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IN THE SHOES OF THE OFFENDER:
The Effect of Self-Reflection & Motivation to Control Prejudices
on Perspective Taking

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Abstract

In this study the effects that self-reflection of either ‘criminal’ or ‘good deeds’ and the offender’s group membership had on participants’ willingness to take the perspective of an offender were investigated. Additionally, this study tried to examine which role participants’ motivation to control prejudiced reactions played in their willingness to take the perspective of an offender. It was expected that participants who were reminded of own ‘criminal deeds’ were less willing to take the perspective of an in-group offender than the perspective of an out-group offender. If they were reminded of their own ‘good deeds’ it was expected to be the other way round. For the control-group an intermediate level of perspective taking was anticipated. Furthermore, it was expected that participants who were reminded of their own ‘criminal deeds’ would be higher motivated to control prejudiced reactions. Furthermore, a high motivation to control prejudiced reactions was associated with a high willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender and a low willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender. A 2 (self-reflection: ‘criminal deeds’ vs. ‘good deeds’) x 3 (‘in-group’ vs. ‘out-group’ vs. ‘control group’) between participants design was used. 250 Germans ($M = 28.69$; $SD = 11.16$) filled out the online-questionnaire. Like expected a significant interaction-effect could be found between participants’ self-reflection and the offender’s group membership on participants’ willingness to take perspective. A higher motivation to control prejudiced reactions for participants who were reminded of own ‘criminal deeds’ could also be confirmed. Furthermore, different explanations for people’s willingness to take the perspective of an offender were discovered. The results of this study and implications for further research were reviewed in the discussion section.

Introduction

About 400 people live in the small German village Insel, including two convicted sex offenders. Since those two were released and moved into the village the citizens' opinions are divided. The majority of them are demonstrating against the moving in of the sex offenders. However, there are some citizens who try to integrate the two offenders into the community of Insel, although they have raped women several times under the influence of alcohol. An acquaintance of both offered them the opportunity to move in his vacant house in Insel. Another inhabitant of Insel also wanted to help the offenders. A woman, living over 40 years in Insel, said that she had learned that everyone could end up in the dock. She expressed her empathy for the two offenders with flyers that she distributed in the village. Since then nearly everyone in the village avoids her. At the same time the demonstrations continue and one can read statements like "We are not your therapy. Good bye!" on the posters of the citizens (Spiegel Online Panorama, 2011).

Strong reactions like this are not surprising when it comes to sexual or violent criminals. Rejection and exclusion of criminals can be a result of labeling or stigmatization (Mooney, Cohn & Swift, 1992). Once offenders have a label as being criminal it is difficult to get rid of it because people tend to focus on the inner negative intentions of the offender and forget to think about the background of the offence (Tannenbaum, 1983). As a result of the label as a criminal a stigma can arise. A stigma is a state in which the humanity from the person is questioned on the basis of the person's social identity and group membership (Crocker, Major & Steele, 1998). According to Pager (2003), offenders who have served their prison term get stigmatized because of their criminal past. This has a strong impact on the life of the offenders. Research shows that employers avoid hiring people with a criminal history and additionally offenders can lose their whole social network (Coleman, 1988; Hagan, 1993). As a result of stigma and labeling some criminals have to reconsider illegal activities in order to gain money and so they could fall back into criminal behavior (Hutcherson, 2012). For that reason it is necessary to promote reintegration of ex-prisoners by understanding when and why people are willing to reintegrate offenders.

Miller, Gordon and Buddie (1999) state that searching for explicit explanations for criminal behavior should lead to a more tolerant attitude towards the offender. According to the authors searching for explanations promotes people's willingness to think about the background of the offences, the motives of the offenders and their justification. Furthermore Batson (1991) states that empathy can improve people's attitude towards one stigmatized individual and also towards its whole in-group. One process that can instigate empathy is perspective taking (Batson, Early & Salvarani, 1997). Persons who take the perspective of another person can see parts of themselves in the other person and this influences positively how they describes and evaluates the other person (Galinsky, Ku & Wang, 2005).

Following this, trying to understand (here: perspective taking) what led an offender to commit a crime can promote empathic feelings and promote a more tolerant attitude towards the offender. But through which factors can perspective taking be promoted? Is perspective taking influenced by certain characteristics of the offender such as the social group membership? And does people's self-reflection of their own criminal deeds endorse a greater willingness to take the perspective of an offender? Different research indicates that group membership (Zebel, Doosje, Spears & Vliek, 2010; Schrimpf, 2013; Brink, 2012) and people's self-reflection of their own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' (Zwicker, 2014) can influence their willingness to take the perspective of an offender. According to Zwicker's study (2014) self-reflection of own criminal deeds causes a greater likelihood to take the perspective of an out-group offender and self-reflection of own 'good deeds' leads to a greater likelihood to take the perspective of an in-group offender. It can be presumed that this effect is connected to the fact that in-group members treat out-group offenders more leniently to protect their own image and those of their group by demonstrating that they are unprejudiced (Braun & Gollwitzer, 2012).

Referring to this, the current study tries to answer which influence self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' and the offender's group membership has on the willingness to take the perspective of the offender. Furthermore this study tries to figure out which role people's motivation to control their prejudiced reactions plays in their willingness to take the perspective of an offender.

Perspective taking

Research in the field of promoting social justice and altruism has shown that adopting other's point of view is a good option. The focus of such research lay mostly on sympathy and empathy by taking others perspective (Batson, 1991; Davis, 1994). Research has proven that empathy is not only the mediator between altruism and perspective taking (Batson et al., 1997) but people experience empathic feelings while they take others perspective (Batson, Chang, Orr & Rowland, 2002). According to Davis, Conklin, Smith and Luce (1996) perspective taking increases a perceived self-other overlap between the perspective taker and its target which elicits pro-social conduct through fostering a shared identity.

Additionally, Batson (1991) found that empathy does not only improve people's attitude towards one stigmatized individual but also towards its' whole group. By taking the perspective of an out-group member feelings of empathy are elicited and can also generalize into a positive attitude towards the entire out-group. Empathy elicited by perspective taking thus has a potential to minimize prejudices towards out-groups (Batson et al., 1997; Clore & Jeffery, 1972). Batson et al. (1997) showed in their study that even taking the perspective of a criminal is possible. In this study people who took the perspective of a convicted murderer had more empathic feelings towards the offender than people who did not take the perspective of the offender. One fact concerning this study that must be taken into account is that these empathic feelings manifested themselves only several weeks after

the people had taken the perspective of the offender. Nevertheless, there are also some limits regarding perspective taking which are discussed in the following paragraph.

Limits of perspective taking

Vescio, Sechrist and Paolucci (2003) suggest that it is sometimes difficult to take the perspective of another person, especially if this person showed some behavior (e.g. an indefensible offence) that does not comply with someone's values. Furthermore Vescio et al. (2003) argue that people are afraid if they try to take the perspective of the offender they automatically approve the offence as well. Another threat concerning perspective taking is the development of too much sympathy for a criminal which is not endorsed by the society. According to Miller et al. (1999) a feeling of moral shame rises if the person seriously considers taking the part of the offender because people assume that there is a natural tendency to have empathic feelings with the victim and not the offender.

Actually, most people tend to judge criminals and their crimes harshly (Miller et al., 1999). Miller et al. (1999) found that offenders were less harshly judged if persons were asked to imagine explicit explanations for the crime. The authors suggest that formulating or thinking about explanations why the crime happened leads to the idea that the crime happens quite often. As a consequence people perceive the crime as less threatening and thus make a more positive judgment for the offender.

In the next paragraph the role of group membership and how people deal with the fact that the offender belongs to the own group (in-group) or to another group (out-group) is discussed.

Group membership

The group membership of the offender can influence the people's willingness to take the perspective of the offender (Bijvank, 2012; Brink, 2012) but what does group membership actually mean and how does a group defines itself? According to Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament (1971) there is a process called 'social categorization' which classifies people into different groups on the basis of common attributes that they share. People categorize other people into different groups, some people belong to one's own group (in-group) and other people belonging to another group (out-group). We categorize persons among our own social group if they share historical factors (nationality, religion, culture, political attitude) or biological factors (age, gender, sexuality or ethnicity) with us. In contrast, with people of another social group (out-group) we share little or not any attributes at all.

According to the social identity theory from Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986), people have the disposition to maintain a positive image of themselves and their group. To achieve this people may tend to favor in-group members over out-group members. The social identity theory states that

people's identity consists of two components. First a personal identity and second various social identities based on groups to which we belong. Thus, people can enhance their self-esteem not only through personal achievements but also through integration with a successful group. Additionally, in-group members usually try to differentiate themselves from the out-group and they try to achieve this by enforcing the positive image of their own group. Furthermore, people have a great tendency to minimize perceived similarities and maximize perceived differences with the out-group. As a result stereotypes concerning the out-group are formed and reinforced (Linville & Jones, 1980; Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino & Sacchi, 2002). The social identity theory can also be adapted to the commission of a crime. According to this, if an in-group member commits a crime this will have a negative effect on the social identity of the whole group. As a response people will judge members from their own group more leniency in order to protect the social identity of their group. As a consequence of protecting social identity, in-group members will be advantaged compared with out-group members (Castano et al., 2002)

To give an advantage to one's own group is in line with the attribution theory of Pettigrew (1979). The ultimate attribution error is made if non-normative behavior (e.g. committing a crime) of an in-group member is attributed to situational, external factors, while the same behavior of an out-group member is attributed to personal, internal factors. The ultimate attribution error is an explanation of the 'ingroup-lenieny effect' that aims to protect the positive image of the in-group. According to the 'ingroup-lenieny effect', the protection of the positive image of the in-group is reached by judging an in-group member more lenient than an out-group member (Pettigrew, 1979).

