

2º Ciclo

MESTRADO EM MEDICINA LEGAL

Atitudes da população face a reclusos e ex-reclusos – uma revisão sistemática

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M

2025

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone who contributed to the completion of this dissertation. First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my mentors, Professor Mariana Pinto da Costa and Professor Eleni Petkari and also Abishaa Premakumar, for all the help and guidance they gave me throughout the process. Their constant and invaluable support helped me grow both academically and personally. I am immensely grateful for their dedication, availability and wisdom.

I would also like to thank my family and friends for all the support they have given me along the way and throughout my academic career.

Agradecimentos

Gostaria de agradecer a todos que contribuíram para a conclusão desta dissertação. Em primeiro lugar, gostaria de expressar a minha mais profunda gratidão aos meus mentores, a Professora Mariana Pinto da Costa e a Professora Eleni Petkari, e também à Abishaa Premakumar, por toda a ajuda e orientação que me deram ao longo do processo. O seu apoio constante e inestimável ajudou-me a crescer tanto academicamente como pessoalmente. Estou imensamente grata pela sua dedicação, disponibilidade e sabedoria.

Gostaria também de agradecer à minha família e amigos por todo o apoio que me deram ao longo do caminho e ao longo da minha carreira académica.

Abstract

Background

Offenders face significant public stigma, manifested as ignorance, prejudice and discrimination. Stigma affects key areas of life including housing, employment, reintegration, access to primary care, and decision-making. This systematic review aimed to examine public stigma towards offenders, ex-offenders, offenders with mental illness and exonerees, focusing on knowledge, attitudes and behaviour across major life domains.

Methods

We conducted a systematic review following the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA). A protocol was developed and registered in PROSPERO (CRD420250655752). A search strategy was applied to Medline via OvidSP, PsycInfo, Scopus, Web of Science and PubMed. The screening was conducted by two researchers and supervised by two others. The data was reported through a narrative synthesis.

Results

A total of 8624 articles were retrieved. After removing studies based on the exclusion and inclusion criteria 114 studies were included. Most studies were cross-sectional (k=100), followed by qualitative (k=8), mixed-method (k=3) and longitudinal (k=3). The total number of participants was 65,419. Sample sizes ranged from 5 to 5342 with Mage= 31.3 years. The most used instruments to measure stigma were the Social Distance Scale (SDS) (k= 15) and the Attitudes Toward Prisoners Scale (ATP) (k=11). All studies had high to moderate quality. Offenders and juvenile offenders face mixed to negative attitudes, with greater stigma in the employment area. For offenders with mental illness, there was support for reintegration, yet perceptions of dangerousness persisted. Ex-offenders were overall stigmatised, with negative attitudes and marked discrimination in the employment and housing topic. Exonerees also experienced general stigma, particularly in relation to housing.

Conclusions

This review confirms the presence of public stigma towards offenders, ex-offenders, offenders with mental illness and exonerees, across key life areas. Attitudes towards reintegration were somewhat more positive, but overall stigma remains widespread. These findings highlight the urgent need for targeted interventions and policies. Future research should investigate this issue in all types of crimes and also incorporate study designs and greater cultural variation to deepen understanding of attitudes.

Keywords

Public attitudes; Stigma; Social distance; Offenders; Ex-offenders; Offenders with mental illness; Exonerees; Systematic review

Resumo

Contexto

A população reclusa enfrenta um estigma público significativo, manifestado em ignorância, preconceito e discriminação. Este estigma afeta áreas essenciais da vida, incluindo habitação, emprego, reintegração, acesso a cuidados de saúde primários e tomada de decisão. Esta revisão sistemática tem como objetivo examinar o estigma público em relação a ofensores, ex-ofensores, ofensores com doença mental e exonerados, com foco no conhecimento, atitudes e comportamento nos principais domínios da vida.

Métodos

Esta revisão sistemática seguiu as diretrizes do *Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA)*. Um protocolo foi elaborado e registado na plataforma PROSPERO (CRD420250655752). Uma estratégia de pesquisa foi aplicada nas bases de dados Medline via OvidSP, PsycInfo, Scopus, Web of Science e PubMed. O processo de triagem foi conduzido por dois investigadores e supervisionadas por outros dois. Os dados foram reportados através de uma síntese narrativa.

Resultados

Um total de 8624 artigos foram obtidos na pesquisa inicial. Após uma eliminação sistemática com base nos critérios de inclusão e exclusão, 114 estudos foram incluídos nesta revisão. A maioria dos estudos eram transversais (k=100), seguida por estudos qualitativos (k=8), estudos de método misto (k=3) e estudos longitudinais (k=3). O número total de participantes incluídos nesta revisão foi de 65.419. O tamanho das amostras variou entre 5 e 5342 indivíduos, com idade média de 31,3 anos. Os instrumentos mais utilizados para medir o estigma foram a Social Distance Scale (SDS) (k = 15) e a Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale (ATP) (k = 11). Todos os estudos tinham uma qualidade entre alta e moderada. Os ofensores e os ofensores juvenis enfrentam atitudes mistas a negativas, com maior estigma no emprego. Para os ofensores com doença mental, verificou-se apoio ao tratamento e à reintegração, embora persistam perceções de perigosidade. Os ex-ofensores foram globalmente estigmatizados, com atitudes negativas e discriminação acentuada no emprego e na habitação. As pessoas exoneradas também sofrem estigma generalizado, sobretudo em relação à habitação.

Conclusões

Esta revisão confirma a presença de estigma público contra ofensores, ex-ofensores, ofensores com doenças mentais e exonerados, em áreas essenciais da vida. Embora as

atitudes face à reintegração se revelem algo mais positivas, o estigma mantém-se generalizado. Estes resultados evidenciam a necessidade urgente de intervenções e políticas direcionada. Investigações futuras deverão integrar outros tipos de crimes, estudos e maior diversidade cultural, para aprofundar a compreensão destas atitudes.

Palavras-chave

Atitudes públicas; Estigma; Distância Social; Ofensores; Ex-ofensores; Ofensores com doenças mentais; Exonerados; Revisão sistemática

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List of abbreviations

SDS - Social Distance Scale

JOSS - Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale

ATP - Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale

ATMIO - Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders

CAMI - Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale

SCM - Stereotype Content Model

PAER - Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration

SDO - Social Dominance Orientation Scale

PACAMI-O - Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale

IRI - Interpersonal Reactivity Index

MELS - Moralization of Everyday Life Scale

CASP – Critical Appraisal Skills Programme

PRISMA – The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic reviews and Meta-Analyses

Introduction

According to the World Prison Population List, there are approximately 11 million prisoners worldwide (Fair and Walmsley, 2024). Previous research has identified, within the general public, desire to keep social distance and negative attitudes towards offenders and ex-offenders, which contribute to experiencing discrimination, low social status, and difficulties in successful reintegration (Rade et al., 2016),(Moore et al., 2024). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, reintegration is understood as participation across key domains of life, including employment, housing, healthcare and social inclusion. Many offenders return to society following release from prison; however, reintegration is challenging, as ex-offenders face multiple obstacles in rebuilding their lives. These difficulties are partly attributable to public attitudes, which tend to be more negative than positive towards offenders (Rade et al., 2016).

Following Thornicroft et al. (Thornicroft et al., 2007), public stigma is a multidimensional concept encompassing three elements: knowledge (ignorance), attitudes (prejudice), and behaviour (discrimination). Ignorance refers to stereotypes held by the public towards offenders and ex-offenders. Prejudice refers to attitudes involving negative reactions or beliefs, such as fear, anger, resentment, hostility, distaste, or disgust. Discrimination is the behavioural expression of stigma, whereby individuals are subjected to social distance, social rejection, or unequal treatment in real-world situations (Thornicroft et al., 2007). Public stigma emerges when widespread agreement with stereotypes fuels prejudice and leads to discriminatory practices, including exclusion from employment, reduced autonomy, and social segregation (Corrigan and Shapiro, 2010).

Stigma towards offenders and ex-offenders is often intensified by additional vulnerabilities, including mental illness, substance use, or chronic health conditions, rendering these individuals particularly exposed to negative public perceptions (Moore et al., 2024). Public stigma towards offenders, ex-offenders, offenders with mental illness, and exonerees has far-reaching consequences, contributing to discrimination in numerous life domains, including employment, housing, access to primary healthcare, reintegration and decision-making in courts (Rade et al., 2016), (Moore et al., 2024).

Employment has consistently been identified as a key mechanism for offender reintegration and desistance, impacting both adult and juvenile ex-offenders (Uggen and Staff, 2001). Despite the absence of formal hiring restrictions, ex-offenders remain among the most stigmatised groups in the labour market (DeVinney and Thomas, 1980). Housing discrimination represents another significant barrier; upon release from prison, ex-offenders must meet numerous conditions to remain out of prison, including securing stable housing

(Berry and Wiener, 2020),(Leasure and Martin, 2017). Such discrimination is often rooted in perceptions that offenders lack morality and responsibility, raising ethical concerns and perceived liability issues (Furst and Evans, 2017).

Similarly, stigma plays a significant role in shaping access to professional support during reintegration (Walker, 2024). Professionals across welfare, healthcare, and justice settings may act as facilitators or barriers, either supporting individuals with criminal records or leaving them without any guidance or resources (Kjelsberg et al., 2007). In healthcare contexts, public stigma can frame individuals with criminal records as untrustworthy or dangerous, contributing to persistent health inequities, and partly explaining the disproportionately poor health outcomes observed among individuals involved in the criminal justice system (Moore et al., 2024).

To date, few systematic attempts have sought to conceptually define and map stigma towards offenders and ex-offenders across multiple life domains and subpopulations. A meta-analysis examining public attitudes towards ex-offenders reported generally negative public attitudes, but did not examine stigma towards offenders, or towards offenders with mental illness (Rade et al., 2016). Similarly, a systematic review sought to investigate the types, causes and consequences of stigma for offenders and ex-offenders, demonstrating that negative societal attitudes deeply affects their lives, but did not focus on particular subpopulations (Moore et al., 2024). Another systematic review examined stigma towards offenders with mental health conditions, identifying predominantly negative public attitudes, but did not consider stigma directed at offenders or ex-offenders (Tremelin and Beazley, 2024). As such, these existing reviews provide valuable but fragmented insights, leaving a gap in understanding how public stigma is expressed across different offender subgroups and key areas of social life.

This systematic review addresses this gap and aims to synthesise evidence on public stigma towards offenders and ex-offenders across multiple life domains, explicitly structured around the components of knowledge, attitudes and behaviour, in offenders, ex-offenders, offenders with mental illness, and exonerees.

Methods

Search strategy

This study is a systematic review conducted in accordance with the guidelines established by the Preferred Reporting Items for Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) (Page MJ, 2020). A protocol was developed to structure the review question, eligibility

criteria, and synthesis plan, and was registered in the PROSPERO database for public consultation (CRD420250655752).

A systematic search of the literature was conducted using electronic databases: MEDLINE (via OvidSP), PsycINFO, Scopus, PubMed and Web of Science. The final searches were conducted on 10/02/2025. No timeline restrictions or other filters were used. No date, language, or publication-type restrictions were applied.

Search terms were refined through a series of initial searches in all five databases to find similar terms and test the use of truncation "*", and wildcards "?", thereby increasing sensitivity. The final search strategy used was as follows: (public) W/1 (attitudes OR opinion) OR prejudice OR stigma OR stereotyp* OR discrimination OR (social) W/1 (attitude* OR distance)) AND ("inmate" OR "offender" OR "convict" OR "prison" OR "detain*" OR "criminal" OR "incarcerat*" OR "felon*" OR "jail" OR "imprison*" OR "penitentiary*" OR "delinquent*" OR "recidiv*") AND NOT (sex*).

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Studies were eligible for inclusion if they: a) included a sample drawn from the general public; and b) assessed public stigma or attitudes towards offenders or ex-offenders.

Studies were excluded if they: a) did not assess public stigma or attitudes towards offenders or ex-offenders; b) focused exclusively on self-stigma among the offenders or ex-offenders toward themselves or c) focused on sex offenders.

Screening procedures

All search results were exported into Endnote X20, and duplicates were removed. Two reviewers (DO and AP) independently screened titles and abstracts against the eligibility criteria. Any disagreements were resolved through discussion with two additional researchers (MPC and EP). Full-text articles were then accessed and assessed for inclusion using the same eligibility criteria.

Data extraction and quality assessment

Extracted data from each article included: authors and year of publication; study aims; the country where the study was conducted; population characteristics (including age, sex, and professional background); sample size of the general public; study design; stigma or attitudes measurement; and main findings.

Study quality was independently assessed by two reviewers (DO and AP) using adapted versions of the CASP Checklist for cross-sectional studies and qualitative studies

(CASP, 2024). The CASP checklist comprises eleven questions assessing bias related to the research aim; sample recruitment; methodology suitability; data collection; results validity; generalisability; and application to local population. Items are rated as “Yes”; “Can’t Tell” or “No”. This tool does not offer a global scoring system (CASP, 2024).

A narrative synthesis was conducted following the Guidance on the Conduct of Narrative Synthesis in Systematic Reviews (Popay J, 2006). This synthesis framework consists of i) an initial description summary of the study characteristics; ii) organisation of findings according to general stigma, reintegration in general, as well as predefined life domains relevant to reintegration (i.e. employment, housing, healthcare), and decision-making and iii) exploration of the patterns, similarities and differences within and between studies.

Studies were further grouped by population type (offenders, ex-offenders, offenders with mental illness, exonerees), as specified in the review protocol. Juvenile offenders were retained as a distinct subgroup where studies explicitly focused on public attitudes towards youth involved in the criminal justice system, reflecting their unique legal and social status.

