have a strong impact on the evaluation of gay or lesbian victims of domestic violence. This research thus confirms previous research about the comparison between same-sex and heterosexual couples, concerning empathy for victims of domestic violence, showing that there are no significant differences between these couples. Being a female victim of domestic violence, regardless if the offender is a man or a woman, was the biggest predictor for the amount of empathy victims receive.

The rise of the battered women's movement argued that there was case of gender inequality, where women were subordinate to men. It was somehow okay to hit your wife (Willis, Hallinan & Melby, 1996; Epstein, 1999). Results of this study showed that both male

and female respondents show more empathy for female victims than male victims. Having more empathy for female victims could indicate that people rate domestic violence towards men perhaps as less serious. However, if we do rate domestic violence towards men as less serious than domestic violence towards women, a new form of gender inequality might develop. If this gender inequality would develop, men would become a victim of not only domestic violence, but also of this new gender inequality. Previous research already showed that in several countries, often less services are available for male victims of domestic violence compared to female victims (Kimmel, 2002). Examples are shelters for victims of domestic violence and therapy groups. If men experience this new form of gender inequality, it could be imaginable that male victims will find it harder to confess that they are in an abusive relationship. Therefore, domestic violence towards men could become more underrated.

Limitations and Future Research

Following the observed effects, however, there are some limitations which can be paid attention to in future research.

First of all, it might be possible that respondents give socially desirable answers when it comes to showing empathy towards victims. Respondents might give answers that they expect to be desirable by others instead of choosing answers that are reflecting their own true feelings. The results showed that female respondents showed more empathy for male victims of domestic violence than male respondents. However, one explanation for this was that people have a stereotype that women are seen as more emotional and caring compared to men and that therefore women often give possible stereotype-confirming answers in surveys. This means that women are more likely to give more empathically desirable answers in self-reports and interviews (Rueckert & Naybar, 2008; Klein & Hodges, 2001). In this research, it could also be the case that female respondents gave socially desirable answers, which would indicate that they confirm the explanation behind why women show more empathy than men. A brief remark is that in this research, this only seems to be the case concerning male victims. Unfortunately, you cannot test whether a female respondent truly has empathy or that she gave a desirable stereotype-confirming answer.

Further, this study contained a total of two hundred Dutch respondents. Looking at the acceptance and tolerance of gays and lesbians, the Netherlands shows differences with other countries (Keuzenkamp, 2011). International comparative research shows that Dutch people have the least negative attitudes towards homosexuality (Huijnk, 2014; Kuyper, 2015). Therefore, homophobia or discrimination of these couples will be less present in the Netherlands than in other countries. Because of this, Dutch respondents probably show less differences in empathy between heterosexual and same-sex victims than

international respondents. Future research could take a look at the influence of other countries or cultures on the level of empathy that people have. It can also be arguable why religion would have an effect on the level of empathy towards same-sex victims, because not every religion is accepting towards gays and lesbians. Therefore, some religions might not even acknowledge domestic violence among these couples. So for future research, it could be interesting to look at differences between countries and/or cultures in the level of empathy that people have towards heterosexual and same-sex victims of domestic violence. Like I already stated, international comparisons have been nonexistent and therefore the relationship between the same-sex community and the criminal justice system of different countries has not been carefully examined (Burke et al., 2002).

In conclusion, the results suggest that it can be expected that someone's sexual orientation does not matter (or less) for the amount of empathy someone receives. As I suggested, for future research, improvements could be made by adding other countries for respondents from different nations. If someone's sexual orientation really does not matter for the amount of empathy he or she receives, no differences between countries with international respondents should be found.

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Appendix

Online survey

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey measuring empathy in several different scenarios. This survey should take 5-10 minutes to complete. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all publications or presentations resulting from this study.

Q1 What is your gender?

Male / Female

Q2 What is your age?

Please read the following scenarios carefully. After each scenario, a couple of questions will follow where the possible answers go from 1 not at all to 5 extremely.

Scenario 1. A man arrived home from a tiring day at work. His wife, was not at home, and she had not told him where she would be that night. The wife came home later that night, saying she had been visiting a girlfriend. The husband became suspicious, and began yelling that he did not believe her. They began to argue, and they both progressively raised their voices. When the wife told him that he was acting like a child, the husband walked across the room and slapped her twice across her face. The wife sustained a couple of bruises around her eyes and cheeks, although she remained conscious. Even though, you do not know much about the wife in this scenario, to what extent

Scenario 2. A woman arrived home from a tiring day at work. Her husband, was not at home, and he had not told her where he would be that night. The husband came home later that night, saying he had been visiting a friend. The wife became suspicious, and began yelling that she did not believe him. They began to argue, and they both progressively raised their voices. When the husband told her that she was acting like a child, the wife walked across the room and slapped him twice across his face. The husband sustained a couple of bruises around his eyes and cheeks, although he remained conscious. Even though, you do not know much about the husband in this scenario, to what extent