However the opposite effect can also occur, namely that in-group members are punished more harshly than out-group members. In order to protect or recover the positive image of the in-group the 'black-sheep-effect' occurs. According to Marques, Yzerbyt and Leynes (1988) the 'black-sheep effect' explains that being a member of the in-group is not an unconditional privilege, but can be ruthless when the in-group's rules and beliefs are violated. Non-normative behavior committed by an in-group member is judged or punished more negatively than the same behavior committed by an out-group member. Through this the in-group distances itself from the ill-behaving group member in order to maintain their positive group image (Marques et al., 1988).

Studies concerning people's willingness to take the perspective of different offenders have shown that people are less willing to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender (Bijvank, 2012; Brink, 2012). Similar to this, research has shown that when it comes to making a judgment on in- or out-group offenders, in-group offenders are punished more harshly than out-group offenders (Marques & Paez, 1994). Furthermore Zwicker (2014) found evidence that people are more willing to take the perspective of an out-group offender than of an in-group offender if they were in advance reminded of their own 'criminal deeds'. If they were reminded of their 'good deeds', people were more willing to take the perspective of the in-group than of the out-group offender.

One explanation for the effect that people who were reminded of own 'good deeds' are more

prone to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender can be that non-normative behavior from an in-group member causes a threat of the group image. In order to protect and maintain the positive group image people judge in-group members more leniently than out-group members (Pettigrew, 1979). An explanation for why people who were reminded of own 'criminal deeds' were more willing to take the perspective of an out-group offender can be that people who have once committed a crime try to distance themselves from offenders of their own group and punish them more harshly in order to show that they themselves are no criminals (Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010). Furthermore in order to recover one's own positive self-image, out-group offenders are punished less harshly in comparison to in-group offenders in order to show that oneself is unprejudiced (Braun & Gollwitzer, 2012).

This interactive main effect concerning the offender's group membership and self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' is examined in this study by investigating the following hypotheses:

A person's self-reflection of own 'criminal deeds' should lead to a lower willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender; in case of an offender with unknown group membership an intermediate level of perspective taking is expected (Hypothesis 1a).

A person's self-reflection of own 'good deeds' should lead to a greater willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender; in case of an offender with unknown group membership an intermediate level of perspective taking is expected (Hypothesis 1b).

The following paragraph discusses either the motivation to control prejudiced reactions and the role that self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' plays in people's willingness to take the perspective of an offender.

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions

According to the study of Zwicker (2014) it can be expected that participants who are confronted with their own 'criminal deeds' are more willing to take the perspective of the out-group than of the in-group offender. Vice versa, participants whose attention is drawn to their own 'good deeds' show a greater willingness to take the perspective of the in-group offender than of the out-group offender. One explanation can be that participants confronted with their own 'criminal deeds' show a greater motivation to control prejudiced reactions. They want to seem unprejudiced in order to maintain or repair their own positive self-image. Hence the following hypothesis should be examined in this study: A person's self-reflection of own 'criminal deeds' should lead to a greater motivation to control prejudiced reactions than if attention is drawn to own 'good deeds' (Hypothesis 2a). A main effect of self-reflection of own 'criminal deeds' on motivation to control prejudiced reactions is thus expected.

According to Braun and Gollwitzer (2012) in-group members treat offenders from the out-group more leniently to protect the image of the group: "the in-group can—internally and externally—

demonstrate that it is unprejudiced and that it endorses egalitarian values” (Braun & Gollwitzer, 2012, p.884). Furthermore lenient treatment of an offender from the out-group can also serve as a protection of the individual positive social identity and may be driven by its motivation to control prejudiced reactions (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998).

Another important factor of Braun and Gollwitzer’s (2012) study is the concept of moral credentials (Monin & Miller, 2001). This concept suggests that people who have shown their egalitarian orientation in a previous situation feel free to express prejudiced reactions in a following situation. The findings of Braun and Gollwitzer’s study support the assumption that leniency towards out-group members is a strategic reaction to protect ones own and the in-group image as being neither prejudiced nor anti-egalitarian: “leniency towards the out-group offender vanished when participants had otherwise shown that they are not prejudiced” (Braun & Gollwitzer, 2012, p. 887).

According to Merritt, Effron and Monin (2010) good deeds make people feel entitled to act in morally ambiguous ways because of a feeling of security in their moral self-regard: “For example, individuals whose past good deeds are fresh in their mind may feel less compelled to give to charity than individuals without such comforting recollections” (Merritt et al., 2010, p. 349). Merritt et al. (2010) suggest if people are confident that their earlier behavior has shown that they are unprejudiced, sympathetic or generous it is more likely that they will engage in morally dubious behavior without any fear of being heartless or selfish. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that even when people imagine to do something good (Khan & Dhar, 2006) or argue what they would ideally do (Tanner & Carlson, 2008) this can last out to reduce pro-social behavior. All in all, if people think about their previous moral behavior or merely express their own good intentions, it can entitle them to show a more selfish or prejudiced behavior (Merritt et al., 2010).

In this study it is expected that the level of motivation to control prejudiced reactions and the group membership of the offender trigger different responses on people’s willingness to take the perspective of an offender. A positive relation is expected for people’s motivation to control prejudiced reaction and their willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender. In contrast, a negative relation is expected for people’s motivation to control prejudiced reaction and their willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender (Hypothesis 2b).

Method

Design

The study design is a 2 (self-reflection of: 'criminal deeds' vs. 'good deeds') x 3 ('in-group' vs. 'out-group' vs. 'control group') between participants design. In all of the six conditions the participants were asked to take the perspective of the offender of a serious crime. In this research an online-survey on the *stools* was used to collect the data. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the six conditions.

Participants

The target group of this study were Germans, who were representing the in-group. Potential participants were recruited via Sona System, email and social networks and asked if they would like to participate in this study. Furthermore, participants sent the online-survey link to friends who fulfilled the requirements of this study (German nationality). Through this snowball system a greater number and a greater variety (e.g. gender, age) of participants could be reached.

A total amount of 292 people participated in this online study. The data of 42 participants had to be excluded from the study because they either failed to complete the whole survey (39 participants) or were not German (3 participants) and thus did not belong to the in-group. The majority of them stopped with the survey when it came to the point to take the perspective of the offender (73,8%). The remaining data from 250 participants (144 women and 106 males) was used as final sample for this research. All participants have stated that they filled out the survey seriously (score of 4 or higher on a scale from 0 to 6) and their age varied between 18 and 68 years ($M = 28.69$; $SD = 11.16$). The academic achievements ranged from secondary modern school qualification ("Hauptschulabschluss") to University degree (1,2% had a secondary modern school qualification "Hauptschulabschluss", 1,2% a middle school "Realschulabschluss", 2,8% a technical secondary school "Fachoberschule" 59,2% academic high school "Abitur", 1,6% comprehensive school vocational education "Gesamtschulabschluss", 1,6% vocational education "Berufsschulabschluss", 11,6% a University of Applied Science degree, 20,4% University degree, others education 0,4%). Furthermore, at least once during their lifetime 38,8% of the participants were victims of an offence and 66,8% knew somebody who was. 29,9% of the participants admitted that they have already committed an offense and 56% knew somebody who did.

Material & Procedure

Independent variables

Identification nationality: The participants were asked to declare to what extent they identify themselves with being German. The questions were asked in order to emphasize their German nationality, because Germans were representing the in-group of this study. The questionnaire from Leach et al. (2008) was translated into German and the 14 Items had a Likert scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) (see Appendix B). The questions contained five different aspects of national identification: solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping and in-group homogeneity (Appendix B). The reliability analysis showed that the first three scales had a good reliability (Solidarity: cronbach's $\alpha = .79$, satisfaction: cronbach's $\alpha = .83$, centrality: cronbach's $\alpha = .78$). The last two scales which consist of two items showed a significant correlation (individual self-stereotyping: pearson correlation = .74, in-group homogeneity: pearson correlation = .82).

Manipulation self-reflection of own criminal vs. good deeds: The seven questions concerning 'criminal' or 'good deeds' from Zwicker (2014) were used in order to manipulate participants on either becoming aware (self-reflection) of their own 'criminal deeds' or 'good deeds'. In the 'criminal deeds' condition participants should answer whether they have ever committed a 'criminal deed'. One example question is: "Did it ever happen that you threatened or used violence against somebody?" (Zwicker, 2014, own translation). In the 'good deeds' condition participants were asked to answer questions about 'good deeds' that they fulfilled. One example question is: "Have you ever donated something to a person/institution (e.g. money, clothes, furniture, food etc.)?" (Zwicker, 2014, own translation). The questions could be answered either with 'Yes' or 'No' (see Appendix C).