Results

The search yielded 8624 records, of which 3163 were duplicates and therefore excluded. The remaining 5461 records underwent title and abstract screening, leading to the exclusion of 5303 records. Full texts of 158 records were assessed for eligibility, of which 114 were included in the review. The justifications for exclusion of full-text screened studies are presented in Appendix II. The PRISMA flow chart illustrates the study selection process (Figure 1). Quality assessment using the CASP checklist is presented in the Appendix I. Most studies were rated as strong (n=112), with two rated as moderate. The PRISMA checklist is presented in the Appendix III.

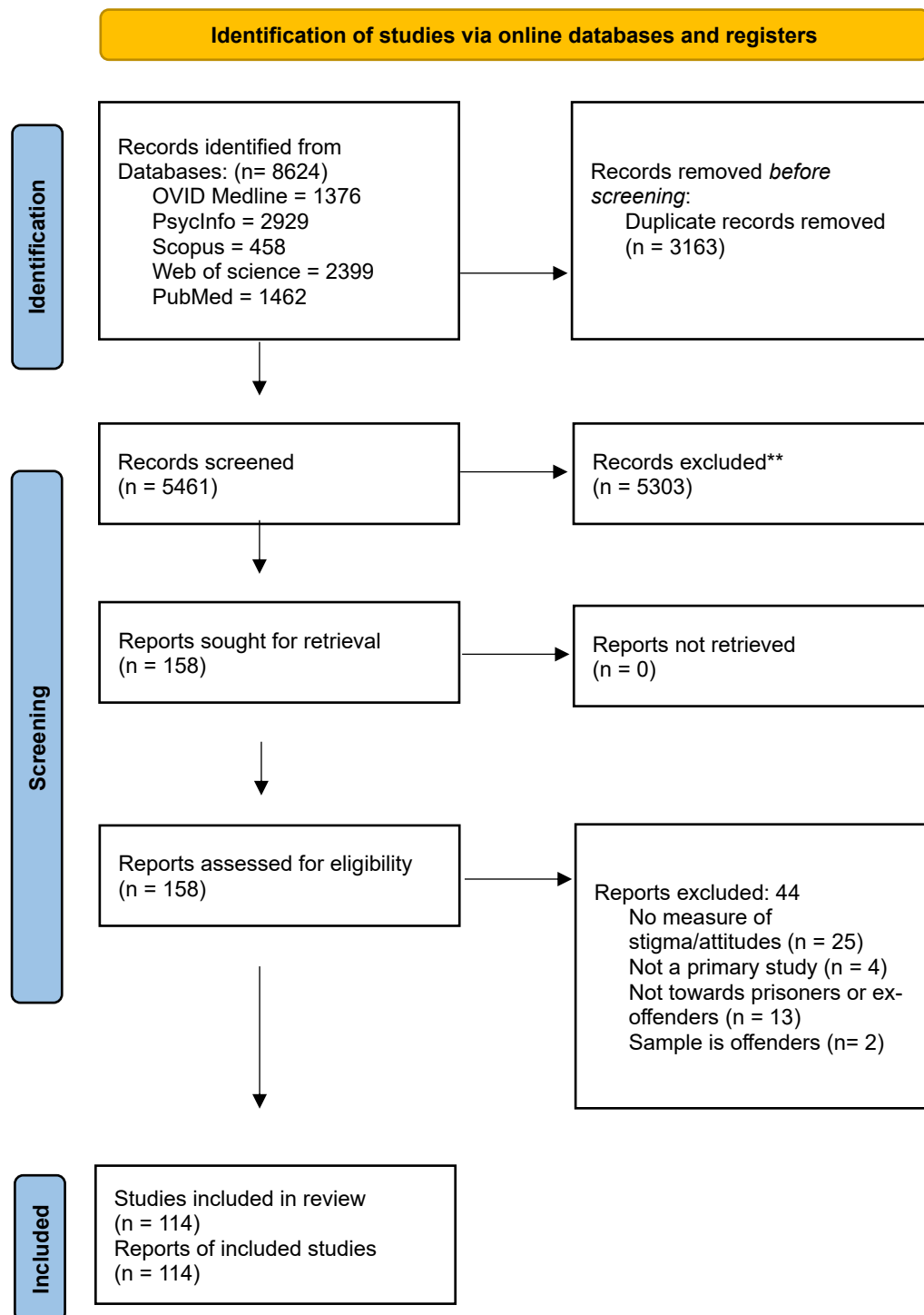


Figure.1 - PRISMA flow diagram of the screening procedure via online databases

A summary of study characteristics is provided in Table 1. The included studies were published between the years 1967 and 2025. The majority was conducted in the USA (k=87), followed by Australia (k=5), Canada (k=5), UK (k=3), Greece (k=2), Nigeria (k=2), Ghana (k=1), Germany (k=1), Indonesia (k=1), Brazil (k=1), Jordan (k=1), China (k=1), Israel (k=1), South Africa (k=1), Spain (k=1) and Turkey (k=1). Most studies were cross-

sectional (k=100), followed by qualitative studies (k=8), mixed-method studies (k=3) and longitudinal studies (k=3).

In total, the studies comprised 65,419 participants, with sample sizes ranging from 5 to 5342. On average, 56.1% of participants were male and 43.9% female, with a mean age of 31.3 years (range 18-79 years). The most frequently used instruments to measure stigma were the Social Distance Scale (SDS) (k= 15) and the Attitudes Toward Prisoners Scale (ATP) (k=11), followed by the Community Attitudes Toward the Mentally Ill (CAMI) (k=4), the Attitudes Toward Mental Ill Offenders (ATMIO) (k=5), the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) (k=5), the Moralization of Everyday Life (MELS) (k=3), the Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale (JOSS) (k=2), the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) (k=2), the PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes toward Offenders with Mental Illness Scale) (k=2), the PAER (Public Attitudes Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration) (k=1), the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) (k=1), the Fisher-Turner Pro-Con Attitude Scale (k=1), the Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness Scale (ISMI) (k=1) and the Behavior from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes map (BIAS) (k=1).

The results are presented according to public stigma towards four groups: offenders (including juvenile offenders), offenders with mental illness, ex-offenders (including ex-juvenile offenders) and exonerees. Within each group, findings are organised into six domains: i) general stigma (referring to the stigma people have towards offenders and how they perceive them in general); ii) housing (referring to the stigma people have in housing issues and their willingness to rent to offenders); iii) employment (referring to the stigma people have in employability issues and their willingness to hire them); iv) reintegration (referring to people's stigma towards offenders overall reintegration into the society); v) stigma in the health care system (referring to the stigma present in the health care system and the stigma health care professionals have towards offenders); and vi) decision-making (referring to the stigma people have that influences the court decisions towards offenders).

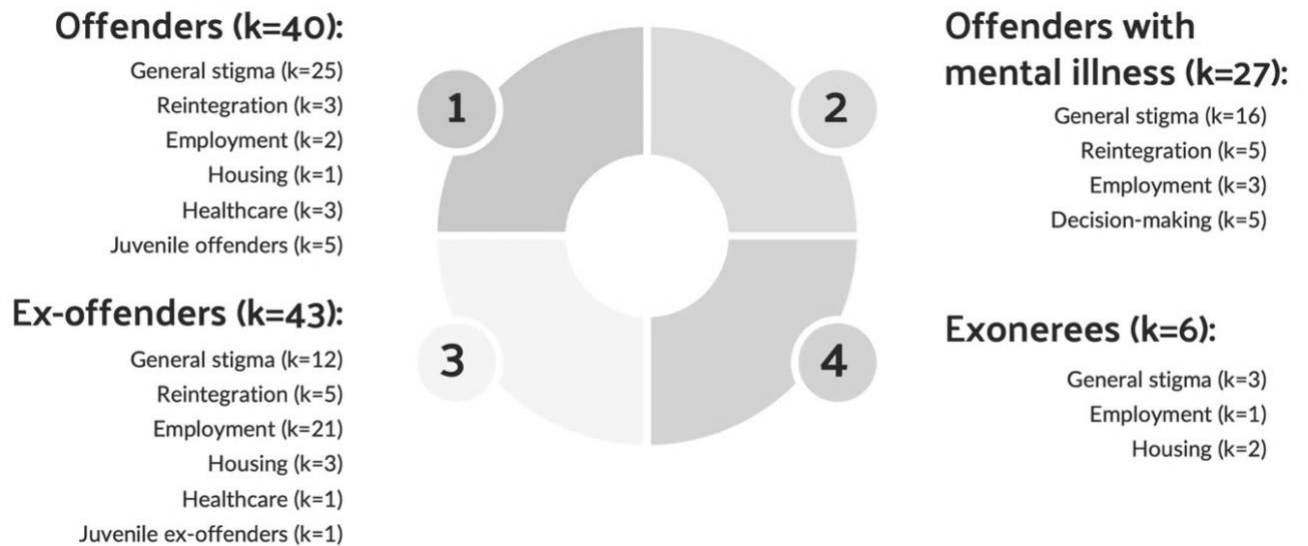


Fig 2- Summary of study results (including type of offenders and life domains)

Table 1 - Summary table with the characteristics of the included studies.