Scenario 3. A woman arrived home from a tiring day at work. Her wife, was not at home, and she had not told her where she would be that night. The wife came home later that night, saying she had been visiting a girlfriend. The woman became suspicious, and began yelling that she did not believe her. They began to argue, and they both progressively raised their voices. When the wife told her that she was acting like a child, the woman walked across the room and slapped her twice across her face. The wife sustained a couple of bruises around

her eyes and cheeks, although she remained conscious. Even though, you do not know much about the wife in this scenario, to what extent

Scenario 4. A man arrived home from a tiring day at work. His husband, was not at home, and he had not told him where he would be that night. The husband came home later that night, saying he had been visiting a friend. The man became suspicious, and began yelling that he did not believe him. They began to argue, and they both progressively raised their voices. When the husband told him that he was acting like a child, the man walked across the room and slapped him twice across his face. The husband sustained a couple of bruises around his eyes and cheeks, although he remained conscious. Even though, you do not know much about the husband in this scenario, to what extent

Thank you for participating in this survey. If you have any questions or if you are interested in the results, do not hesitate to contact me.

Kind regards,

Rianne Vaessen

	Possible answers				
	Not at all	Slightly	Neutral	Very	Extremely
do you feel concerned for X being slapped in the face by Y?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
do you feel sorry for X being slapped in the face by Y?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
do you feel protective towards X?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
does X's misfortune disturb you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
do you feel pity for X being slapped in the face by Y?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are you touched by what has happened to X?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Tables and graphs

Table 1: Descriptive means per gender

			Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male respondent	Male offender	Male victim	2,500	24	1,414
		Female victim	3,944	18	0,539
		Total	3,119	42	1,329
	Female offender	Male victim	2,857	28	1,177
		Female victim	3,579	19	0,692
		Total	3,149	47	1,063
	Total	Male victim	2,692	52	1,292
		Female victim	3,757	37	0,641
		Total	3,135	89	1,189
Female respondent	Male offender	Male victim	3,731	26	0,724
		Female victim	3,875	32	0,707
		Total	3,810	58	0,712
	Female offender	Male victim	3,046	22	1,174
		Female victim	3,581	31	0,886
		Total	3,359	53	1,039
	Total	Male victim	3,417	48	1,007
		Female victim	3,730	63	0,807
		Total	3,595	111	0,908
Total	Male offender	Male victim	3,140	50	1,262
		Female victim	3,900	50	0,647
		Total	3,520	100	1,068
	Female offender	Male victim	2,940	50	1,168
		Female victim	3,580	50	0,810
		Total	3,260	100	1,050
	Total	Male victim	3,040	100	1,214
		Female victim	3,740	100	0,747
		Total	3,390	200	1,065

Source: Online survey (2017)

Table 2: ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	47,457	7	6,780	7,308**	0,210
Intercept	2207,506	1	2207,506	2370,487**	0,925
Gender respondent	5,484	1	5,484	5,911*	0,030
Gender offender	2,932	1	2,932	3,160	0,016
Gender victim	24,318	1	24,318	26,213**	0,120
Gender offender * gender victim	0,330	1	0,330	0,356	,002
Gender victim * gender respondent	6,639	1	6,639	7,156**	0,036
Gender offender * gender respondent	2,833	1	2,833	3,054	0,016
Gender victim * gender offender * gender respondent	3,724	1	3,724	4,014	,020
Error	178,123	192	0,928		
Total	2524,000	200			
Corrected total	225,580	199			

* $p < .05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Source: Online survey (2017)

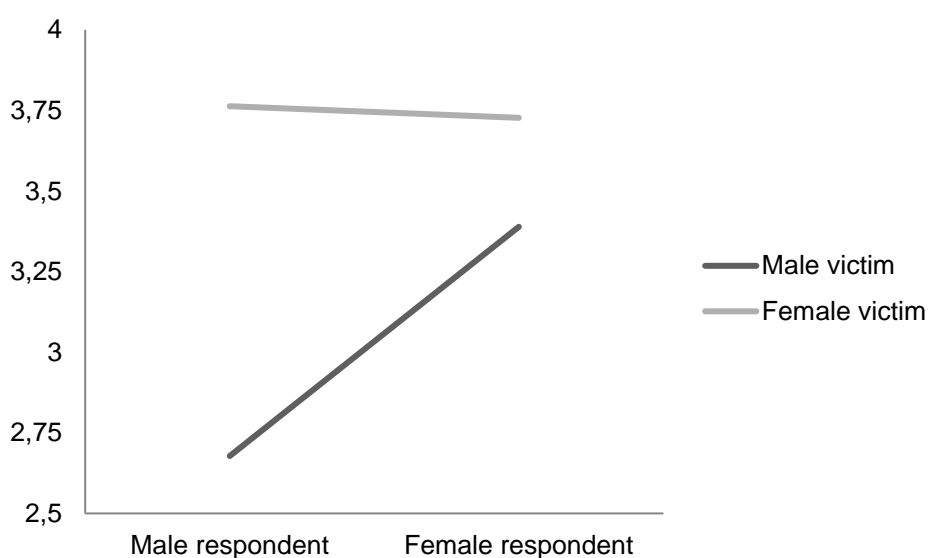


Figure 1 Interaction effect of gender of the respondent and gender of the victim on empathy
Source: Online survey (2017)