Manipulation check criminal vs. good deeds: In order to prove whether the manipulation of self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' was successful one question was asked per condition. In the 'criminal deeds' condition the following question was asked: "If you look back on the previous asked questions, are you aware that those were about criminal deeds that you have done?" and the question in the 'good deeds' condition was: "If you look back on the previous asked questions, are you aware that those were about morally good deeds that you have done?" (Zwicker, 2014, own translation) (see Appendix C). The questions could be answered either with 'Yes' or 'No'. A crosstab showed the differences among the six conditions. It turns out that the manipulation did not work for 16 of 250 participants. The manipulation failed for three participants (2,5%) in the 'criminal deeds' conditions and for 13 participants (10%) in the 'good deeds' conditions (see Appendix P, Table P1).

Manipulation group membership offender: In the end of the questionnaire the participants were asked to indicate their nationality (German/non-German) to ensure that they belong to the in-group of

this study. The target group of this study were Germans and thus the in-group offender was also German and the out-group offender non-German (Portuguese). All participants read a fictitious textual fragment developed by Zwicker (2014) that pretended to originate from a popular German news-website (hna). The fragment was similar in every condition with the exception of the offenders' group membership. In the in-group offender condition the offender was named Andreas W. and the heading of the fragment called the offender a German. In the out-group offender condition the offender was named Horacio P. and the heading called the offender a Portuguese. In the unknown group membership offender condition only the initials (H.B.) of the offender were named to cover the group membership (see Appendix E).

Manipulation check group membership offender: In order to check whether the participants were aware of the group membership of the offender, a control question was asked at the end of the survey (Appendix L). The manipulation of the group membership of the offender did not work for 25 participants of the out-group offender conditions (30,6%), for 28 participants of the in-group offender conditions (32,2%) and for 18 participants of the control-group offender conditions (21,85%) (see Appendix P, Table P2). Nevertheless, those participants were not excluded from the analysis because the manipulation of the group membership of the offender could have taken place unconsciously.¹

Instruction taking perspective of offender: In an instruction (see Appendix D) all participants were asked to take the perspective of the offender of the textual fragment. This instruction was given before they read the fictitious textual fragment. After they read the text the participants were asked to write down two thoughts and feelings that they had during reading about the offender and his offence. This exercise should encourage the perspective taking.

Dependent variables

Taking perspective: The extent of participants' willingness to take the perspective of the offender was measured with 13 items which were also used in the studies of Zebel, Doosje, Spears and Vliek (2010), Zwicker (2014) and Brink (2012). The items were referring to how difficult it was for the participants to immerse themselves in the offender and/or how willing they were to take the offenders perspective. There were four different scales with a Likert scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (very

¹ If the participants were excluded of the analysis the following effects increased slightly: Main effect of group membership on degree of perspective taking (PT); Interaction effect degree of PT; Main effect of group membership on resistance towards PT; Interaction effect resistance towards PT; Interaction effect admitting own prejudices; Main effect of group membership and self-reflection on judgment of the offender.

The following effects vanished: Main effect of self-reflection on degree of PT; Main effect of group membership on admitting own prejudices; Main effect of group membership on reliability of offender; Main effect of self-reflection on severity of the crime; Interaction effect frequency of the crime.

much) (see Appendix F). In seeking to establish to which extent the participants took the perspective of the offender the scale *degree to which the perspective was taken* was used (Appendix F; Item 25, 26, 28, 29, 30). The scale consists of 5 items and one example question is: “To what extent did you try to take the perspective of Andreas?” (“Inwieweit haben Sie versucht Andreas Perspektive einzunehmen?”). The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .87$). The scale *remaining objective towards the offender* (Appendix F; Item 27) consists of one item. In order to get to know to which extent the participant had experienced resistance towards taking the perspective of the offender the scale *resistance towards taking perspective* was used (Appendix F; Item 31, 33, 37). This scale consists of three items and had an acceptable reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .69$). One example question is: “To what extent did you experienced resistance when you tried to empathize with the offender?” (“Inwieweit haben sie einen Widerstand erfahren als Sie sich in den Täter einfühlen wollten?”). In seeking to establish whether the participants refused to take the perspective of the offender, because they were threatened to feel sympathy with the offender, the scale *no perspective taking through fear of sympathy* (Appendix F; Item 32, 34, 35, 36) were used. An example question is: “I did not want to empathize with the offender because I did not want to feel any sympathy with him” (“Ich wollte mich nicht in den Täter hineinversetzen, weil ich auf keine Art und Weise Sympathie für ihn empfinden möchte“). This scale contains four items and had a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .86$).

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions: For measuring the participants’ motivation to control prejudiced reactions the German-language questionnaire for detecting motivation to behave unprejudiced by Branse and Gawronski (2003) was used (Motivation zu vorurteilsfreiem Verhalten, MVV-16). The MVV-16 is derived from the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reaction-scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997) and its validity and reliability is proven (Branse & Gawronski, 2003). The questionnaire consists of 16 items and could be answered on a Likert scale ranking from 0 (not correct at all) to 5 (fully correct). The questionnaire can be divided into 3 scales. The first one is to measure the extent of the participant’s *behavioral control* which consists of 8 items (Appendix G; Items 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53). One example question is: “If I have thoughts or feelings that would discriminate others, I keep it to myself” (“Wenn ich Gedanken oder Gefühle habe, die andere diskriminieren, behalte ich sie für mich“). The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .74$). The second scale contains four items and measures to which extent the participant is *admitting own prejudices* (Appendix G; Items 38, 39, 42, 43). One example question is: “Every person has prejudices. It is essential to not be guided by those.” (“Jeder Mensch hat Vorurteile. Es kommt darauf an, sich nicht davon leiten zu lassen“). The reliability analysis showed that that it has a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .70$). In seeking to establish to which degree the participants try to present themselves as being without prejudices the third scale was used. The scale to measure *unprejudiced self-expression* consists of four items and one example question is: “It would be

embarrassing for me if someone would think that I have prejudices against offenders.” (“Es wäre mir unangenehm, wenn jemand glauben würde, dass ich Vorurteile gegenüber Straftätern hätte“) (Appendix G; Items 40, 48, 50, 51). The reliability analysis showed that it has an acceptable reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .68$).

Estimate of offender: In order to get a good estimate of the offender from the participants the 10 items from the questionnaire of Weiner, Graham, Peter and Zmuidinas (1991) were used. These items were answered on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (very much) (Appendix H). To estimate whether the participants found the statements of the offender reliable the scale *reliability of offender* was used (Appendix H; Items 54, 55, 56, 63). The scale consists of four items and one example question is: “To what extent do you perceive the offender’s statement as reliable?” (“Inwieweit empfinden Sie die Aussagen des Täters als glaubwürdig?”). The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .87$). The scale *planned in advance intention* (Appendix H; Item 57) consists of one item. In seeking to establish whether the participants think that the offender will commit crimes again the scale *recidivism-chance offender* was used (Appendix H Item 58, 59, 60, 61, 62). The scale consists of five items and one example question is: “How much do you believe that Horacio will change his behavior in the future?” („Für wie wahrscheinlich halten Sie es, dass Horacio sein Verhalten in Zukunft verändern wird?“) The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .84$).

Judgment of offender: The participants’ opinion about the offender was measured with the scale *judgment of offender* (Appendix I). There was a scale from -2 (cold) to +2 (warm) and it contains six items. The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .83$).

Norm activation: In seeking to establish how the participants assessed the crime itself two questions were used reflecting the findings of Miller et al. (1999) (see introduction section: Limits of perspective taking). The first question concerned the frequency of the crime: “How often do you think this kind of crime occurs?” (“Wie oft denken sie kommt diese Art von Straftat vor?”). The second one concerned the severity of the offence: “How serious do you consider this crime?” (“Wie ernst finden sie diese Straftat?”). The participants answered the questions on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (very rarely/ not at all) to 6 (very often/ very much) (Appendix J). The correlation analysis showed that the two items must be analyzed separately (pearson correlation= .22).

Social proximity: The scale from Schrimpf (2012) was used in order to measure the social proximity between the participant and the offender. The scale consists of four items and those could be answered on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). One example question is: “Offenders like Andreas could be also good friends of mine exactly like people without a criminal

history” (“Straftäter wie Andreas können genauso gute Freunde von mir sein, wie Menschen ohne kriminelle Vergangenheit“) (Appendix K). The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .75$).

Threat of self-image: To measure the level of threat of the participants’ self-image that should be caused by reminding them of their own ‘criminal deeds’, I constructed 8 items that were inspired by including the morality traits from Brambilla, Rusconi, Sacchi and Cherubini (2010) and Rosenberg’s questionnaire to measure personal self-esteem (1965). The participants were asked to indicate how they feel at that moment on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) (see Appendix M). An explorative factor analysis was used to construct the threat of self-image and resulted in three factors. The first scale consists of three items and measures the degree to which the participants had a *negative self-image* (Appendix M, Item 79, 80, 82). One example question is: “I think negative about myself” (“Ich denke negativ über mich selbst”). The reliability analysis showed that the scale had a good reliability (cronbach’s $\alpha = .85$). The second scale consists of three items and measures to which extent the participants had a *reliable self-image* of themselves (Appendix M, Item 81, 83, 84). One example question is: “I feel reliable” (“Ich fühle mich vertrauenswürdig”). The scale had a good reliability with a cronbach’s $\alpha = .81$. The last scale measures the extent to which the participant had a *positive self-image* and it consists of two items (Appendix M, Item 77, 78). One example question is: “I think positive about myself” (“Ich denke positiv über mich selbst”). The two items had an acceptable correlation (pearson correlation = .48).