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Avery et al. (2018)	USA	Cross-sectional	Defence attorneys; 60.6% men and 39.2% women; Mean age of 47.1 years.	N= 1933	Slightly Modified version of the 11-item Medical Condition Regard Scale and Defendant Regard Scale (DRS)	Offenders	Criminal defence attorneys held generally positive attitudes toward clients with substance-related charges, but there was a significant divergence in attitudes between private and public attorneys.
Bandara et al. (2020)	USA	RCT*	General public;	N= 3758	General Social Survey	Offenders	Less stigma but only 29% were willing to move next door and there was little support for less punitive sentences. Participants who read the social justice consequence frame were more willing to live next door to someone who was convicted of a felony drug crime.
Binnall & Petersen (2021)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 18 years or older	N= 815	Survey with 3 outcome variables (general support for felon-jurors and two about support for jury service)	Offenders	Half of the respondents supported felony jury service, and it was more likely that they supported white collar crimes instead of violent crimes.
Binnall & Petersen (2021)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 51% men and 49% women; Ages between 35- 49 years.	N= 815	Survey with 4 binary dependent variables	Offenders	Large proportion favoured felon jury service and also favoured felon-voting.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Buchanan & Keaton (2014)	USA	Cross-sectional	Students; 16 men and 78 women; Ages between 19- 63 years, with a mean age of 23.94 years	N = 106	Questionnaire to measure stereotypes towards female offenders, using 15 items	Offenders	There was not a significant stereotype about female offenders among students, they perceived that it would not be difficult for female offenders to find employment or housing, and also did not believe that they are seen as untrustworthy.
Clark et al. (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	Faculty, staff and students from University of Michigan	N= 628	ATP; Prison Reform Attitudes scale	Offenders	More proximity to incarceration predicted higher attitudes toward prisoners scores. Participants presented higher scores on the scales, and the fact that they knew that it was about pregnant women may have resulted in greater empathy and less punitive attitudes, but the severity of the crime would impact their attitudes.
Cote-Lussier (2016)	UK	Cross-sectional	University students; 106 men and 66 women; Mean age of 21.93 years	N= 172	SCM	Offenders	Criminals were perceived as being competitive but with low social status, competence and warmth, but more competent than warm. They are also perceived as angry and fearful, and to engage in elicit behaviours.
Dako-Gyeke & Baffour (2016)	Ghana	Cross-sectional	Recidivists, Rehabilitation Prison Officers, Prosecutors and community members; 14 men and 6 women; 22 - 64 years	N= 20	Interviews with the non-offenders participants, with open-ended questions	Offenders	Negative perceptions about offenders and ex-offenders, such that offenders are bad people and should not have the chance to live in society again. Rehabilitation officers state that their perceptions of offenders changed when they began to have contact with them.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELIS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Demski et al. (1984)	Germany	Cross-sectional	Students; 59 men and 60 women	N = 119	SDS	Offenders	The hypothesis that law students are more distant and less helpful towards offenders than psychology students was confirmed. There were also only a few 'no' answers to the questions about accepting offenders as colleagues at work and employment in their own company.
Denver et al. (2017)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 18 years or older	N= study 1- 996; study 2- 1540	Vignettes and a survey to measure the willingness to hire offenders	Offenders	Respondents reported that they were asked about their criminal record at some point, mostly at the application stage, a requirement that has increased over the past few decades.
DePue et al. (2024)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 231 cis-man, 149 cis-woman, 1 trans-man, 12 trans-woman Mean age of 35.96 years	N= 430	Attribution Questionnaire, SDS	Offenders	Findings show that those who have opioid use disorder and mental disorders are more stigmatised than those that only have a mental disorder.
Dum et al. (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 18 years or older	N= 1800	Survey with 4 questions about stigmatization, 5 questions about reentry support	Offenders	Exposure to information such as news or poems about childhoods of individuals formerly incarcerated (CFIP), reduced stigma, but the differences were non-significant.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELIS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Earle et al. (2021)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 64% men and 36% women; Mean age of 34.6 years	N= 234	ATP	Offenders	Participants exposed to the cultural humility condition scored significantly higher on the ATP scale.
Evans (2019)	USA	Cross-sectional	People on dating apps	N= 1000 attempts	Fake profiles about females on parole to measure how many matches the profiles would get	Offenders	The profiles that did not mention the criminal history were more likely to get matches, and matches were also different depending on the race.
Evans et al. (2025)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 44% men, 55% women and 1% as transgender Mean age of 28.2 years	N= 607	Survey in which they would or wouldn't date offenders, with a scale from 1 to 4	Offenders	Results show that respondents did not want any relationship with an offender, so criminal convictions have a negative effect on dating prospects, especially if it is a violent offence.
Evans et al. (2021)	USA	Cross-sectional	Landlords and Real Estate Agents	N= 1266	Telephone correspondence audits to test their willingness to rent to offenders, with a binary response (yes/no)	Offenders	Landlords are more likely to invite those who do not have a report for an offence compared with those who reported a drug trafficking offence; the likelihood also decreased when the seriousness of the offence increased.
Haegerich (2003)	USA	Cross-sectional	Study 1- University students (33% men and 67% women) and General public (52% men and 48% women); Study 2- Undergraduates as Mock jurors (46% men and 54% women)	N= study 1- 173; study 2- 118	JOSS	Offenders	There is a general stereotype about juvenile offenders, and people tend to let those stereotypes influence their decisions. Some believe that juvenile offenders should be rehabilitated, while others believe they have little rehabilitation potential.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Haegerich et al. (2013)	USA	RCT*	Psychology students; 46% men and 54% women Mean age of 20 years	N= phase 1- 486; phase 2- 270	JOSS	Offenders	Participants believe young offenders are not competent decision-makers, tend to offend due to environmental influences, and that the deliberation group softened their stereotypes.
Hazelrigg (1967)	USA	Cross-sectional	Administrators of correctional institutions	N= 1 departmental director, 1 warden of the 50 state correctional system	Criminality scale	Offenders	The majority of the administrators tended to over-estimate the inmate, seeing them as low in loyalty to the inmate membership group, but also low in their adherence to criminal values.
Helfgott & Gunnison (2008)	USA	Cross-sectional	Community Correction officers; 51% men and 49% women; Average age is 39 years	N= 132	SDS	Offenders	It was found that community corrections officers who have higher social distance are more likely to identify transition programs as a need, and also to identify housing and developing positive associations as challenges.
Jossie et al. (2023)	USA	Cross-sectional	Jail administrators; 260 men and 115 women Most respondents ages between 36 - 40 years	N= 376	Support Reintegration and Officer Attitudes	Offenders	Depending on the personal characteristics, there were few who support rehabilitation and have low desired social distance; those who preferred more social distance were less supportive of rehabilitation.
Komalasari et al. (2021)	Indonesia	Qualitative research	Prison's staff	N= 57	Semi-structured interviews to assess stigma antagonist treatments	Offenders	Prison's staff think of prisoners with opioid use as dirty, lazy, poor and unproductive people which affects their access to treatment and parole programmes.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Kunz & Kunz (2001)	USA	Cross-sectional	University students; Ages between 18 - 45 years	N= 169	SDS	Offenders	The "murderer" was rated with the highest level of social rejection; Social distance increased for roles like "drug addict".
MacLin & Herrera (2006)	USA	Cross-sectional	Study 1- University students (52% women); Study 2- General public (59% women, mean age of 23.7 years)	N= study 1- 175; study 2- 64	Students had to list 10 things that would come up mind when hearing the word "criminal"; Criminal Stereotypes Questionnaire	Offenders	Participants associated with the word criminal: jail, murder, police, gun, crime, bad, male, court and drugs. Criminals are perceived as introverted, angry, antisocial and to have specific features in their appearance, clothing and personal characteristics.
Moore et al. (2013)	USA	Longitudinal	Undergraduate students; 72.7% women Mean age of 21 years	N= 597	Stigmatizing Attitudes towards Criminals Scale	Offenders	Students did not show negative attitudes and stigma associated with offenders, as much as offenders perceived stigma.
Moore et al. (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	Criminal Legal staff; Mean age of 37.5 years	N= 152	ATP; The Addiction Belief Inventory; 11-item adapted version of the Opinions about Medication- Assisted Treatment scale	Offenders	The results show that addiction is seen as a moral weakness, with more negative attitudes associated with opioid use for people that have more stigma towards offenders.
Morgan et al. (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	Community members; 67.4% women Mean age of 49.68 years	N= 46	Survey with 13 questions and 1 open-ended question, to measure attitudes and stigma	Offenders	This program facilitates positive growth for prisoners and community members, since community member when having direct contact with prisoners tend to have significantly less stigmatised attitudes.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Oliveira et al. (2016)	Brazil	Cross-sectional	Undergraduate Nursing Students	N= 400	Semi-structured interviews with questions that assess the care for inmates	Offenders	Results from the interviews show that participants think that the right to healthcare should also be given to the incarcerated individuals, despite their condition.
Overton et al. (2024)	USA	RCT*	General public; 46% cisgender men, 50% cisgender women and 3% transgender or binary Mean age of 26 years	N= 1200	SDS, MELS	Offenders	Results show that the poetry intervention exhibits a main effect on empathy, increasing empathy and reducing desired social distance from the formerly incarcerated.
Peters (1969)	USA	Cross-sectional	School's administrators	N= 510	Semantic differential technique with 10 concepts, one of them being "juvenile delinquent"	Offenders	In all ten concepts used in this study, the "delinquent" concept was viewed negatively on 20 out of 26 scales, and in 3 scales the juvenile delinquent was viewed positively. The delinquent was found to be more saddening, awful, unfair, dreadful, pitiable, appalling, miserable, bad, frightening, pathetic, dishonest, hard and heartbreaking than the other concepts.
Petty & Wiener (2024)	USA	RCT*	General public; 72.8% women, with a mean age of 39.83 years	N= 1200	SCM	Offenders	Stereotypical thinking dominated participants' judgments, since participants viewed juvenile delinquents lower in competence and warmth.
Reed & Reed (1973)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public	N= 204	Interviews about the image of criminals and willingness to interact	Offenders	Findings shows that public has a general image of criminals, as psychologically unstable and socially undesirable; they are seen as psychologically maladjusted and as transgressors.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Schaefer & Williams (2020)	Australia	Cross-sectional	Probation and Parole officers	N= 75	ATP	Offenders	Findings show more optimistic attitudes about offenders and about rehabilitative strategies.
Schwalbe et al. (2013)	Jordan	RCT*	General public	N= 137	Survey about stigma and social acceptance with questions measured by a 7-point scale	Offenders	Intervention programs did impact the acceptance of offenders. What seem to matter most is the experience the youth have when completing the programme, since participants perceived them as "they learned their lesson".
Siebert et al. (2024)	USA	Cross-sectional	Criminal Justice staff, with a mean age of 37.46 years	N= 152	ATP	Offenders	Findings show that more favourable perceptions of justice-involved individuals from professionals were associated with engagement in more types of supportive interactions with justice-involved individuals.
Silver et al. (2024)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 52% women Median age of 52 years	N= 814	Stigmatizing Attitudes scale	Offenders	Belief in redemptive violence was more strongly linked to stigmatising attitudes towards people who engage in criminalised behaviour and support for punitive criminal justice policies.
Sutherland et al. (2021)	USA	Cross-sectional	Undergraduate nursing students	N= 354	ATP	Offenders	A majority of students agreed that having a jail experience would change their feelings about prisoners. Those who had already had a clinical experience at a jail or prison perceived that experience as something good for the effectiveness of a clinical setting and for increasing critical thinking and interactions.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Tapia (2024)	USA	Cross-sectional	Mental health professionals	N= 173	ATP	Offenders	Research found that the amount of experience as a mental health professional may significantly influence empathy levels. It also showed a moderate positive relationship between empathy levels and attitudes towards prisoners.
Batastini et al. (2014)	USA	Cross-sectional	Students; 152 men and 304 women; Aged between 18 and 54 years	N= 456	Attribution Questionnaire; SDS; General Perceived Dangerousness Scale	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed that without exposure to psychoeducation, participants displayed greater stigma towards individuals with mental illness and criminal justice involvement. The psychoeducation component increased the likelihood of hiring them.
Batastini et al. (2017)	USA	Cross-sectional	Human resources or hiring professionals; 96 men, 150 women and 1 transgender; Aged 18 years or older	N= 249	Attribution Questionnaire; SDS; General Perceived Dangerousness Scale; Level of Familiarity scale	Offenders with mental illness	Participants displayed greater stigma and a stronger desire for social distance towards those with both a criminal history and a mental illness. They were also less likely to be hired in terms of responsibility and acceptability.
Chen et al. (2011)	China	Cross-sectional	General public: 36 men and 29 women; Mental health patient's family members: 30 men and 24 women; Psychiatrists: 15 men and 35 women; Police officers: 49 men and 3 women.	N = 221	Questionnaire with 12 items, that evaluated participant's attitudes towards mental illness patients and their opinions about the treatment	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed that psychiatrists and police officers considered that patients with mental illness were of higher risk. Respondents believed that patients with mental illness who lack legal capacity should receive treatment.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Craven (2024)	USA	Cross-sectional	Correctional officers; Aged between 18 to 50 years	N= 170	SDO, Attitudes Towards Inmates with Mental Health Disorders and Support for Rehabilitation scale	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed that there was generally little support for rehabilitation, although correctional and police officers demonstrated overall positive attitudes towards offenders with mental health disorders.
Darakai et. al (2017)	Australia	Cross-sectional	General public; 144 men and 488 women; Aged between 18- 79 years, with a mean age of 30.1 years	N= 642	Attitudes Toward Employing Persons with Disabilities scale	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed that sentence length did not significantly impact attitudes toward ex-offenders' employability for either the general community or participants working with ex-offenders. Those working with ex-offenders expressed more negative attitudes toward individuals with intellectual disability.
Ellmo (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	Counselling students; 18 men, 79 women and 3 non-binary; Mean age of 31.92 years	N= 100	PACAMI-O and IRI	Offenders with mental illness	High overall empathy scores among counselling students and overall positive attitudes towards offenders with mental illness.
Eno Loudon (2009)	USA	Cross-sectional	Probation officers; 44.4% men and 55.6% women; Mean age of 40.9 years	N= 234	SDS	Offenders with mental illness	Participants tend to think that offenders with mental illness were more likely to commit a technical violation while on probation, as well as a new offense, and were considered to be higher risk.
Hebert (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	Jail correctional officers; 69% men and 31% women	N= 213	ATMIO	Offenders with mental illness	The results of the Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale indicated more tolerant attitudes towards offenders with mental illness.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Kostoroski (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public as mock jurors; 32.4% men and 67.6% women Mean age of 37.54 years	N= 105	IRI, CAMI	Offenders with mental illness	Participants tended to score relatively high on empathy and hold positive attitudes towards those with mental illness. The results also indicated there was no significant interaction between the level of empathy and attitudes towards mental illness on jury verdict decisions.
Lary (2007)	USA	RCT*	Care workers in a Juvenile center; 22 men and 34 women Mean age of 44.52 years	N= 56	Fisher-Turner Pro-Con Attitude scale	Offenders with mental illness	There was a decrease in stigmatisation when the programme was applied, meaning that for care workers who attended the educational programme there was a difference between the pre-test and the post-test, with reduced stigmatisation.
Louden et al. (2020)	USA	Longitudinal	Officers; 80% women in the specialty officers and 48.3% women in the traditional officers	N = 15 specialty officers and 87 traditional officers	Survey with items to measure social distance, using a Likert-type scale from 1 (definitely willing) to 4 (definitely not willing)	Offenders with mental illness	Officer's average social distance score for clients at the specialty site did not differ significantly from those at the traditional site.
Louden et al. (2018)	USA	Cross-sectional	Probation officers; 65% women Average age of 43 years	N= 89	CAMI	Offenders with mental illness	The probationer with mental illness was described as "moderate risk", for committing new offenses and for having his probation revoked.
Martinaki et al. (2024)	Greece	Cross-sectional	General public; 52.8% men Mean age of 42.9 years	N= 1031	ATMIO	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed a higher percentage of agreement that offenders with mental illness need more help and deserve affection, but there was also the opinion that people with mental illness are likely to commit a crime.

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Melnikov et al. (2017)	Israel	Longitudinal	Prison officers; 72% men Mean age of 29 years	N= 83	Stigmatization of the Persons With Mental Illness; The Affective Component of Workplace Interaction With Persons With Mental Illness; The Behavioral Component of Stigmatization	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed that both positive and negative feelings about mental illness remained unchanged by the intervention. Positive feelings were strongly correlated with the perceived ability to interact with offenders with mental illness and negative feelings were correlated with higher stigmatisation.
Mossière & Maeder (2015)	USA	Cross-sectional	Study1: Jury-eligible undergraduate students (73.3% women); Study 2: Jury eligible Americans (70% women)	N= 105 (study1); N= 140 (study2)	Attitudes towards Persons with Mental Illness scale	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed less negative attitudes towards offenders with mental illness. Shorter sentences were associated with more negative attitudes, and the majority of the student sample returned a verdict of not guilty.
Mulay (2018)	USA	Mixed-method	Undergraduate students; 46 men and 123 women; Mean age of 20.92 years	N= 169	The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale-Short Form C; ATMIO; CAMI	Offenders with mental illness	Results showed more tolerant attitudes towards offenders with mental illness in terms of explicit attitudes, while as for implicit attitudes, results showed more negative attitudes with higher scores on the community attitudes towards mental illness.
Nishimura (2025)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 148 men, 151 women and 5 non-binary; Mean age of 45.2 years	N= 306	SDS	Offenders with mental illness	Participants indicated a desire for a moderate amount of social distance and perceived ex-offenders as relatively dangerous. Participants who ranked treatment as important were more willing to engage with individuals who had received treatment.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Seaward et al. (2023)	Canada	Qualitative research	Mental health professionals; 33 men and 30 women	N= 63	Semi-structured interviews with questions assessing mental health care for older incarcerated adults	Offenders with mental illness	Participants believed that older incarcerated adults should be considered full members of society once they have completed their sentence and treatment. They also experience greater social distance and difficulties during reentry.
Silverman et al. (1976)	USA	Cross-sectional	Police officers, Probation parole officers, Correction officers and Students	N= 180	CI Attitude scale; Opinions about Mental Illness scale	Offenders with mental illness	Both correctional workers and police officers tended to endorse many stereotypical beliefs about mental illness prevalent in our society, while students based their attitudes on definitions of mental illness.
Sophia et al. (2024)	Greece	Cross-sectional	Mental health professionals and Police staff; 61.7% women; mean age of 41.4 years	N= 523	ATMIO, CAMI	Offenders with mental illness	Mental health professionals scored lower on authoritarianism, social restrictiveness and community risk, and exhibited more positive attitudes overall.
Steadham (2017)	USA	Cross-sectional	Patrol officers (mean age of 36.34 years); Detectives (mean age of 41.91 years) and Administrators (mean age of 44.29 years)	N= 162	Attribution questionnaire; Positive and Negative Affect scale; Familiarity with Mental Illness	Offenders with mental illness	Mentally disordered individuals were associated with pity, and officer's decisions varied by offender type; they were more likely to arrest the intoxicated citizens and refer mentally ill individuals to involuntary treatment.
Tomar et al. (2017)	USA	Cross-sectional	Probation officers; 150 men and 166 women; mean age of 42.18 years	N= 316	Standardized 11-item measure of stigma	Offenders with mental illness	Officers' knowledge of mental illnesses increased, and officers demonstrated lower levels of stigma towards persons with mental illness.