Control variable: At the end of the questionnaire the participants were asked how serious they had participated in this study on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (very much). Furthermore, some demographical questions were asked (Appendix N). Finally, they were briefed about the topic of the study and over the fictive textual fragment of the offender (Appendix O).

Results

Univariate analyses of variance were conducted in order to get to know whether the offender’s group membership and the self-reflection of own ‘criminal’ or ‘good deeds’ had a significant influence on the dependent variables of this study (e.g. people’s willingness to take the perspective of the offender). Thus, self-reflection (here: ‘criminal deeds’ or ‘good deeds’) and the group membership of the offender (here: ‘in-group’ or ‘out-group’ or ‘unknown group membership’) were the ‘fixed factors’ of the variance analyses.

Perspective taking

Degree of perspective taking: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there was a main effect of offender's group membership on the degree of perspective taking $F(1, 251) = 5.21, p = .006$ (partial $\eta^2 = .040$). The participants were more prone to take the perspective of the out-group offender ($M = 4.87, SD = 0.11$) and the offender with unknown group membership ($M = 4.72, SD = 0.11$). In contrast they were less willing to take the perspective of the in-group offender ($M = 4.38, SD = 0.11$). There was also a marginal main effect of self-reflection on the degree of perspective taking $F(1, 251) = 3.29, p = .071$ (partial $\eta^2 = .013$). Thus, participants were more prone to take the perspective of the offender if they were reminded of their own 'good deeds' ($M = 4.77, SD = 0.09$) than if they were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' ($M = 4.54, SD = 0.09$).

Furthermore, there was also a significant interaction effect between self-reflection and group membership $F(1, 251) = 17.59, p < .001$ (partial $\eta^2 = .12$). Self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' had a high influence on both in-group and out-group offender, but less influence on the control condition where the group membership of the offender was unknown. Participants in the 'good deeds' condition had a lower willingness to take the perspective of an out-group ($M = 4.48, SD = 0.15$) than of an in-group offender ($M = 4.91, SD = 0.15$) while participants in the 'criminal deeds' condition were more willing to take the perspective of an out-group ($M = 5.25, SD = 0.16$) than of an in-group offender ($M = 3.86, SD = 0.16$). Furthermore in the 'criminal deeds' condition there was an intermediate level of perspective taking for the offender with unknown group membership ($M = 4.52, SD = 0.16$). This level increased in the 'good deeds' condition ($M = 4.92, SD = 0.16$). This is in accordance with the hypotheses 1a and 1b.

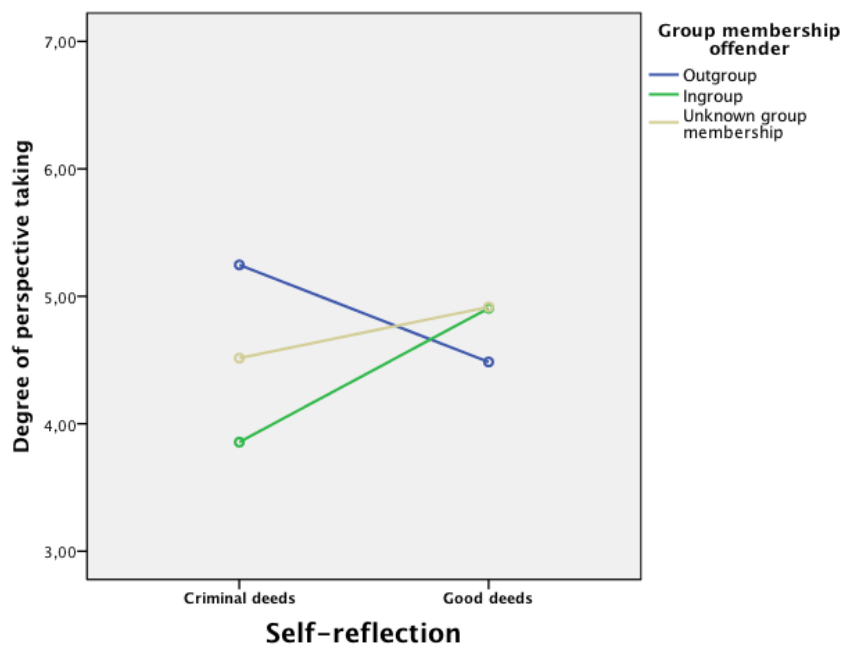


FIGURE 1: INTERACTION EFFECT OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND SELF-REFLECTION ON THE DEGREE OF PERSPECTIVE TAKING

Remaining objective towards the offender: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 1.94$, $p_s > .15$.

Resistance towards perspective taking: From the two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) it can be deducted that there was a main effect of the offender's group membership on resistance towards perspective taking $F(1, 251) = 4.64$, $p = .011$ (partial $\eta^2 = .036$). The participants perceived the biggest resistance when they tried to take the perspective of the in-group offender ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 0.13$), followed by the offender with unknown group membership ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 0.3$) and the out-group offender ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 0.12$). There was no main effect of self-reflection on resistance towards perspective taking $F(1, 251) = 0.05$, $p = .82$.

However, there was a significant interaction effect of self-reflection and group membership on resistance towards perspective taking $F(1, 251) = 7.68$, $p = .001$ (partial $\eta^2 = .058$). In the 'criminal deeds' conditions participant's resistance towards perspective taking was lower for the out-group offender ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 0.19$) than for the in-group offender ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 0.18$). The resistance towards perspective taking of the offender with unknown group membership lay in between ($M = 3.98$, $SD = 0.19$). In contrast, in the 'good deeds' condition participant's resistance towards perspective taking was lower for the offender with unknown group membership ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 0.18$) and higher for the out-group offender ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 0.17$). The participant's resistance towards taking the perspective of an in-group offender in the 'good deeds' condition lay in between ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 0.17$).

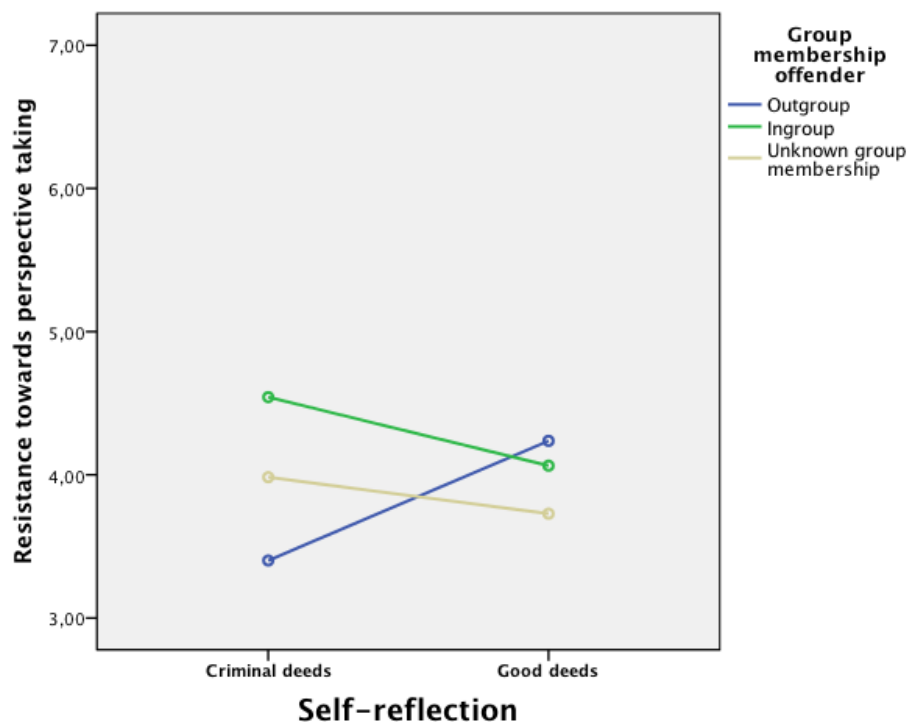


FIGURE 2. INTERACTION EFFECT OF SELF-REFLECTION AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP ON RESISTANCE TOWARDS PERSPECTIVE TAKING

No perspective taking through fear of sympathy: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there was no main effect of group membership on no perspective taking through fear of sympathy $F(1, 251) = 1.34, p = .27$ and also no main effect of self-reflection on no perspective taking through fear of sympathy $F(1, 251) = 0.02, p = .90$. However, there was a significant interaction effect between the offender's group membership and the participant's self-reflection on no perspective taking through fear of sympathy $F(1, 251) = 9.47, p < .001$ (partial $\eta^2 = .070$). The differences between self-reflection and no perspective taking through fear of sympathy were bigger for in- and out-group offenders than for offenders with unknown group membership. In the 'criminal deeds' conditions participants did not want to take the perspective of the offender because did not want to feel sympathy with the offender, especially if they were confronted with the in-group offender ($M = 3.26, SD = 0.20$). In the 'criminal deeds' condition participants were less afraid to feel sympathy with the out-group offender ($M = 2.35, SD = 0.21$). In contrast, in the 'good deeds' condition no perspective taking through fear of sympathy was higher for out-group ($M = 3.26, SD = 0.19$) and lower for in-group offenders ($M = 2.47, SD = 0.19$). For the offender with unknown group membership no perspective through fear of sympathy was nearly the same for both 'criminal deeds' ($M = 2.59, SD = 0.21$) and 'good deeds' ($M = 2.53, SD = 0.20$) conditions.

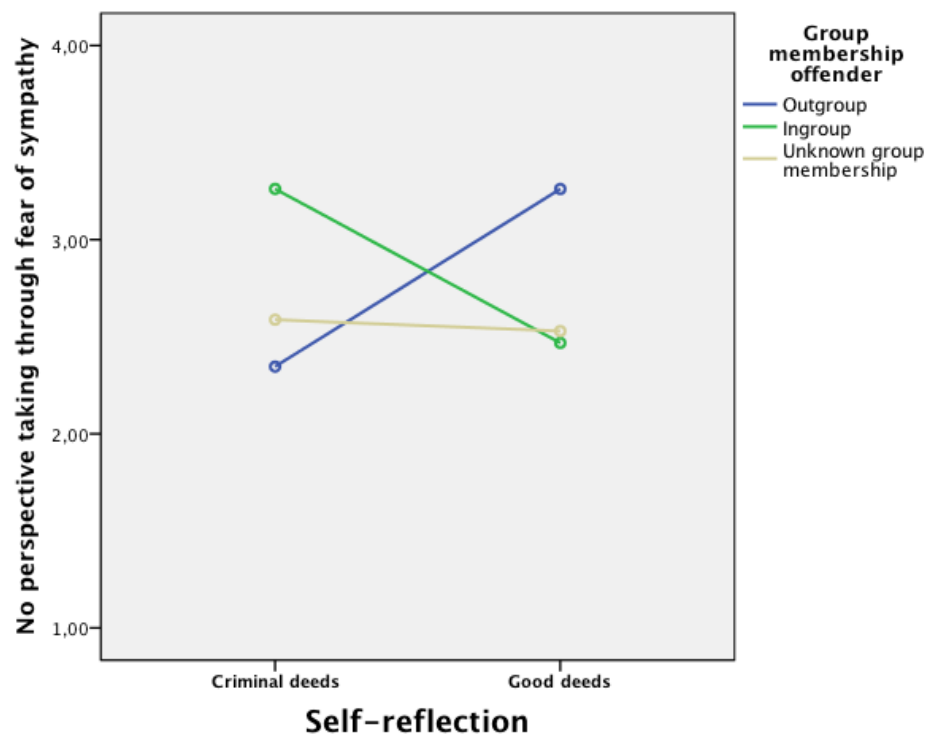


FIGURE 3. INTERACTION EFFECT OF SELF-REFLECTION AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP ON NO PERSPECTIVE TAKING THROUGH FEAR OF SYMPATHY

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions

Behavioral control: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 2.06$, all $p_s > .15$.

Admitting own prejudices: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there was no main effect of the offender's group membership on admitting own prejudice $F(1, 245) = 1.84, p = .16$. There was a marginal main effect of self-reflection on admitting own prejudice $F(1, 245) = 2.98, p = .086$ (partial $\eta^2 = .012$). Participants who were reminded of own 'criminal deeds' were more prone to admit own prejudices ($M = 4.97, SD = 0.06$) than those who were reminded of own 'good deeds' ($M = 4.82, SD = 0.06$). Furthermore, there was a significant interaction effect between self-reflection and group membership on admitting own prejudice $F(1, 245) = 5.43, p = .005$ (partial $\eta^2 = .042$). The differences between self-reflection and admitting own prejudice was bigger for out-group offender than for in-group offender and offender with unknown group membership. In the 'criminal deeds' condition the participants were more prone to admit own prejudices if they were confronted with the out-group offender ($M = 5.19, SD = 0.11$) than with the in-group offender ($M = 4.82, SD = 0.10$) or the offender with unknown group membership ($M = 4.89, SD = 0.10$). In the 'good deeds' conditions participants were less prone to admit their own prejudices in both conditions: out- ($M = 4.68, SD = 0.10$) and in-group offender ($M = 4.75, SD = 0.10$). In contrast, their proneness to admit own prejudices increased for the control condition (unknown group membership) ($M = 5.04, SD = 0.10$).

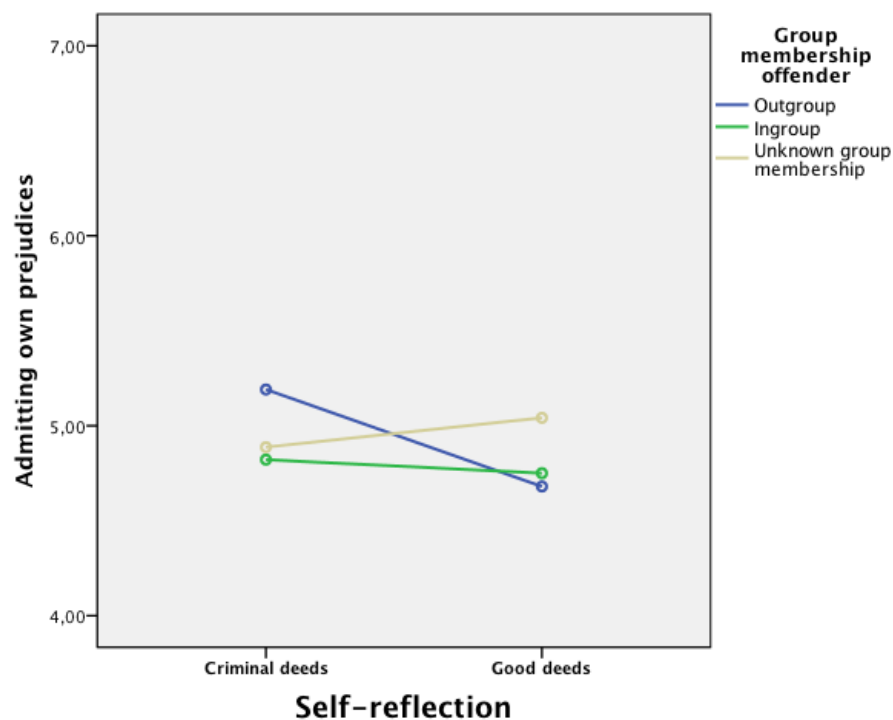


FIGURE 4. INTERACTION EFFECT OF SELF-REFLECTION AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP ON ADMITTING OWN PREJUDICES

Unprejudiced self-expression: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) illustrated that there was no main effect of the offender's group membership on unprejudiced self-expression $F(1, 245) = 0.59, p = .55$. However, there was a main effect of self-reflection on unprejudiced self-expression $F(1, 245) = 3.81, p = .052$ (partial $\eta^2 = .015$). In the 'criminal deeds' conditions participants' unprejudiced self-expression is higher than in the 'good deeds' conditions. This implies that participants' self-reflection on their own 'criminal deeds' leads to a greater willingness to show that they are unprejudiced ($M = 3.67, SD = .08$) than if they reflect about own 'good deeds' ($M = 3.45, SD = .08$). This is in line with hypothesis 2a. Nevertheless, there was no significant interaction effect $F(1, 245) = 0.24, p = .79$.

Estimate of the offender

Reliability of the offender: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there was a main effect of the offender's group membership on the reliability of the offender $F(1, 244) = 3.10, p = .047$ (partial $\eta^2 = .025$). The participants valued the reliability of the offender highly for the out-group offender ($M = 4.76, SD = 0.14$) and lower for the in-group offender ($M = 4.27, SD = 0.14$). The valued reliability of offender with the unknown group membership lay in between ($M = 4.50, SD = 0.14$). Furthermore, there was no main effect of self-reflection on the reliability of the offender $F(1, 244) = 0.56, p = .46$ and also no significant interaction effect $F(1, 244) = 0.08, p = .92$.

Planned in advance intention: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) illustrated that there was no main effect of the offender's group membership on planned in advance intention $F(1, 244) = 0.55, p = .58$. There was well a main effect of self-reflection on planned in advance intention $F(1, 244) = 5.20, p = .024$ (partial $\eta^2 = .021$). The participant's value about whether the offender planned the crime in advance was significant higher for all group memberships of the offender in the 'criminal deeds' conditions ($M = 3.14, SD = 0.14$) than in the 'good deeds' conditions ($M = 2.69, SD = 0.14$). Furthermore, there was no significant interaction effect $F(1, 244) = 0.08, p = .93$.

Recidivism-chance offender: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 2.53, p_s > .11$.

Judgment of offender

The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there was a main effect of the offender's group membership on the judgment of the offender $F(1, 244) = 3.26, p = .040$ (partial $\eta^2 = .026$). The participant's judgment of the offender was the best for the out-group offender ($M = 2.84, SD = 0.07$) and the worst for the in-group offender ($M = 2.62, SD = 0.06$). The offender with the

unknown group membership lay in between ($M= 2.70$, $SD= 0.06$). Furthermore, there was no main effect of self-reflection on the judgment of the offender $F(1, 244)= 1.06$, $p= .30$ and also no significant interaction effect $F(1, 244)= 0.74$, $p= .48$.