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Vorstenbosch et al. (2025)	USA	Mixed-method	Health care professionals	N= 98	Delphi questionnaire, with 85 items based on stigma and attitudes	Offenders with mental illness	Prejudices identified in the Delphi study involved fear and scepticism about forensic service users' recovery. Participants also demonstrated discriminatory attitudes towards individuals with mental illness.
Walkden et al. (2021)	UK	Cross-sectional	General public; 130 men and 371 women; Mean age of 30.72 years	N= 504	PACAMI-O	Offenders with mental illness	The public holds negative attitudes towards offenders with mental illness. The public desires social distance from offenders with mental illness.
Weaver et al. (2019)	USA	Cross-sectional	Criminal Justice and Social Work majors	N= 358	ATMIO	Offenders with mental illness	Social work students were less likely to have negative stereotypes towards offenders with mental illness compared with criminal justice students and tended to be more supportive of their potential for rehabilitation.
Woods (2021)	USA	Qualitative research	General public; 28% men and 72% women; Aged 18-55 years	N= 26	Survey with 13 open-ended questions that assess attitudes and perceptions about the forensic population, offenders with mental illness and the criminal justice system	Offenders with mental illness	Attitudes were generally positive, with support for rehabilitation and mental illness treatment. Social factors such as family involvement in the criminal legal system, education and their career influenced attitudes.
Worthington & Rossetti (2020)	UK	Cross-sectional	General public; 63 men and 134 women Mean age of 28.83 years	N= 200	Survey with questions that assess their perceptions about the release and reintegration of offenders; Dweck's TOI	Offenders with mental illness	Participants displayed more negative entity views of intelligence towards intellectual disability individuals, yet showed more positive attitudes towards their reintegration compared with offenders without intellectual disabilities.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Benn (2025)	USA	Cross-sectional	Human resources managers; 9 men and 6 women; Mean age of 39 years	N= 15	Interviews with open-ended questions assessing manager's perceptions	Ex-offenders	Managers are more cautious due to the perceived risk of hiring ex-offenders and their ability to trust, but they understood the value that ex-offenders can bring to a workplace.
Berry & Wiener (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; Experiment 1: 253 women, with a mean age of 44.94 years; Experiment 2: 318 women, mean age of 51.45 years.	N= 445 (experiment 1); N= 504 (experiment 2)	SCM	Ex-offenders	There is housing discrimination against ex-offenders, with a general stereotype of low competence and low warmth. Participants significantly preferred renting to unknown applicant, rather than to ex-offenders.
Binnall et. al (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	Undergraduate students; 34% men and 66% women; Ages between 18- 24 years	N= 185	ATP	Ex-offenders	A large proportion of participants did not agree with the stereotypes about ex-offenders. Having more contact with ex-offenders reduced stigma.
Bluen & Goodman (1984)	South Africa	RCT*	Personnel practitioners	N= 570	Questionnaire that each participant had a job applicant profile and they had to answer if they would hire them or not	Ex-offenders	Participants were more willing to hire non-stigmatized applicants than hire ex-detainees, people that had a past mental health diagnosis or ex-convicts, were stigmatised similarly.
Brand & Clairborn (1976)	USA	Cross-sectional	80 students in business administration courses and 93 randomly selected area employers	N= 280	SDS	Ex-offenders	No differences in stigma between ex-convicts and people that had a previous mental health diagnosis, in both social distance scale and actual job offers, but there was still more reluctance to hire the ex-offenders.

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Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Crawford (2024)	USA	Qualitative research	Hiring managers; 25% men and 68.75% women; ages 18- 55 years	N= 16	Semi-structured interviews with 30 open-ended questions about hiring ex-offenders	Ex-offenders	Ex-offenders are less likely to be employed, they are perceived as risky for the hiring manager's career..
Domenico (2018)	Canada	RCT*	General public; 54 men, 241 women and 3 non-binary; Mean age of 38.33 years	N= 298	SDS, Rehabilitation scale, ATP	Ex-offenders	Participants were more supportive of rehabilitation for offenders described as having a negative upbringing compared with those from positive backgrounds. Public attitudes towards the ex-offender in the vignette were affected by whether the offender's childhood was described as positive or negative.
Denver & DeWitt (2023)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 18 years or older	N= 5342	Survey using questions measured with a Likert-type scale assessing willingness to hire them	Ex-offenders	Results showed high levels of stigma toward applicants with a criminal record when hiring. Credentials positively influenced callback willingness, while concerns included the applicant's dependability, recidivism risk, workplace risk and trustworthiness.
Edwards & Mottarella (2015)	USA	RCT*	University students; 49.3% men and 50.7% women; Ages were primarily from 18 - 25 years	N= 150	Modified SDS	Ex-offenders	Participants scored higher ratings on the non-intimate subscale when individuals were described as having been convicted of a violent crime versus a non-violent crime, indicating desire for social distance from violent offenders.
Evans et al. (2019)	USA	Cross-sectional	College admissions offices	N= 85	Emails to universities about admitting an ex-offender (consider or not consider)	Ex-offenders	Public institutions were less likely to consider criminal history in admissions compared with private schools. The possible admission depended heavily on the institution and their policies.

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Everidge (2011)	USA	Qualitative research	Police officers, Probation officers and Correction officers; 4 men and 1 women Mean age of 40.2 years"	N= 5	Looking-Glass Method, using semi-structured interviews, with open-ended questions	Ex-offenders	Results showed more stigma towards violent crimes and towards ex- criminal justice professionals. In terms of employment, some participants stated that such individuals should not be allowed to continue their careers as criminal justice professionals.
Fahmy et al. (2018)	Canada	Cross-sectional	Family/General physicians	N= 339	Telephone calls to the offices, to check if the appointment was "schedule" or "cancelled"	Ex-offenders	When the variable of recent imprisonment was included, the likelihood of securing an appointment was lower, indicating that recent imprisonment is a barrier to primary care.
Furst & Evans (2017)	USA	Cross-sectional	Real Estate Agents	N= 300	Phone calls with semi-structured interviews, to test their willingness to rent	Ex-offenders	Some agents were unwilling to consider the call from ex-convicts. Others stated that a clear record was required, some justified their decision with concerns about safety or finances, questioning how would they be able to pay.
Graber & Zitek (2022)	USA	RCT*	University students; 69 men and 86 women Mean age of 19.03 years	N= study 1- 156; study 2- 148; study 3- 402; study 4- 199	The Wolfgang Interpersonal Distance scale	Ex-offenders	Participants were more willing to hire ex-offenders if they explained their criminal history, as this was seen as demonstrating maturity and redeemability. They were also perceived as warmer and more competent.
Griller Clark et al. (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	Business email contacts	N= 98	Survey with open-ended questions to measure the willingness to hire Juvenile with criminal record	Ex-offenders	A juvenile criminal record reduced employment opportunities. The study also refers the factors (skills or experiences) that could improve chances, such as passing a drug test or holding a high school diploma.