Norm activation

Frequency: According to the two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) there was no main effect of the offender's group membership on the frequency of the crime $F(1, 244)= 1.71$, $p= .18$ and no main effect of self-reflection on the frequency of the crime $F(1, 244)= 0.00$, $p= .96$. Nevertheless, there was a significant interaction effect of self-reflection and group membership on the frequency of the crime $F(1, 244)= 3.03$, $p= .050$ (partial $\eta^2= .024$). In the 'criminal deeds' condition the participants thought that the crime occurred not so frequently in the condition with the offender with the unknown group membership ($M= 5.35$, $SD= 0.17$). In the condition with the out-group offender they thought that the crime occurred more frequently ($M= 5.56$, $SD= 0.17$). Participants' value of the frequency of the crime for the in-group offender ($M= 5.38$, $SD= 0.16$) lay right above the offender with the unknown group membership. In the 'good deeds' condition the participants' value of the frequency of the crime decreased for both out- ($M= 5.30$, $SD= 0.16$) and in-group offender ($M= 5.18$, $SD= 0.16$) and it increased significantly for the offender with the unknown group membership ($M= 5.81$, $SD= 0.16$).

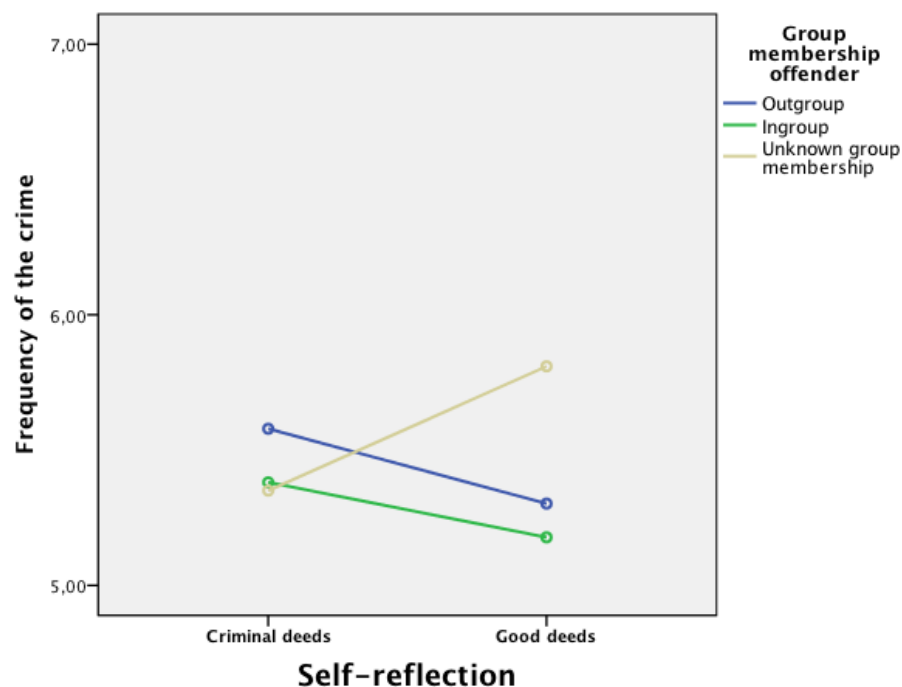


FIGURE 6. INTERACTION EFFECT OF SELF-REFLECTION AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP ON FREQUENCY OF THE CRIME

Severity: According to the two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) there was no main effect of the offender's group membership on the severity of the crime $F(1, 244) = 0.11, p = .89$. However, there was a main effect of self-reflection on the severity of the crime $F(1, 244) = 4.87, p = .028$ (partial $\eta^2 = .020$). In the 'criminal deeds' condition the participants valued the crime as more serious for all group memberships ($M = 5.88, SD = 0.09$) than in the 'good deeds' condition ($M = 5.60, SD = 0.09$). This implies that participants believe that a crime occurs more often if were previously reminded of their own 'criminal deeds'. Furthermore, there was no significant interaction effect $F(1, 244) = 0.42, p = .66$.

Social proximity

The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) illustrated that there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 1.48, p_s > .23$.

Threat of self-image

Negative self-image: According to the two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 2.32, p_s > .10$.

Reliable self-image: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) showed that there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 2.17, p_s > .14$.

Positive self-image: The two way variance analysis (see Appendix P, Table P3) illustrated that there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 1.36, p_s > .26$.

Correlation

In order to understand whether a higher motivation to control prejudiced reactions lead to a greater willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender and to a lower willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender (Hypotheses 2b) a correlation analysis (see Appendix P, Table P4) is conducted. The variables that are used in the correlation analysis are: Degree of perspective taking and the three scales from the MVV-16: behavioral control, admitting own prejudices and unprejudiced self-expression.

The correlation analysis showed that in case of an out-group offender participants' degree of perspective taking had a positive relation with their proneness to admit own prejudices (pearson correlation = .45) in the 'criminal deeds' condition. Thus, as the participants' proneness to admit their own prejudices is their degree of perspective taking is also high. The other two scales from the MVV-16 did not correlate significantly with participants' degree of perspective taking. In case of an in-group offender in the 'criminal deeds' condition participants' degree of perspective taking did not correlated

significantly with any of the three scales of the MVV-16. In case of an offender with unknown group membership the participants' degree of perspective taking had a positive relation with all three scales of the MVV-16. As the degree of perspective taking was high participants' willingness to control their behavior (pearson correlation= .41), participants' proneness to admit own prejudices (pearson correlation= .36) and their proneness to express that they are unprejudiced (pearson correlation= .38) was also high. Those findings are partly in line with hypothesis 2b. According to this a higher motivation to control prejudiced reactions should lead to a higher willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender. In case of an in-group offender a negative relationship of the degree of perspective taking and motivation to control prejudices is expected. For an out-group offender a high proneness to admit own prejudices did correlate positively with the degree of perspective taking but not with the other scales of the MVV-16. In case of an in-group offender no relationship was found between degree of perspective taking and motivation to control prejudiced reactions.

The correlation analysis showed that in the 'good deeds' condition the participants' degree of perspective taking also correlated positively with admitting own prejudices in case of an out-group offender (pearson correlation= .36). In case of an in-group offender in the 'good deeds' condition there was again no relationship between participants' degree of perspective taking and any of the three scales of the MVV-16. In case of an offender with unknown group membership participants' degree of perspective taking correlated positively with participants' proneness to admit their own prejudices (pearson correlation= .33). Thus if the degree of perspective taking is high, the participants are more prone to admit own prejudices.

Discussion & Conclusion

This study aimed to examine whether self-reflection of own committed 'criminal' or 'good deeds' and the group membership of the offender influences people's willingness to take the perspective of an offender. Furthermore, it was investigated which role people's motivation to control their own prejudices played in their willingness to take the perspective of an offender. This study tried to replicate the interaction effect of Zwicker's study (2014) between self-reflection and the offender's group membership on people's willingness to take the perspective of an offender. Thus, it was expected that self-reflection of own 'criminal deeds' should lead to a lower willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender. In case of self-reflection of own 'good deeds' a greater willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender was expected. Additionally, a control-group was investigated in this study. In the control-group the group membership of the offender was unknown and for this offender an intermediate level of perspective taking was expected.

Furthermore, it was anticipated that people's self-reflection of their own 'criminal deeds' should make them more motivated to control their prejudiced reactions than if they had reflected on their own 'good deeds'. In addition it was expected that a higher motivation to control prejudiced reactions should make participants more prone to take the perspective of an out-group offender. In case of an in-group offender a negative relationship between people's motivation to control prejudiced reactions and their willingness to take perspective was expected.

In this study an interaction effect was discovered for the following variables: degree of perspective taking, resistance towards perspective taking, no perspective taking through fear of sympathy, admitting own prejudices and people's estimation of the frequency of the crime. No interaction effects could be found for staying objective towards the offender, behavioral control, unprejudiced self-expression, reliability of the offender, planned in advance intention, recidivism chance of the offender, judgment of the offender, severity of the crime, social proximity and for threat to self-image. Some main effects were also discovered and reviewed further below.

The interaction effect between self-reflection and offender's group membership on people's willingness to take the perspective of an offender could be confirmed in this study. As expected people, who were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds', were more prone to take the perspective of the out-group offender than the perspective of the in-group offender. Also the intermediate level of perspective taking for the offender with unknown group membership was verified for the 'criminal deeds' conditions. The effect was stronger if the people were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds'. If they were reminded of their own 'good deeds' they were more willing to take the perspective of the in-group offender and the offender with unknown group membership than the perspective of the out-group offender. These results are in line with hypothesis 1a and 1b. The intermediate level of the control condition shows that people's willingness to take the perspective changes if the offender gets a specific group membership. It can be presumed that people distance themselves from a wrong behaving in-group member and in addition they present themselves as being more unprejudiced towards the wrong behaving out-group member. This applies only for the 'criminal deeds' condition. In the 'good deeds' condition people's willingness to take perspective is nearly the same for the in-group offender and the offender with unknown group membership. This does also shows that the effect of self-reflection and offender's group membership on people's willingness to take perspective is bigger if they were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds'.

One explanation for why people, who are reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' are more prone to take the perspective of an out-group offender than an in-group offender can be that people who have once committed a crime and are now reminded on their crimes, try to distance themselves from other offenders of their own group. As a consequence they punish in-group offenders more harshly in order to distance themselves from the wrong behaving in-group member and thus they are less prone to take the perspective of the in-group offender (Pinto et al., 2010). A second explanation

for this effect could be that people who are reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' try to recover their own positive self-image and therefore out-group offenders are punished less harshly in comparison to in-group offenders in order to show that they are unprejudiced (Braun & Gollwitzer, 2012).

One explanation for why people, who were reminded of their own 'good deeds' were more prone to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender, could be that the effect of distancing themselves from wrong behaving in-group members disappears when people feel positive and satisfied about themselves. Another explanation for this finding can be the 'ingroup-leniency effect' which states that an in-group member will be judged more leniency than an out-group member for the same wrong behavior (Pettigrew, 1979). Additionally to the findings of hypothesis 1a and 1b, Zwicker's study (2014) showed the same interaction effect of self-reflection of own 'criminal deeds' and the offenders group membership on people's willingness to take the perspective of the offender.

Furthermore, explanations for why people took more perspective of a specific offender, dependent on self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds', can be found in the other interaction effects of this study. One example is the interaction effect of resistance towards perspective taking. People who were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' experienced much more resistance to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender. If they were reminded of their own 'good deeds' their experienced resistance towards perspective taking was higher for the out-group offender and decreased for the in-group offender. People's resistance towards taking the perspective of an offender with unknown group membership lay between in- and out-group offenders if they were reminded of own 'criminal deeds'. If they reflected on their own 'good deeds' their resistance decreased. These findings are consistent with the findings of people's willingness of perspective taking. Thus, if people had a high resistance to take the perspective of one offender their willingness to take the perspective of this offender was low and vice versa. Also the intermediate level for the offender with unknown group membership could be confirmed for the 'criminal deeds' condition.

Another interaction effect for no perspective taking through fear of sympathy could be indicated in this study. People were more afraid to take the perspective of an in-group offender than of an out-group offender if they were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' because they did not want to show any sympathy with the offender. If they were reminded of their own 'good deeds' it was the other way around. There was no noticeable difference between self-reflection of their own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' on people's fear of sympathy for the offender with unknown group membership. Again there was an intermediate level for the offender with unknown group membership in the 'criminal deeds' condition. In the 'good deeds' condition the in-group offender and offender with unknown group membership lay again close together. These findings are in accordance with people's willingness to take the perspective of the offender. If the fear to feel sympathy with the in- or out-group offender was high, their willingness of perspective taking was low for this offender and vice versa. The intermediate level of the control condition does approve that if the offender has a special

group membership (in- or out-group) people react in different ways towards this offender, especially if they were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds'.

The hypotheses concerning people's motivation to control own prejudiced reactions could be partly confirmed. This study shows that people's self-reflection of their own 'criminal deeds' made them more motivated to express themselves as being unprejudiced than if they were reminded of their own 'good deeds' regardless which group membership the offender had. These results are in line with hypothesis 2a. Furthermore, an interaction effect for admitting own prejudices was discovered in this study. People were more prone to admit that they had prejudices if they were confronted with their own 'criminal deeds' and an out-group offender. If they were confronted with an in-group offender or an offender with unknown group membership they were less prone to admit that they had prejudices. People's proneness to admit their own prejudices decreased for both the out-group offender and the in-group offender if they were reminded of their own 'good deeds'. In case of an offender with unknown group membership people were more willing to admit prejudices if they were reminded of their own 'good deeds'.

The interaction effect for admitting own prejudice could also be an explanation for the interaction effect of people's willingness to take the perspective of the offender. If people were reminded of own 'criminal deeds' and confronted with an out-group offender they were more prone to admit that they had own prejudices. In addition, they were also more willing to take the perspective of the out-group offender. The same pattern could be found for the in-group offender. People who were reminded of own 'criminal deeds' were less willing to admit that they had own prejudices and less willing to take the perspective of the in-group offender. Also the fact that admitting own prejudices decreases in the 'good deeds' condition for the out-group offender indicates that this could be an explanation for people's willingness to take the perspective. This does namely also decrease for the out-group offender if people were reminded of own 'good deeds'. Nevertheless, people's proneness to admit own prejudices if they were confronted with the in-group offender did not increase in the 'good deeds' condition as it did for people's willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender.

An explanation, for why people who were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' were more prone to express themselves as being unprejudiced than people who were reminded of their own 'good deeds', could be the concept of moral credentials (Monin & Miller, 2001). This concept states that people, who have shown their egalitarian orientation in a previous situation, feel free to express prejudiced reactions in a following situation. Leniency towards the out-group offender disappears when people had in another way shown that they are unprejudiced (Braun & Gollwitzer, 2012). It could be assumed that letting participants fill out a questionnaire about their own 'good deeds' could serve as such a way to show that they are unprejudiced, good persons. Merritt et al. (2010) state that people, who believe that their earlier behavior has shown that they are unprejudiced or sympathetic, are more likely to engage in unethical behavior without having any fear of being heartless or selfish.

Therefore, this could explain why people feel less willing to express that they are unprejudiced if they were reminded of own their 'good deeds' and more prone to show that they are unprejudiced if they were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds'. If people are reminded of their own 'good deeds' they think they do not have to prove again that they are unprejudiced or sympathetic because they already have, while people who are reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' have the feeling to express themselves as being unprejudiced.

Additionally, the results of this study could partly confirm hypothesis 2b which stated that a high motivation to control prejudices should lead to a high willingness to take the perspective of the out-group offender (positive relation) and to a lower willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender (negative relation). The results of this study show that if people were more prone to admit their own prejudices they were also more willing to take the perspective of the offender. This only applies if they were confronted with own 'criminal deeds' and the out-group offender. In case of an in-group offender no significant relationship between motivation to control prejudices and willingness to take the perspective of the offender could be indicated. Nevertheless, like discussed above admitting own prejudices was lower if people were confronted with own 'criminal deeds' and an in-group offender than if they were confronted with an out-group offender. This is in accordance with the effects that were discovered for people's willingness to take perspective in the 'criminal deeds' condition.

There is no earlier research done on how people's motivation to control prejudices and the group membership of the offender influences their willingness to take the perspective of an offender. So it can be just speculated why there is a positive relationship between people's proneness to admit own prejudices and their willingness to take the perspective for an out-group offender in the 'criminal deeds' condition but no relationship between motivation to control prejudices and perspective taking for an in-group offender. Maybe people who took the perspective of an out-group offender were overall more prone to admit that they had prejudices precisely because they thought about an out-group offender. According to this they may have thought that the questionnaire is about prejudices towards out-groups. This would also explain why there was also no relationship between motivation to control prejudices and perspective taking in the 'good deeds' condition for an in-group offender but well for an out-group offender. According to this another process must be present if people were confronted with own 'criminal deeds' and an in-group offender. Thus, further research concerning the relationship between perspective taking and the motivation to control prejudiced reaction for different offenders is needed.

Furthermore, there are some main-effects that this study has detected. Firstly, the group membership of the offender influenced people's estimation about the reliability of the offender. They estimated the out-group offender as more reliable than the in-group offender and the offender with unknown group membership. Secondly, people who were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' made a higher

estimation that the offender had planned his crime in advance than people who were reminded of their own 'good deeds'. When it came to judging the offender people judged the out-group offender more positive than the in-group offender and the offender with unknown group membership. The findings of estimation and judgment of the offender show that most people evaluated the out-group offender better regardless whether they were reminded of their own 'criminal' or 'good deeds'. This is partly in line with the results of people's willingness to take the perspective of the offender. In the 'criminal deeds' condition people's willingness to take perspective was also the highest for the out-group offender. Furthermore, these findings do support the consideration that people perhaps thought that the study was about prejudices against out-groups after they filled out the questionnaire about motivation to control prejudiced reactions. The questions about estimation and judgment of the offender did namely come up after the questions about motivation to control prejudiced reaction.

Another interaction effect was found for frequency of the crime. People who were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds' thought that the crime, which was described in the fictional fragment, occurs much more often than if they were reminded of their own 'good deeds'. This only applies to people who were confronted with an in- or an out-group offender. In case of an offender with unknown group membership people who were reminded of their own 'good deeds' were more prone to think that the crime occurs more frequently than if they were reminded of their own 'criminal deeds'. The crime, which was described in the fictional fragment, was rated as being more serious when people reflected on own 'criminal deeds' than if they reflected on own their 'good deeds'.

After people filled out the questions about motivation to control prejudiced reaction just one further interaction effect was found. This differs to what Zwicker (2014) found in her study. Zwicker (2014) detected additional interaction effects for estimation of the offender, judgment of the offender and social proximity. These effects could not be replicated in this study. A possible explanation for this could be that the questionnaire about motivation to control prejudices had influenced people's answers on the following questions. As already mentioned above, the concept of moral credentials (Moin & Miller, 2001) suggests that if people have shown their egalitarian orientation in a previous situation they feel free to express prejudiced reactions in a following situation. Thus, people's following answers on the questionnaire could be influenced by answering questions about how they deal with prejudices. According to this, the interaction effect of social proximity, which Zwicker (2014) found in her study, disappears. Nevertheless, this shows that people are strategic on how they present themselves. It can be presumed that if they have previously proven that they are unprejudiced they think that they do not have to show this again at a later point (e.g. social proximity).

Furthermore, it is noticeable that there were no effects of offender's group membership and self-reflection on people's threat to self-image. A difference in threat to self-image was expected between people's self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds'. This difference could not be confirmed. A reason for this could be that the position of the questionnaire for threat to self-image,

which was nearly at the end of the survey. Support for this consideration is that after people answered the questions about motivation to control prejudiced reactions barely any other effects could be found.