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Hipes (2019)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 186 men and 139 women; Mean age of 34.8 years	N= 325	Vignette survey with 3 scenarios (about criminal record, mental illness and controls) assessing stigmatisation	Ex-offenders	Individuals with a criminal record were viewed as more dangerous than those with mental illness. They were viewed as less competent and more assertive. Participants expressed greater desire for social distance from ex-offenders.
Hirschfield & Piquero (2010)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 18 years or older	N= 2282	ATP	Ex-offenders	Exposure to ex-offenders helped to soften perceptions of them in general. A lack of confidence in the courts was associated with reduced stigma towards ex-offenders.
Homant & Kennedy (1982)	USA	Cross-sectional	Undergraduate students	N= 63	Questionnaire assessing workplace attitudes towards ex-offenders	Ex-offenders	Participants showed slightly more positive attitudes towards ex-offenders compared with neutral employees.
Ike et al. (2023)	Nigeria	Cross-sectional	General public; 598 men and 588 women; Aged between 18 - 60 years	N= 1187	PAER	Ex-offenders	Participants expressed negative attitudes towards ex-offenders and their reintegration.
Jackl (2023)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 18 years or older	N= 1015	Survey with a Support Reintegration scale with 19 questions, Stereotype index, measured with 1 to 5 and Attitudinal Social Distance with five items	Ex-offenders	Stereotypes associated with ex-offenders and a desired social distance, depending on the language/terms. Those who received the "person who was formerly incarcerated" or "returning citizen" conditions were less likely to have that perceptions, compared to those who received the "ex-convict" condition.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELIS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Kuhn (2019)	USA	Cross-sectional	Study 1- Hiring managers and professionals with hiring experience (77 men and 203 women); Study 2- Practitioners (40 men and 69 women)	N=280 (study 1); N=109 (study 2)	Participants had to evaluate how the criminal offense would affect their positive or negative answer for the job applicant, using a scale from 1 to 5	Ex-offenders	Older participants were more likely to report that criminal offences did not affect their evaluations. Practitioners were less likely to reject applicants when offences occurred several years in the past compared with recent felonies.
Kuhn (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	Study 1- General public (268 men and 215 women); Study 2- Hiring managers (22 men and 88 women); Study 3- General public (177 men and 176 women)	N=483 (study 1); N=110 (study 2); N=353 (study 3)	Survey in which participants chose someone for a potential job opportunity, considering the criminal record	Ex-offenders	Participants who learned about a conviction were less likely to interview the applicant, even if they were more qualified than other applicant with no criminal record. Final evaluations of applicants with criminal history were more favourable when initial review materials had mentioned their offence.
Leasure & Kaminski (2021)	USA	RCT*	Employers	N= 800	Employers evaluated resumes and indicated whether they would give a callback to applicants with a criminal record	Ex-offenders	Applicants with no criminal history received more callbacks than those with a record. Out of 800 resumes, only 127 applicants with a criminal record received an invitation to continue the hiring process.
Leasure & Martin (2017)	USA	RCT*	Rental property managers	N= 420 properties	Telephone calls survey asking willingness to consider renting to ex-offenders	Ex-offenders	Property managers were more likely to consider those with misdemeanours than with other record types, and less likely to consider those with a recent felony conviction. An older criminal record increased the likelihood of receiving consideration.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELIS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Lindsay (2023)	USA	RCT*	Employers- 1502 job openings	N= 1502	Fictitious resumes were sent to employers to measure employer's callback rates	Ex-offenders	HVAC (heating, ventilation and air conditioning) prison credentials had both positive and negative effects. In general, ex-offenders with HVAC prison credentials received more callbacks than ex-offenders without HVAC credentials.
Martin (2022)	USA	Qualitative research	Human Resources Managers, with 4-15 years of experience	N= 7	Semi-structure interviews about hiring ex-offenders, with open-ended questions	Ex-offenders	Hiring decisions were influenced by multiple factors, including the individual's personality, type of offence, and time since the offence.
Mikkelsen & Schweitzer (2019)	USA	RCT*	General public; 47.09% women; Mean age of 36.12 years	N= 688	Survey where participants had to determine whether or not they would hire the applicant; MELS	Ex-offenders	Applicants with felony convictions were less likely to be hired, even when the conviction was short (i.e. 15 months). Lower perceived morality further reduced hiring chances; those with felony convictions were viewed as less moral and therefore less likely to be hired.
Moak et al. (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public	N= 27	ATP	Ex-offenders	Attitudes were more positive when there was openness to social interaction with ex-offenders and support for reintegration programmes. The public disagreed with the stereotype that ex-offenders are untrustworthy.
O'Sullivan et al. (2017)	Australia	Cross-sectional	General public; 608 men, 607 women and 5 non-binary	N= 1215	Ten-item questionnaire assessing "Belief in redeemability"	Ex-offenders	Respondents strongly endorsed reintegration.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Ott & McTier (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	College faculty; 66% women	N= 229	Situational Attitude Scale	Ex-offenders	Faculty reported relatively positive perceptions of college students with a criminal record, with the most positive attitudes found among college faculty.
Ouellette et al. (2017)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 61% men	N= 165	Questionnaire for Support of Reentry, including items on policy support and housing (7-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree))	Ex-offenders	Results showed general support for reentry, particularly for community-based programs and services to help individuals recently released from prison. Participants agreed that prisoners should earn enough money to live stably and should receive assistance when released from prison.
Overton et al. (2022)	USA	RCT*	Undergraduate students; 45.8% cisgender men, 52.4% cisgender women and 1.8% transgender or binary; Mean age of 25.44 years	N= 400	SCM, MELS, SDS	Ex-offenders	Sentencing preferences leaned toward more punitive approaches, high support for rehabilitation and sentencing. Ex-offenders were seen as less warm, but not less competent than those with no time in prison.
Pager & Quillian (2005)	USA	Cross-sectional	Employers	N= 350	Audit and survey with vignettes assessing willingness to hire ex-offenders	Ex-offenders	Employers reported a greater willingness to hire drug offenders, but few ex-offenders actually received callbacks.
Riley (2022)	USA	Qualitative research	Employers; 5 men and 5 women	N= 10	Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions about hiring ex-offenders	Ex-offenders	Employers held stereotypes related to ex-offenders appearance, hygiene and criminal history, considering them as untrustworthy and dangerous.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Robertson (2021)	USA	Cross-sectional	Hiring managers; 58 men and 85 women, mean age of 40.71 years	N= 143	Attitudes Toward Ex-Offenders Scale	Ex-offenders	The more a professional endorsed stereotypes, the more negative their attitude toward hiring ex-offenders.
Rovira (2019)	Spain	Cross-sectional	Job offers	N= 601	Fake CVs were sent to job offers to assess if they would give a callback to those with criminal record	Ex-offenders	Fictitious candidates with a criminal record received fewer replies to continue the recruitment process compared to those without a criminal record.
Schneider & Weber (2020)	Nigeria and USA	Cross-sectional	Nigerian study- General public (44.44% women, with a mean age of 27.46 years); American study- General Public (56.08% women, with a mean age of 35.41 years)	N= Nigerian study- 414; American study- 1093	Prosociality towards ex-prisoners; Discriminatory Behavioral Tendencies toward Ex-prisoners	Ex-offenders	Participants generally held positive beliefs, so the intervention did not significantly shift them, but it reduced discriminatory tendencies and showed a strong belief in second chances. In the U.S study participants showed higher prosocial behavioral intentions, lower discriminatory tendencies and a higher belief for second chances.
Sever & Ozdemir (2021)	Turkey	Mixed-method	Hiring managers; 12 men and 11 women	N= 23	Hiring Stigma scale; Oxford Happiness scale; Workplace Mental Illness Stigma scale	Ex-offenders	Stigma was higher towards individuals with drug problems and those with a criminal record, due to concerns about workplace safety, productivity, and legal or customer perceptions.
Shi et al. (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 49% men	N= 1216	Survey with 20 items to measure stigma (e.g. dangerousness and social avoidance)	Ex-offenders	There was a preference for social distance. Offending was attributed to bad moral, selfishness and laziness, for high score results. Stigma was also associated with support for punitive policies and reduced support for rehabilitative policies.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Shin (2022)	USA	Cross-sectional	Pilot study: Managers (22 men, 15 women, 1 other); Study 1: Managers (335 men, 230 women, 2 others); Study 2: Managers (335 men, 230 women, 2 others)	N= 38 (Pilot Study); N= 567 (study 1); N= 567 (study 2); N= 575 (study 3); N= 420 (study 4)	Perceived Severity of Stigma Scale, Warmth and Competence Scales, Manager's Attitude Scale, Willingness to Hire, Growth Mindset Scale, Compassion Scale	Ex-offenders	Ex-offenders were perceived lowest in warmth and competence among ten stigmatised groups, affecting managers' attitudes and willingness to hire. The level of compassion was the only variable that moderated the relationship between perceived stigma and manager's favourable attitude.
Singh (1978)	Canada	Cross-sectional	Students; 38 men and 10 women; Mean age of 29 years	N= 48	SDS	Ex-offenders	High authoritarians preferred to maintain greater social distance from violent offenders than from non-violent offenders.
Sugie et al. (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	General public; 60% men Median age 46-50 years	N= 2841	Attribution Questionnaire	Ex-offenders	Participants evaluated those with no criminal record most positively, as the conviction reduced the likelihood of hiring. Participants also rated ex-offenders with worse characteristics.
Uggen et al. (2014)	USA	Cross-sectional	Employers; 63% men	N= 48	Primary dependent variable is the callback to job interviews; Semi-structure interviews about hiring ex-offenders	Ex-offenders	Disclosure of an arrest record reduced the chance of receiving a callback by about 4 percentage points for white applicants. In terms of offence severity, felonies and misdemeanours were treated differently.
Clow & Leach (2015)	USA	Cross-sectional	Psychology students; 48 men and 77 women; Ages between 18- 48 years	N= 125	SCM	Exonerees	Participants stigmatised the exoneree more in the false confession condition than in other conditions, and also rated the exoneree lower in terms of warmth and competence. In general, the public has higher feelings of pity and sympathy towards exonerees.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELIS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Hamovitch et al. (2023)	Canada	Cross-sectional	Landlords	N= 450 (study 1) N= 450 (study 2)	Survey where participants completed attitude thermometers and answered questions about criminal-specific stereotypes on a 7-point Likert scale	Exonerees	Exonerees received fewer responses, had a lower chance of the apartment being available and landlords gave excuses for not renting the apartment to them. The time spent in prison did not have a significant effect on the likelihood of receiving a reply or an indication of availability.
Kukucka et al. (2020)	USA	Cross-sectional	Hiring professionals; 51.2% women; Mean age of 38.89 years	N= 82	Study online were participants rated the application on a scale from 1 (very weak) to 6 (very strong) and how likely they would be to interview the applicant	Exonerees	In terms of application strength, criminal history did not significantly affect professionals' ratings of the overall strength of the application or their likelihood of interviewing the applicant. However, professionals rated the offender as significantly less trustworthy, conscientious, or responsible than the control applicant.
Kukucka et al. (2021)	USA	RCT*	Study 1- Landlords; Study 2- General public (59.8% men and a mean age of 35.57 years)	N=1203 (study 1) N=351 (study 2)	Emails were sent to evaluate their responses and the kind of answers they would give considering the criminal record	Exonerees	In terms of replies, those with no criminal record were more likely to receive a response than emails of exonerees and other conditions. They were also less likely to state that the apartment was available.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

Author, Year	Country	Design	Sample Characteristics	Sample size	Stigma measures	Population of Offenders	Findings
Privitelli et al. (2023)	Australia	RCT*	General public; 363 men and 671 women Mean age of 45.0 years	N= 1043	SDS	Exonerees	Female participants scored higher on the desired social distance scale than males, as well as older people. Participants reported more need for social distance when the exoneree had a prior offence history.
Tudor-Owen et al. (2019)	Australia	RCT*	General public; 75 men and 144 women Mean age of 33.13 years	N= 230	Questionnaire with 38 statements assessing perceptions about culpability, behavioural attribution, personal closeness, societal assistance	Exonerees	Participants in the guilty condition provided significantly lower culpability scores than those in the innocent and four exonerated conditions. Guilty offenders were perceived differently from those who were innocent or exonerated.

Note- RCT*, only considering the measures reported in the base line; SDS (Social Distance Scale); JOSS (Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale); ATP (Attitudes Towards Prisoners Scale); ATMIO (Attitude Towards Mentally-ill Offenders); CAMI (Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale); SCM (Stereotype Content Model); PAER (Public Attitude Towards Ex-Offenders and their Reintegration); SDO (Social Dominance Orientation Scale); PACAMI-O (Police and Community Attitudes Towards Offenders with Mental Illness Scale); IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index); MELS (Moralization of Everyday Life Scale).

1. Offenders

A total of forty studies examined the public's stigma towards offenders (Avery et al., 2018), (Bandara et al., 2020), (Binnall and Petersen, 2021b), (Binnall and Petersen, 2021a), (Buchanan and Keaton, 2014), (Clark et al., 2022), (Côté-Lussier, 2016), (Dako-Gyeke and Baffour, 2016), (Demski et al., 1984), (Denver et al., 2017), (DePue et al., 2024), (Dum et al., 2022), (Earle, 2021), (Evans et al., 2025), (Evans et al., 2021), (Haegerich, 2003), (Haegerich et al., 2013), (Hazelrigg, 1967), (Helfgott and Gunnison, 2008), (Jossie et al., 2023), (Komalasari et al., 2021), (Kukucka et al., 2020), (Kunz and Kunz, 2001), (MacLin and Herrera, 2006), (Moore et al., 2013), (Moore et al., 2022), (Morgan et al., 2020), (Oliveira et al., 2016), (Overton et al., 2024), (Peters, 1969), (Petty and Wiener, 2024), (Reed and Reed, 1973), (Schaefer and Williams, 2020), (Schwalbe et al., 2013), (Siebert et al., 2024), (Silver et al., 2024), (Sutherland et al., 2021), (Tapia, 2024), (Evans, 2019), (Ellmo, 2020).

General stigma

A total of twenty-five studies examined the general stigma that people have towards offenders (Avery et al., 2018), (Bandara et al., 2020), (Binnall and Petersen, 2021a), (Binnall and Petersen, 2021b), (Buchanan and Keaton, 2014), (Clark et al., 2022), (Côté-Lussier, 2016), (Demski et al., 1984), (DePue et al., 2024), (Dum et al., 2022), (Earle, 2021), (Evans, 2019), (Evans et al., 2025), (Hazelrigg, 1967), (Komalasari et al., 2021), (Kunz and Kunz, 2001), (MacLin and Herrera, 2006), (Moore et al., 2013), (Moore et al., 2022), (Morgan et al., 2020), (Overton et al., 2024), (Reed and Reed, 1973), (Schaefer and Williams, 2020), (Siebert et al., 2024), (Silver et al., 2024).

Four studies reported an overall negative perception of offenders (Earle, 2021), (Ellmo, 2020), (Hazelrigg, 1967), (Kunz and Kunz, 2001), with a desire for social distance from general public towards them (Kunz and Kunz, 2001). Two studies that focused on examining the use of dating apps showed that profiles that did not mention the presence of a criminal record were more likely to get matches (Ellmo, 2020), (Evans et al., 2025). Students displayed mostly negative stereotypes towards offenders, perceiving them as angry and of low social status, though also competitive, competent and warm (Côté-Lussier, 2016).

Two studies, one focusing on students and another focusing on general public, found that punitive attitudes were directly linked to feelings of anger and, indirectly, to the belief that offenders are cold and untrustworthy (Côté-Lussier, 2016), (Reed and Reed, 1973). Offenders were viewed by the general public as introverted, antisocial and with specific

characteristics regarding clothing and appearance, such as baggy/dark clothes, tall stature, long dark hair, among others (MacLin and Herrera, 2006).

Conversely, four studies reported overall positive attitudes towards offenders (Clark et al., 2022), (Demski et al., 1984), (Moore et al., 2013), (Schaefer and Williams, 2020). Two studies found that exposure to information, such as news or poems about offenders' childhood reduced stigma and the desire for social distance, while increased empathy in the general public (Dum et al., 2022), (Overton et al., 2024). In terms of stigma towards offenders serving as jurors, two studies reported positive attitudes from the general public towards felons serving as jurors in courts (Binnall and Petersen, 2021a, Binnall and Petersen, 2021b).

Proximity to offenders was associated with less stigma about them and about their personal qualities in four studies, two with general public samples, one with criminal justice staff, and one with university staff (Clark et al., 2022), (Morgan et al., 2020), (Siebert et al., 2024, Silver et al., 2024).

In one study, student stereotypes towards female offenders were low, as students perceived such offenders as trustworthy and not facing major barriers to find employment or housing (Buchanan and Keaton, 2014). Another study found that students and college faculty displayed greater empathy and fewer punitive attitudes towards pregnant women offenders (Clark et al., 2022).

With respect to drug offenders, two studies reported that criminal defense attorneys and the general public, respectively, held generally positive attitudes towards clients with substance-related charges (Avery et al., 2018, Bandara et al., 2020). However, three studies indicated that offenders with opioid use disorder were more stigmatised (DePue et al., 2024), (Komalasari et al., 2021), (Moore et al., 2022).

Reintegration

Three studies investigated public views on the reintegration of offenders (Dako-Gyeke and Baffour, 2016), (Helfgott and Gunnison, 2008), (Jossie et al., 2023). Prison administrators who preferred more social distance from offenders were less supportive of reintegration (Jossie et al., 2023). Community correction officers were more likely to identify transition programs as a need (Helfgott and Gunnison, 2008). On the other hand, one study pointed out that community members believed that offenders were bad people and should not have the chance to reinsert to society; however, attitudes improved when people had contact with offenders and when they received anti-stigma training (Dako-Gyeke and Baffour, 2016).

One study that assessed prison administrator's attitudes on offender's reintegration showed that those who were more satisfied with their job were more likely to support reintegration (Jossie et al., 2023).

Employment

Two studies examined people's attitudes towards offenders with regards to finding a job (Denver et al., 2017), (Kukucka et al., 2020). One found that while criminal history did not significantly affect professionals' ratings of the overall strength of the application or their likelihood of interviewing the applicants. However hiring professionals held more negative attitudes towards offenders, compared to people who did not have a criminal history (Kukucka et al., 2020).

A vignette-based study showed that the general public considers that a criminal record affects the willingness to hire offenders (Denver et al., 2017).

Housing

One study assessed landlords and real estate agents' perceptions about renting to offenders, using telephone correspondence audits. Landlords were more likely to invite to a house viewing those applicants who did not have an offence record. When the severity of the offence increased, the likelihood of renting decreased (Evans et al., 2021).

Healthcare

Three studies assessed healthcare-related stigma towards offenders (Oliveira et al., 2016), (Sutherland et al., 2021, Tapia, 2024). Two focused on nursing students' attitudes and supported the right to healthcare for offenders a (Oliveira et al., 2016), (Sutherland et al., 2021) and one focused on mental health professional's attitudes, who increased their empathy levels through contact with offenders (Tapia, 2024).

Juvenile offenders

Five studies examined the stigma from the general public towards juvenile offenders (Haegerich, 2003, Haegerich et al., 2013), (Peters, 1969), (Petty and Wiener, 2024), (Schwalbe et al., 2013).

Two studies examined the general attitudes towards this type of offenders (Peters, 1969), (Schwalbe et al., 2013). One study (Schwalbe et al., 2013), using a survey about stigma and social acceptance administered to the general public, found that diversion programs (e.g. detention center placement, diversion with counselling,...) increased the acceptance of juvenile offenders. Another study (Peters, 1969), where school

administrators had to rate ten concepts about minorities, reported that the "delinquent" concept was viewed more negatively.

Three studies focusing on university students serving as mock jurors reported stereotypes about juvenile offenders influencing their decisions in court (Haegerich, 2003, Haegerich et al., 2013), (Petty and Wiener, 2024). Specifically, a great number of students believed they should be rehabilitated, rather than punished. However, other students believed that juvenile offenders are violent, have no morals, and little rehabilitation potential (Haegerich, 2003). Another study also showed that when a group deliberation was present their stereotypes were softened (Haegerich et al., 2013).

2. Offenders with mental illness

A total of twenty-seven studies examined the public's stigma towards offenders with mental illness (Batastini et al., 2014, Batastini et al., 2017), (Chen et al., 2011), (Craven, 2024), (Darakai et al., 2017), (Ellmo, 2020), (Eno Louden, 2009), (Hebert, 2022), (Kostoroski, 2022), (Lary, 2007), (Louden et al., 2020), (Louden et al., 2018), (Martinaki et al., 2024), (Melnikov et al., 2017), (Mossière and Maeder, 2015, Mulay, 2018, Nishimura, 2023), (Seaward et al., 2023), (Silverman et al., 1976), (Sophia et al., 2024), (Steadham, 2017), (Tomar et al., 2017), (Vorstenbosch et al., 2025, Walkden et al., 2021, Weaver et al., 2019, Woods, 2021, Worthington and Rossetti, 2020).

General stigma

Sixteen studies examined general stigma towards offenders with mental illness (Chen et al., 2011), (Ellmo, 2020), (Hebert, 2022), (Lary, 2007), (Louden et al., 2020), (Martinaki et al., 2024), (Melnikov et al., 2017), (Mulay, 2018), (Nishimura, 2023), (Silverman et al., 1976), (Sophia et al., 2024), (Tomar et al., 2017), (Vorstenbosch et al., 2025), (Walkden et al., 2021), (Woods, 2021), (Worthington and Rossetti, 2020). Three studies showed that there is a desired social distance, from officers and general public respectively (Louden et al., 2020), (Nishimura, 2023), (Silverman et al., 1976). Also, offenders with mental illness are being perceived as dangerous individuals (Nishimura, 2023), (Chen et al., 2011), (Vorstenbosch et al., 2025), (Walkden et al., 2021). Specifically, healthcare professionals expressed fear and skepticism towards offenders with mental illness (Vorstenbosch et al., 2025).

Conversely, six studies reported positive attitudes, including empathy and tolerance (Ellmo, 2020), (Hebert, 2022), (Martinaki et al., 2024), (Mulay, 2018), (Tomar et al., 2017), (Worthington and Rossetti, 2020), particularly where people had more contacts with such offenders (Sophia et al., 2024).

Four studies showed support from the general public for the treatment of offenders with mental illness (Chen et al., 2011), (Martinaki et al., 2024), (Nishimura, 2023), (Woods, 2021), and one study indicated greater willingness to engage with individuals who had received treatment (Nishimura, 2023).

Mental health literacy and educational attainment were found to influence officer's attitudes and have the largest positive impact on them (Hebert, 2022), (Lary, 2007), (Melnikov et al., 2017), (Tomar et al., 2017). However, one study suggested that these types of educational interventions did not lead to reductions in the negative attitudes of undergraduate students (Mulay, 2018).

Reintegration

Five studies assessed the stigma people have towards the reintegration of offenders with mental illness (Craven, 2024), (Seaward et al., 2023), (Weaver et al., 2019, Woods, 2021, Worthington and Rossetti, 2020). Overall, public attitudes towards offenders (Craven, 2024) and their reintegration (Seaward et al., 2023), (Weaver et al., 2019, Woods, 2021, Worthington and Rossetti, 2020) were positive. Additionally, one study (Seaward et al., 2023) showed that mental health professionals considered older offenders with mental illness as full members of society once they had completed their sentence and treatment. However, professionals reported that these offenders face greater social distance and difficulties in their reintegration (Seaward et al., 2023).

Employment

Three studies reported higher stigma and a reduced likelihood of being hired for offenders with mental illness (Batastini et al., 2014, Batastini et al., 2017), (Darakai et al., 2017). Familiarity with these offenders was associated with reduced stigma among students (Batastini et al., 2014). Another study found that hiring professionals with more familiarity with applicants with a criminal history or mental illness were less willing to hire them (Batastini et al., 2017). Conversely, one study (Darakai et al., 2017) found that sentence length had no significant impact on the general public's attitudes toward ex-offenders' employability.

Decision-making

Five studies evaluated people's attitudes in relation to court decisions about offenders with mental illness (Eno Loudon, 2009), (Kostoroski, 2022), (Louden et al., 2018), (Mossière and Maeder, 2015), (Steadham, 2017). Two studies found that probation officers classified offenders with mental illness as higher risk than offenders without mental illness

(Eno Loudon, 2009), (Louden et al., 2018). Prison staff expressed pity towards offenders with mental illness (Steadham, 2017).

Two studies, where the general public served as mock-jurors, showed that the presence or absence of mental illness seemed to play a role in the juror's decision-making (Kostoroski, 2022), (Mossière and Maeder, 2015). Jurors were more confident of the defendant's guilt when they had a mental illness (Mossière and Maeder, 2015) and when it came to general public attitudes towards mental illness, those with more negative attitudes were more likely to select a guilty verdict (Kostoroski, 2022).

3. Ex-offenders

A total of forty-three studies examined the public's stigma towards ex-offenders (Benn, 2025), (Berry and Wiener, 2020), (Binnall et al., 2022, Bluen and Goodman, 1984, Brand and Clairborn, 1976), (Crawford, 2024), (De Domenico, 2018), (Denver and DeWitt, 2023), (Edwards and Mottarella, 2015), (Evans et al., 2019, Everidge, 2011, Fahmy et al., 2018, Furst and Evans, 2017, Graber and Zitek, 2022), (Clark et al., 2020), (Hipes, 2019, Hirschfield and Piquero, 2010, Homant and Kennedy, 1982, Ike et al., 2023, Jackl, 2023), (Kuhn, 2019), (Kuhn, 2020), (Leasure and Kaminski, 2021, Leasure and Martin, 2017, Lindsay, 2023), (Martin, 2022), (Mikkelson and Schweitzer, 2019), (Moak et al., 2020), (O'Sullivan et al., 2017), (Ott and McTier, 2020, Ouellette et al., 2017, Overton et al., 2022), (Pager and Quillian, 2005), (Riley, 2022, Robertson, 2021, Rovira, 2019), (Schneider and Weber, 2020), (Sever and Özdemir, 2021, Shi et al., 2022, Shin, 2022), (Singh, 1978), (Sugie et al., 2020), (Uggen et al., 2014).

General stigma

Twelve studies evaluated the stigma the public holds towards ex-offenders ((Binnall et al., 2022), (Edwards and Mottarella, 2015), (Evans et al., 2019, Everidge, 2011), (Hirschfield and Piquero, 2010), (Homant and Kennedy, 1982), (Jackl, 2023), (Ott and McTier, 2020), (Overton et al., 2022), (Schneider and Weber, 2020), (Shi et al., 2022), (Singh, 1978)). Five studies reported positive attitudes (Binnall et al., 2022), (Hirschfield and Piquero, 2010), (Homant and Kennedy, 1982), (Jackl, 2023), (Ott and McTier, 2020), and one study reported less discriminatory behaviour (Schneider and Weber, 2020). Two studies focused on college student's attitudes towards colleagues who were ex-offenders (Binnall et al., 2022), (Ott and McTier, 2020) found that students did not perceive ex-offenders as dishonest or dangerous individuals (Ott and McTier, 2020). Similarly, having more contact with ex-offenders decreased stigma (Binnall et al., 2022).

Conversely, six studies reported negative attitudes towards ex-offenders (Edwards and Mottarella, 2015), (Evans et al., 2019, Everidge, 2011), (Overton et al., 2022), (Shi et

al., 2022), (Singh, 1978). Two studies, which examined college student's views on ex-offenders colleagues, found that ex-offender students were viewed more negatively than students with no criminal history (Evans et al., 2019), (Overton et al., 2022). Additionally, three studies suggested that both student and general public samples preferred social distance from ex-offenders, with a higher perception of dangerousness and distrust (Shi et al., 2022), (Singh, 1978), (Edwards and Mottarella, 2015).

Three studies, two involving the general public and one involving university students, found that exposure to ex-offenders helped soften people's perceptions. Furthermore, having received treatment had a significant positive impact on people's attitudes (Hirschfield and Piquero, 2010), (Edwards and Mottarella, 2015), helping to reduce stereotypes (Schneider and Weber, 2020).

Reintegration

Five studies assessed the difficulties and stigma associated with the reintegration of ex-offenders (De Domenico, 2018), (Ike et al., 2023), (Moak et al., 2020), (O'Sullivan et al., 2017), (Ott and McTier, 2020). Four studies showed that there is a generally positive attitude towards the reintegration of ex-offenders (De Domenico, 2018), (Moak et al., 2020), (O'Sullivan et al., 2017), (Ott and McTier, 2020).

On the other hand, one study showed negative attitudes from the general public towards ex-offenders and their reintegration, considering that they would reoffend if they had the opportunity (Ike et al., 2023).

Employment

Twenty-one studies examined stigma towards ex-offenders searching for employment (Benn, 2025), (Bluen and Goodman, 1984, Brand and Clairborn, 1976), (Crawford, 2024), (Denver and DeWitt, 2023), (Graber and Zitek, 2022), (Hipes, 2019), (Kuhn, 2019), (Kuhn, 2020), (Leasure and Kaminski, 2021), (Lindsay, 2023), (Martin, 2022), (Mikkelson and Schweitzer, 2019), (Pager and Quillian, 2005), (Riley, 2022, Robertson, 2021, Rovira, 2019), (Sever and Özdemir, 2021), (Shin, 2022), (Sugie et al., 2020), (Uggen et al., 2014). Fifteen studies found that managers, students, and the general public were more willing to hire applicants with no criminal record than to hire ex-convicts, due to their appearance, hygiene, and criminal history (Bluen and Goodman, 1984, Brand and Clairborn, 1976), (Denver and DeWitt, 2023), (Graber and Zitek, 2022), (Kuhn, 2020), (Leasure and Kaminski, 2021), (Mikkelson and Schweitzer, 2019), (Pager and Quillian, 2005), (Riley, 2022), (Robertson, 2021, Rovira, 2019), (Sever and Özdemir, 2021), (Shin, 2022), (Sugie et al., 2020), (Uggen et al., 2014). Three studies reported discriminatory

behaviour from employers towards ex-offenders, as they were not selected for job openings (Kuhn, 2020), (Leasure and Kaminski, 2021), (Rovira, 2019).

Four studies found that managers were more reluctant to hire ex-offenders due to perceived risks of hiring them and doubts about trustworthiness (Benn, 2025), (Crawford, 2024), (Denver and DeWitt, 2023), (Sever and Özdemir, 2021). Ex-offenders were viewed as dangerous, less competent, and other workers tended to desire more social distance from them (Hipes, 2019), (Riley, 2022), (Shin, 2022), (Sugie et al., 2020). Two studies showed that hiring professionals were less likely to reject applicants when offences were several years old, as opposed to recent felonies (Kuhn, 2019), (Mikkelsen and Schweitzer, 2019).

However, three studies noted that managers value what an ex-offender can bring to a workplace, due to their determination and resilience (Benn, 2025), (Denver and DeWitt, 2023), (Martin, 2022). Two studies also showed that credentials had a positive impact on employers' and the general public's willingness to consider ex-offenders (Denver and DeWitt, 2023), (Lindsay, 2023).

In terms of the employer's experience, those who have worked with ex-offenders tend to be more open to hiring individuals with a criminal record (Riley, 2022).

Four studies, two exploring employer attitudes, one exploring student attitudes, and one examining discriminatory behaviour in a general public sample, showed that participants were more willing to hire ex-offenders if the individual explained their criminal history (Graber and Zitek, 2022), (Kuhn, 2020), (Martin, 2022), (Uggen et al., 2014).

Housing

Three studies investigated stigma towards ex-offenders in housing issues (Berry and Wiener, 2020), (Furst and Evans, 2017), (Leasure and Martin, 2017). One study found evidence of housing discrimination against ex-offenders, with a general stereotype of low competence and low warmth, as the public preferred renting to applicants with no criminal involvement rather than to ex-offenders (Berry and Wiener, 2020), expressing doubts about their financial solvency (Furst and Evans, 2017).

The severity of offences mattered. One study found that property managers were more likely to consider those with misdemeanor record than any other type of criminal history, and were also less likely to consider individuals with a recent felony conviction (Leasure and Martin, 2017).

Healthcare

One study examined the stigma present in the healthcare system towards ex-offenders (Fahmy et al., 2018). Using telephone calls to family and general physicians to check if they would make an appointment for an ex-offender, the study found that the likelihood of an appointment was lower if the ex-offender had been recently released (Fahmy et al., 2018).

Juvenile ex-offenders

One study assessed people's attitudes towards juvenile ex-offenders (Clark et al., 2020). Employer willingness to interview juvenile ex-offenders was lower if the individual had a juvenile criminal record. Senior managers, with a higher status within the company, were less likely to consider hiring juvenile ex-offenders, compared to staff directly involved in the hiring process (Clark et al., 2020).

4. Exonerees

A total of six studies examined the stigma from general public towards exonerees (Clow and Leach, 2015), (Hamovitch et al., 2023), (Kukucka et al., 2020, Kukucka et al., 2021), (Privitelli et al., 2024), (Tudor-Owen et al., 2019).

General stigma

Three studies examined stigma towards exonerees (Clow and Leach, 2015), (Kukucka et al., 2020), (Tudor-Owen et al., 2019). One study explored the stigma in a student sample, other study in a sample of hiring professionals and the other in a general public sample, respectively (Clow and Leach, 2015), (Kukucka et al., 2020), (Tudor-Owen et al., 2019). The studies showed low perceptions of warmth and competence (Clow and Leach, 2015) and more negative attitudes towards exonerees (Kukucka et al., 2020). One study that compared how exonerees and offenders are treated by the general public, found that exonerees that are perceived as guilty were viewed differently from those exonerees who were innocent or had been exonerated (Tudor-Owen et al., 2019).

When it comes to feelings displayed towards exonerees, one study showed that the general public believed that they were vulnerable and in need of support (Clow and Leach, 2015). Additionally, females exhibited a higher desired social distance than males, as did older individuals (Privitelli et al., 2024).

Employment

One study reported the attitudes that hiring professionals have towards exonerees when looking for a job (Kukucka et al., 2020). In terms of the strength of applications, criminal history did not significantly affect hiring professionals' ratings of the overall strength

of the application or their likelihood of interviewing the candidate. However, these hiring professionals rated the offender as significantly less trustworthy, conscientious or responsible were also more likely to offer the exoneree a lower wage compared to the applicants with no criminal involvement (Kukucka et al., 2020).

Housing

Two studies evaluated the landlord's stigma towards exonerees with regards to renting a house (Hamovitch et al., 2023), (Kukucka et al., 2021). Both studies found that exonerees were less likely to have the opportunity to rent a house, received fewer replies and had less chance of securing an available apartment, compared to those without involvement in the criminal legal system (Hamovitch et al., 2023), (Kukucka et al., 2021). Those who described themselves as "exonerees" received more encouraging replies than those described as "wrongly convicted" or "innocent" (Kukucka et al., 2021).

Discussion

Key findings

Findings relating to stigma towards offenders were mixed, with approximately half of the included studies reporting negative perceptions, while the other half described more positive perceptions. Stigma was most consistently expressed in relation to employment. Juvenile offenders were viewed more negatively than other types of offender groups. With respect to offenders with mental illness, our findings suggest that the public holds an overall positive attitude towards them, especially regarding reintegration, provided they receive adequate treatment and follow-up. Ex-offenders, were overall stigmatised, with over half of the studies documenting negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviours, particularly in employment and housing. Exonerees also faced stigma, with housing being the most affected area.

Across all types of offenders, greater proximity and more contact were associated with lower levels of stigma. Within the healthcare system and court decision-making, however, fear and prejudice persisted among professionals towards offenders and ex-offenders.

Comparison with the literature

This systematic review examined public attitudes towards offenders and ex-offenders across multiple life domains and offender subgroups, showing that they are overall stigmatised by the general public. While a previous systematic review conducted

with prison's staff, has suggested mixed results, with positive attitudes towards offenders, but also, some negative views, especially regarding reintegration (Hewson et al., 2022). Our findings suggest that crime severity influences public attitudes, as individuals with more violent offences on their criminal record were perceived more negatively, a finding consistent with previous research reporting that more negative attitudes are observed towards ex-offenders with a history of violent crimes (Rade et al., 2016). Furthermore, interpersonal contact seems to be a significant determinant of public attitudes, in line with a meta-analysis on public attitudes towards offenders, suggesting that the general public who are familiar with offenders or ex-offenders reports less negative attitudes towards them (Rade et al., 2016).

Regarding drug offenders, our review suggests mixed attitudes towards them, perceiving them as dirty, lazy and unproductive, a finding consistent with previous research (Moore et al., 2024). A systematic review about the causes and consequences of stigma towards individuals involved in the criminal legal system reported a cyclical relationship where greater substance use was linked to higher levels of internalised stigma, and stigma predicted increased substance use (Moore et al., 2024).

Our findings also suggest greater stigma expressed by students, while criminal legal professionals showed more positive attitudes, which aligns with previous findings (Kjelsberg et al., 2007).

With respect to stigma towards offenders with mental illness, our systematic review found that there is a desired social distance from the general public towards them, but also an overall positive attitude, especially towards their reintegration. This is consistent with previous findings, indicating that greater involvement in the criminal legal system and antisocial traits, along with poorer mental health, are linked to higher levels of stigma (Moore et al., 2024). However, previous results indicated that, contrary to expectations, offenders with mental illness received higher levels of sympathy and lower levels of stigma compared to offenders without mental illness (Tremelin and Beazley, 2024). This does not align with our findings, which show that offenders with mental illness, despite being viewed with more empathy, are also highly stigmatised and perceived as dangerous. On the other hand, our review also confirmed previous findings reporting that higher mental health literacy has been linked to reduced stigmatising attitudes towards mental health (Shapter, 2023).

Employment emerged as a central domain of stigma with ex-offenders often facing barriers from employers due to stigma, echoing previous findings of ex-offenders not maintaining an employment due to instability of available jobs, as well as workplace barriers and stigma that employers have towards hiring ex-offenders (Connell et al., 2023).

Strengths and limitations

This systematic review is the first comprehensive synthesis of public attitudes towards multiple offender subgroups (i.e. offenders, offenders with mental illness, ex-offenders and exonerees) and across various life domains. Methodological strengths include use of multiple databases, inclusion of studies from diverse countries and sociocultural contexts, enhancing representativeness, and generally moderate to high strong quality. No language restrictions were applied, thereby increasing the width and sensitivity of the review's search. Importantly, the large number of included studies in this review enhances the robustness of the findings.

However, this review also has limitations. First, sex offenders were excluded a priori, because stigma towards this group is qualitatively distinct, highly polarised, and extensively examined in a separate body of literature, which would have limited the conceptual coherence of the synthesis. Second, the predominance of cross-sectional design studies precludes causal inference. Third, most studies were conducted in Western countries which may imply a biased sociocultural and legal context representation. Fourth, a quantitative meta-analysis to define the exact stigma effect size was not possible, as studies used different sample types and stigma assessments that could not be grouped for meaningful analyses. Fifth, crime type and severity were inconsistently reported in the primary studies; thus it is unknown how the public's views may differ based on the crime's characteristics.

Implications of the results for future practice, policies and research

By identifying where stigma is most concentrated and where evidence is sparse, this review provides a more integrated understanding of how public stigma operates, with implications for research, policy, and practice aimed at reducing barriers faced by individuals with criminal records. Understanding the public attitudes towards offenders and ex-offenders and how stigma impacts the main life areas has implications for future practice, policies and research (Rade et al., 2016), (Kjelsberg et al., 2007), (Moore et al., 2024). While our review reports an overall stigma towards offenders and ex-offenders, future work should examine attitudes towards different types of offenses and crime's characteristics, and broaden the cultural and legal context to ensure that the results are representative and culturally sensitive.

From a policy perspective, there is a clear need for anti-stigma interventions. It is critical to explore what shapes public attitudes toward ex-offenders, such as hidden beliefs and stereotypes, the role of family, and the influence of local legislation. It is also important to put this knowledge into practice by creating, applying, and testing anti-stigma programs

that can make community reintegration easier for ex-offenders (Rade et al., 2016). Future studies should investigate further how prison staff attitudes affect the success of rehabilitation programs, and how those attitudes might change through education and the sharing of accurate information. It is essential to raise awareness about the negative attitudes that people in the legal system face, to achieve better outcomes, especially among law enforcement and others in positions of authority (Kjelsberg et al., 2007).

Efforts that focus on reducing the stigma should be tailored to crime type and encourage direct personal contact with offenders and ex-offenders, as attitudes may change depending on the crime. Strategies should include campaigns, public and professional education and training, to raise awareness of the barriers ex-offenders face when reintegrating into the society and to help improve public perceptions (Rade et al., 2016).

For offenders with mental illness, future research should move beyond broad diagnostic categories and examine how specific conditions interact with criminal labels to shape stigma (Tremblin and Beazley, 2024). Education and direct contact experiences, training of professionals who work with people with mental illnesses are needed. Research should also test interventions targeting different forms of stigma, such as self-stigma and structural stigma, and targeting specific types of mental illness (McCulloch and Scrivano, 2023). Once interventions that successfully reduce stigma and build support for rehabilitation policies for justice-involved individuals with mental illness are identified, research should test how well these approaches work over time and whether they are effective for other stigmatised groups, such as sex offenders (Hernandez and Eno Loudon, 2025).

Regarding reintegration and employment, there are programs that help people secure stable jobs. Practitioners should focus on improving workplace environments, including practices for reducing stigma. This may include working with employers, supporting applications for secure jobs, teaching soft and life skills that help individuals maintain employments, and providing support for health and other needs in underserved communities (Connell et al., 2023).

More broadly, key knowledge gaps identified by this review include limited longitudinal research, underrepresentation of non-Western contexts, inconsistent reporting of offence characteristics, and insufficient examination of exonerees and juvenile offenders. Addressing these gaps would substantially advance understanding of stigma and reintegration.

Conclusions

This systematic review demonstrates that public stigma towards offenders, ex-offenders, offenders with mental illness, and those who have been exonerated, although somewhat more positive, are still pervasive, and unevenly distributed across life domains and populations.

The findings show that offenders and juvenile offenders face attitudes from mixed to negative, with more stigma related to employment. For offenders with mental illness, there is more support for treatment and reintegration; however, perceptions of dangerousness and fear are still present. Ex-offenders and exonerees face stigma, especially when seeking jobs and housing.

To reduce this stigma and discrimination, it is necessary to implement anti-stigma interventions and positive interpersonal contact. Future research should also explore other influences on public attitudes, and focus on specific crimes and mental health disorders to develop targeted interventions that are more effective.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I – Quality assessment of the included studies

	SECTION A: Study validity						SECTION B: Results precision			SECTION C: Contribution to local context
Authors/ year	1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?	2. Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?	3. Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?	4. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?	5. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	6. Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?	7. Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?	8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	9. Is there a clear statement of findings?	10. How valuable is the research?

Qualitative studies

Crawford (2024)	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES
Dako-Gyeke & Baffour (2016)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES
Everidge (2011)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Komalasari et al. (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES
Martin (2022)	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mulay (2018)	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES
Riley (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES
Seaward et al. (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Sever & Ozdemir (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES
Vorstenbosch et al. (2025)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES
Woods (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Appendix I – Quality assessment of the included studies

Authors/ year	SECTION A: Study validity										
	1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?	2. Did the authors use an appropriate method to answer their question?	3. Were the subjects recruited in an acceptable way?	4. Were the measures accurately measured to reduce bias?	5. Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	6. Did the study have enough participants to minimise the play of chance?	7. How are the results presented and what is the main result?	8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	9. Is there a clear statement of findings?	10. Can the results be applied to the local population?	11. How valuable is the research?

Cross-sectional studies

Avery et al. (2018)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Bandara et al. (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Batastini et al. (2014)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Batastini et al. (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Benn (2025)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Berry & Wiener (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Binnall & Petersen (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Binnall & Petersen (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Binnall et al. (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Bluen & Goodman (1984)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL
Brand & Clairborn (1976)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Buchanan & Keaton (2014)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Chen et al. (2011)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Clark et al. (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Clow & Leach (2015)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cote-Lussier (2016)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

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Cross-sectional studies

Craven (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Darakai et al. (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
de Domenico (2018)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Demski et al. (1984)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Denver & DeWitt (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Denver et al. (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
DePue et al. (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Dum et al. (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Earle (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Edwards & Mottarella (2015)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Ellmo (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Eno Loudon (2009)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Evans (2019)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Evans et al. (2025)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Evans et al. (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Evans et al. (2019)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

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Authors/ year	SECTION A: Study validity										
	1. Did the study adress a clearly focused issue?	2. Did the authors use an appropriate method to answer their question?	3. Were the subjects recruited in an acceptable way?	4. Were the measures accurately measured to reduce bias?	5. Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	6. Did the study have enough participants to minimise the play of chance?	7. How are the results presented and what is the main result?	8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	9. Is there a clear statement of findings?	10. Can the results be applied to the local population?	11. How valuable is the research?

Cross-sectional studies

Fahmy et al. (2018)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Furst & Evans (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Graber & Zitek (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Griller Clark et al. (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Haegerich (2003)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Haegerich et al. (2013)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Hamovitch et al. (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Hazelrigg (1967)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Hebert (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Helfgott & Gunnison (2008)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Hipes (2019)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Hirschfield & Piquero (2010)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Homant & Kennedy (1982)	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Ike et al. (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Jackl (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Jossie et al. (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Appendix I – Quality assessment of the included studies

Authors/ year	SECTION A: Study validity										
	1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?	2. Did the authors use an appropriate method to answer their question?	3. Were the subjects recruited in an acceptable way?	4. Were the measures accurately measured to reduce bias?	5. Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	6. Did the study have enough participants to minimise the play of chance?	7. How are the results presented and what is the main result?	8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	9. Is there a clear statement of findings?	10. Can the results be applied to the local population?	11. How valuable is the research?

Cross-sectional studies

Kostoroski (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Kuhn (2019)	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Kuhn (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Kukucka et al. (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Kukucka et al. (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Kunz & Kunz (2001)	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES
Lary (2007)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Leasure & Kaminski (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Leasure & Martin (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Lindsay (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Louden et al. (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Louden et al. (2018)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
MacLin & Herrera (2006)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Martinaki et al. (2024)	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Melnikov et al. (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Mikkelsen & Schweitzer (2019)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES

Appendix I – Quality assessment of the included studies

Authors/ year	SECTION A: Study validity										
	1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?	2. Did the authors use an appropriate method to answer their question?	3. Were the subjects recruited in an acceptable way?	4. Were the measures accurately measured to reduce bias?	5. Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	6. Did the study have enough participants to minimise the play of chance?	7. How are the results presented and what is the main result?	8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	9. Is there a clear statement of findings?	10. Can the results be applied to the local population?	11. How valuable is the research?

Cross-sectional studies

Moak et al. (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Moore et al. (2013)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Moore et al. (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Morgan et al. (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mossière & Maeder (2015)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mulay (2018)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Nishimura (2025)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
O'Sullivan et al. (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Oliveira et al. (2016)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Ott & McTier (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Ouellette et al. (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Overton et al. (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Overton et al. (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Pager & Quillian (2005)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Peters (1969)	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Petty & Wiener (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Appendix I – Quality assessment of the included studies

Authors/ year	SECTION A: Study validity										
	1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?	2. Did the authors use an appropriate method to answer their question?	3. Were the subjects recruited in an acceptable way?	4. Were the measures accurately measured to reduce bias?	5. Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	6. Did the study have enough participants to minimise the play of chance?	7. How are the results presented and what is the main result?	8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	9. Is there a clear statement of findings?	10. Can the results be applied to the local population?	11. How valuable is the research?

Cross-sectional studies

Privitelli et al. (2023)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Reed & Reed (1973)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Robertson (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Rovira (2019)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Schaefer & Williams (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Schneider & Weber (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Schwalbe et al. (2013)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Sever & Ozdemir (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Shi et al. (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Shin (2022)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Siebert et al. (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Silver et al. (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Silverman et al. (1976)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Singh (1978)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	CAN'T TELL
Sophia et al. (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Steadham (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Appendix I – Quality assessment of the included studies

SECTION A: Study validity											
Authors/ year	1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?	2. Did the authors use an appropriate method to answer their question?	3. Were the subjects recruited in an acceptable way?	4. Were the measures accurately measured to reduce bias?	5. Were the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	6. Did the study have enough participants to minimise the play of chance?	7. How are the results presented and what is the main result?	8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	9. Is there a clear statement of findings?	10. Can the results be applied to the local population?	11. How valuable is the research?

Cross-sectional studies

Sugie et al. (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Sutherland et al. (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Tapia (2024)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Tomar et al. (2017)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Tudor-Owen et al. (2019)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Uggen et al. (2014)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Vorstenbosch et al. (2025)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Walkden et al. (2021)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Weaver et al. (2019)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES
Worthington & Rossetti (2020)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CAN'T TELL	YES

Appendix II – Justifications for exclusion of full-text screened studies

Authors	Title	Reasons for exclusion
Abenzoza & Arjona (2017)	Socrates behind bars: a report on an experimental course on justice and philosophy	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Ali et al. (2017)	Managing a perilous stigma: Ex-offenders' use of reparative impression management tactics in hiring contexts	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Allen (2002)	'There Must be Some Way of Dealing with Kids': Young Offenders, Public Attitudes and Policy Change	Not a primary study
Anazodo et al. (2017)	Employment and desistance from crime	Not a primary study
Ayers & Frank (1987)	Deciding to prosecute white-collar crime: A national survey of state attorneys general	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Bacigalupo (2022)	Empathy and public attitudes toward alternatives to incarceration for criminal punishment	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Bacon et al. (2021)	Understanding Public Attitudes to Hate: Developing and Testing a U.K. Version of the Hate Crime Beliefs Scale	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Baur et al. (2018)	Beyond banning the box: A conceptual model of the stigmatization of ex-offenders in the workplace	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Binnall et al. (2024)	Is the taint argument real? Public perceptions of juries that include felon-jurors	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Boag & Wilson (2013)	Does engaging with serious offenders change students' attitude and empathy toward offenders? A thematic analysis	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Brubacher (2019)	Moral concerns, criminal punishment, and whether offenders in general or individual offenders are being considered	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Buanovac et al. (2002)	Factorial structure of attitudes toward the convicts and their rehabilitation of Slovenian and Croatian respondents	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Burton et al. (2020)	Belief in redeemability and punitive public opinion: "Once a criminal, always a criminal" revisited	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Burton et al. (2021)	Beyond the eternal criminal record: Public support for expungement	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Cano et al. (2020)	Stigma related to health conditions and offending behaviors: Social distance among students of health and social sciences	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Chen et al. (2013)	The comparison of disposal attitudes towards forensic psychiatric patients among police officers, psychiatrists and community members in China	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Cudjoe (1994)	Inmate-staff perception, social distance and help-seeking behaviour of incarcerated female offenders	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Cunningham (2017)	An exploratory study of therapists' perceptions about violent female offenders and their influence on the provision of therapeutic services	No measure of stigma/ attitudes

Appendix II – Justifications for exclusion of full-text screened studies

Authors	Title	Reasons for exclusion
DeMarco (2023)	Criminal record stigma, race, and neighborhood inequality	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Denver et al. (2018)	Criminal Records and Employment: A Survey of Experiences and Attitudes in the United States	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Devinney & Thomas (1980)	The stigma associated with various criminal offenses in hiring decisions	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
DeWitt & Denver (2020)	Criminal records, positive employment credentials, and race	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Fishel (2023)	How solid is the foundation? Assessing jurors' pre-trial application of the presumption of innocence	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Galardi & Settersten (2018)	They're just made up different: Juvenile correctional staff perceptions of incarcerated boys and girls	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Gaston & Carnevale (2023)	Criminal records and employment restrictions in Argentina: Between post-sentence discrimination and resistance strategies	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Gerard & Crookes (2024)	Negotiating challenges faced by homicide offenders upon their release from prison: A thematic analysis	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Givens et al. (2022)	Mental illness-related stigma among probation officers	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Greene et al. (2017)	Stereotypes influence beliefs about transfer and sentencing of juvenile offenders	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Grounds (2019)	Discrimination against offenders with mental disorder	Not a primary study
Gunnison & Helfgott (2011)	Factors that hinder offender reentry success: A view from community corrections officers	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Gunnison et al. (2015)	Correctional Practitioners on Reentry: A Missed Perspective	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Gurian (2015)	Lawyers' perceptions of female homicide offenders	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Hoadley (2024)	Intersectional stigma and discrimination among justice-involved adults with co-occurring opioid use and mental health disorder	Sample is offenders
Khasni et al. (2023)	A theory of planned behaviour: Perspective on rehiring ex-offenders	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Larson et al. (2022)	Felon history and change in U.S. employment rates	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Lehmann et al. (2020)	Public opinion on criminal records and employment: A test of competing theoretical models	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Macrae & Shepherd (1989)	Do criminal stereotypes mediate juridic judgements?	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Mears et al. (2013)	Housing for the "Worst of the Worst" Inmates: Public Support for Supermax Prisons	Not towards prisoners or ex-offenders
Mesko & Hacin (2019)	Social distance between prisoners and prison staff	Sample is offenders
Miller (2023)	The relationship of a hypothetical defendant's mental health status to mock jurors' opinions about guilt and sentencing in a simulated criminal complaint	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Miller & Metzner (1994)	Psychiatric stigma in correctional facilities	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Silvia (2023)	Public opinion of formerly incarcerated individuals who attend treatment for substance use	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Van Knippenberg et al. (1999)	Judgement and memory of a criminal act: The effects of stereotypes and cognitive load	No measure of stigma/ attitudes
Vorstenbosch et al. (2022)	Measuring professional stigma towards patients with a forensic mental health status: protocol for a Delphi consensus study on the design of a questionnaire	Not a primary study

Appendix III – PRISMA checklist

Section and Topic	Item #	Checklist item	Location where item is reported
TITLE			
Title	1	Identify the report as a systematic review.	Cover page
ABSTRACT			
Abstract	2	See the PRISMA 2020 for Abstracts checklist.	Page IV
INTRODUCTION			
Rationale	3	Describe the rationale for the review in the context of existing knowledge.	Page 1,2
Objectives	4	Provide an explicit statement of the objective(s) or question(s) the review addresses.	Page 1,2
METHODS			
Eligibility criteria	5	Specify the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the review and how studies were grouped for the syntheses.	Page 3
Information sources	6	Specify all databases, registers, websites, organisations, reference lists and other sources searched or consulted to identify studies. Specify the date when each source was last searched or consulted.	Page 3
Search strategy	7	Present the full search strategies for all databases, registers and websites, including any filters and limits used.	Page 3
Selection process	8	Specify the methods used to decide whether a study met the inclusion criteria of the review, including how many reviewers screened each record and each report retrieved, whether they worked independently, and if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	Page 3
Data collection process	9	Specify the methods used to collect data from reports, including how many reviewers collected data from each report, whether they worked independently, any processes for obtaining or confirming data from study investigators, and if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	Page 3,4
Data items	10a	List and define all outcomes for which data were sought. Specify whether all results that were compatible with each outcome domain in each study were sought (e.g. for all measures, time points, analyses), and if not, the methods used to decide which results to collect.	Page 3,4
	10b	List and define all other variables for which data were sought (e.g. participant and intervention characteristics, funding sources). Describe any assumptions made about any missing or unclear information.	Page 4
Study risk of bias assessment	11	Specify the methods used to assess risk of bias in the included studies, including details of the tool(s) used, how many reviewers assessed each study and whether they worked independently, and if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	Page 4
Effect measures	12	Specify for each outcome the effect measure(s) (e.g. risk ratio, mean difference) used in the synthesis or presentation of results.	N/A

Appendix III – PRISMA checklist

Section and Topic	Item #	Checklist item	Location where item is reported
Synthesis methods	13a	Describe the processes used to decide which studies were eligible for each synthesis (e.g. tabulating the study intervention characteristics and comparing against the planned groups for each synthesis (item #5)).	N/A
	13b	Describe any methods required to prepare the data for presentation or synthesis, such as handling of missing summary statistics, or data conversions.	N/A
	13c	Describe any methods used to tabulate or visually display results of individual studies and syntheses.	Page 4
	13d	Describe any methods used to synthesize results and provide a rationale for the choice(s). If meta-analysis was performed, describe the model(s), method(s) to identify the presence and extent of statistical heterogeneity, and software package(s) used.	N/A
	13e	Describe any methods used to explore possible causes of heterogeneity among study results (e.g. subgroup analysis, meta-regression).	N/A
	13f	Describe any sensitivity analyses conducted to assess robustness of the synthesized results.	N/A
Reporting bias assessment	14	Describe any methods used to assess risk of bias due to missing results in a synthesis (arising from reporting biases).	Page 4
Certainty assessment	15	Describe any methods used to assess certainty (or confidence) in the body of evidence for an outcome.	N/A
RESULTS			
Study selection	16a	Describe the results of the search and selection process, from the number of records identified in the search to the number of studies included in the review, ideally using a flow diagram.	Page 4-7; Figure 1
	16b	Cite studies that might appear to meet the inclusion criteria, but which were excluded, and explain why they were excluded.	Appendix II
Study characteristics	17	Cite each included study and present its characteristics.	Page 4-42
Risk of bias in studies	18	Present assessments of risk of bias for each included study.	Appendix I
Results of individual studies	19	For all outcomes, present, for each study: (a) summary statistics for each group (where appropriate) and (b) an effect estimate and its precision (e.g. confidence/credible interval), ideally using structured tables or plots.	N/A
Results of syntheses	20a	For each synthesis, briefly summarise the characteristics and risk of bias among contributing studies.	N/A
	20b	Present results of all statistical syntheses conducted. If meta-analysis was done, present for each the summary estimate and its precision (e.g. confidence/credible interval) and measures of statistical heterogeneity. If comparing groups, describe the direction of the effect.	N/A
	20c	Present results of all investigations of possible causes of heterogeneity among study results.	N/A
	20d	Present results of all sensitivity analyses conducted to assess the robustness of the synthesized results.	N/A

Appendix III – PRISMA checklist

Section and Topic	Item #	Checklist item	Location where item is reported
Reporting biases	21	Present assessments of risk of bias due to missing results (arising from reporting biases) for each synthesis assessed.	N/A
Certainty of evidence	22	Present assessments of certainty (or confidence) in the body of evidence for each outcome assessed.	N/A
DISCUSSION			
Discussion	23a	Provide a general interpretation of the results in the context of other evidence.	Page 42-45
	23b	Discuss any limitations of the evidence included in the review.	Page 43
	23c	Discuss any limitations of the review processes used.	Page 44
	23d	Discuss implications of the results for practice, policy, and future research.	Page 44, 45
OTHER INFORMATION			
Registration and protocol	24a	Provide registration information for the review, including register name and registration number, or state that the review was not registered.	Page 3
	24b	Indicate where the review protocol can be accessed, or state that a protocol was not prepared.	Page 3
	24c	Describe and explain any amendments to information provided at registration or in the protocol.	N/A
Support	25	Describe sources of financial or non-financial support for the review, and the role of the funders or sponsors in the review.	Page 44
Competing interests	26	Declare any competing interests of review authors.	Page 44
Availability of data, code and other materials	27	Report which of the following are publicly available and where they can be found: template data collection forms; data extracted from included studies; data used for all analyses; analytic code; any other materials used in the review.	Table 1