A disadvantage of this study may be that it was a very long questionnaire with about 100 Items and a textual fragment to read. Additionally, there were many different scales that measured different concepts. This could be confusing for the participants and influence their answers. Nevertheless, it could be easily improved by reducing the number of concepts that are measured in the survey. Furthermore, nearly 30% of the participants gave a wrong answer when they were asked about which group membership the offender in the fragment had. It may be that participants were influenced indirectly or unconsciously by the group membership of the offender. An option could be that the control question about the group membership of the offender can be asked right before perspective taking and so maybe it can make participants even more aware of the group membership. Another limitation of this study is the sample. It strikes that the average age of the sample is about 28 years. Furthermore, over 90% of the sample had at least a high school diploma and over 20% had a university degree. Thus, the average participant of this study is young and highly educated. It can be expected that a young and highly educated sample react in a different manner than an older, less educated sample. Consequently, this sample is not a representative sample of the whole German population. This can be improved by trying to reach a greater variety of participants.

Another limitation of this study is that the question how motivation to control prejudices influences perspective taking and vice versa is still open. This study should be replicated with a shorter questionnaire in order to find out in what way motivation to control prejudiced reactions can explain people's willingness to take the perspective of an offender. Furthermore, a greater variety of participants should be reached in further research. Another option is to switch the positions of the perspective taking questionnaire with the motivation to control prejudices questionnaire for one group in order to see whether people are less willing to take the perspective of the offender if they had proven that they are unprejudiced before. It can also be considered to switch the position of the motivation to control prejudiced reaction questionnaire and the social proximity questionnaire. This could be a way to indicate whether the interaction effect of social proximity vanished because of the motivation to control prejudices questionnaire.

Nevertheless, there are also strong points of this study. This study showed new insights of how people's willingness to take perspective of an offender is influenced by their own self-reflection. The interaction effect between the offender's group membership and own self-reflection on people's willingness to take perspective found by Zwicker (2014) could be replicated. Furthermore, the expected intermediate level of people's willingness to take perspective of an offender with unknown group membership could be confirmed. This study also discovered many different effects that could be an explanation for the interaction effect of people's willingness to take the perspective of an offender. One example is the interaction effect of people's proneness to admit that they have prejudices. It could

also be confirmed that reminding people on their own ‘criminal deeds’ made them more prone to express that they are unprejudiced.

Finally, it can be said that people’s willingness to take perspective is influenced by the group membership of the offender and self-reflection of their own deeds. Furthermore, people’s willingness to take perspective can be influenced by letting them think about own prejudices. But how can this theoretical knowledge about perspective taking be adapted to reintegration of an offender? As mentioned in the introduction, reintegration of an offender into society can cause a lot of difficulties. It can be suggested that before an offender moves into a new town, like the two sexual offenders did to Insel, there should be a convention with all stakeholders. If the citizens, the offender, the mayor and a mediation team hold a convention together this could be an effective manner to promote the process of perspective taking. A good developed capacity of perspective taking can namely support cooperation and facilitate conflict resolution (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin & White, 2008). According to Miller et al. (1999), if people think about possible explanations (here: perspective taking) for a crime they get a more tolerant attitude towards the offender. Thus reintegration could be promoted by perspective taking. The findings of this study can help to understand when and why people are willing to take the perspective of an offender. One example could be that people are reminded of their own ‘good deeds’ during such a convention, because reminding people of own ‘good deeds’ can promote their willingness to take the perspective of the offender. Furthermore, people could also be reminded of their own ‘criminal deeds’, which can promote the process of expressing themselves as being unprejudiced towards the offender. Nevertheless, this study showed that people are strategic in their willingness to take perspective and specific characteristics of the offender (here: group membership) can influence this process. Thus it appears that different factors can influence people’s willingness to take the perspective of an offender and thus further research on this field is needed.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Instruction participants

Appendix B: Questionnaire identification nationality

Appendix C: Questionnaire self-reflection ('criminal' vs. 'good deeds')

Appendix D: Instruction fragment

Appendix E: Fragment

Appendix F: Questionnaire taking perspective

Appendix G: Questionnaire motivation to control prejudiced reaction (MVV-16)

Appendix H: Questionnaire estimate of the offender

Appendix I: Questionnaire judgment of the offender

Appendix J: Questionnaire norm activation

Appendix K: Questionnaire social proximity

Appendix L: Control question group membership

Appendix M: Questionnaire threat to self-image

Appendix N: Questions about participant

Appendix O: Debriefing

Appendix P: Analysis tables

Appendix A: Instruction participants

Lieber Teilnehmer,

auf diesem Wege möchte ich Sie über die Umfrage informieren an der sie im Anschluss von dieser Einführung teilnehmen können. Bei dieser Umfrage geht es darum, wie sehr man sich in andere Menschen und deren Situationen einfühlen kann. Sorgen Sie dafür, dass sie in Ruhe und ungestört die Fragen beantworten können. Ebenso ist es wichtig, dass Sie die Fragen nüchtern ausfüllen (keine Drogen, kein Alkohol). Die Teilnahme an dieser Untersuchung bleibt zu jeder Zeit anonym. Es ist nicht möglich nachzuvollziehen welcher Teilnehmer welche Antworten gegeben hat. Ihre Daten werden auch nicht an Dritte weitergegeben. Sie können zu jeder Zeit mit der Umfrage aufhören ohne Angabe von Gründen. Die Umfrage dauert ca. 15 bis 20 Minuten. Bitte achten Sie darauf alle Fragen zu beantworten bevor Sie fortfahren, denn eine Auswertung ist nur möglich, wenn der Fragebogen komplett ausgefüllt wurde. Im Anschluss der Befragung werde ich Ihnen ausführlichere Informationen zu dieser Untersuchung geben. Wenn Sie am Ende der Untersuchung über die Resultate informiert werden wollen oder andere Fragen haben, dann melden Sie sich bei l.m.brouwer-1@student.utwente.nl. Wenn Sie auf “Anfangen” klicken geben Sie an die oben genannten Informationen gelesen zu haben und erklären sich bereit an der Umfrage teilzunehmen.

Appendix B: Questionnaire identification nationality

Zu Beginn einige Fragen die darauf eingehen wie sie Deutschen gegenüber stehen. Lesen Sie die Aussagen gut durch und klicken Sie diejenige an, mit der Sie am meisten übereinstimmen. Es gibt keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten. Es geht um Ihre persönliche Meinung! Sorgen sie dafür, dass Sie alle Fragen beantworten bevor Sie fortfahren. Inwieweit stimmen Sie zu?

1. Ich bin froh Deutsche(r) zu sein.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

2. Ich fühle mich solidarisch gegenüber Deutschen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

3. Deutsche(r) zu sein macht einen großen Teil aus von dem wie ich mich sehe.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

4. Ich denke oft an die Tatsache das ich Deutsche(r) bin.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

5. Es gibt mir ein gutes Gefühl Deutsche(r) zu sein.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

6. Ich fühle mich mit Deutschen verbunden.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

7. Ein wichtiger Teil meiner Identität ist die Tatsache, dass ich Deutsche(r) bin.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

8. Ich denke das Deutsche viel haben worauf sie stolz sein können.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

9. Ich finde es angenehm Deutsche(r) zu sein.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

10. Ich fühle mich zugehörig/betroffen mit Deutschen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

11. Ich habe viel mit dem durchschnittlichen Deutschen gemein.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

12. Deutsche sind sich sehr ähnlich.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

13. Deutsche teilen sich viele Gemeinsamkeiten.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

14. Ich ähnele dem durchschnittlichen Deutschen sehr.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

Appendix C: Questionnaire self-reflection (‘**criminal deeds**’ vs. ‘**good deeds**’)

Bei den folgenden Fragen geht es darum, ob man schon mal falsch oder unmoralisch gehandelt hat in seinem Leben, auch wenn man dafür nicht bestraft oder verurteilt wurde! Bitte antworten Sie ehrlich und denken Sie auch daran, dass ihre Antworten anonym sind. Es gibt keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten, es geht nur um ihre Erfahrung.

15. Haben Sie jemals vorsätzlich eine fremde Sache beschädigt (z.B. Straßenlaterne ausgetreten/ zerstört, Verkehrsschilder beschädigt, Automaten oder andere technische Geräte beschädigt, Gegenstände von anderen Personen beschädigt/ zerstört, oder ähnliches)?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

15. Haben Sie schon einmal einem älteren oder körperlich eingeschränkten Menschen geholfen?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

16. Haben Sie jemals etwas gestohlen oder entwendet (z.B. Ladendiebstahl, Eigentum von Anderen, wie z.B. Fahrrad, Geld, Tasche, Handy, Computer, Kleidung, Lebensmittel oder ähnliches)?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

16. Haben Sie schon einmal etwas gefunden (z.B. Geldbörse, Schmuck, Schlüssel, Kleidung, Handy oder ähnliches) und es an den Eigentümer zurück gegeben oder so gut es geht dafür gesorgt das diese Person ihr Eigentum wieder zurück bekommen kann (Abgabe des Gegenstandes an einer offiziellen Stelle oder Fundbüro)?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

17. Ist es schon mal vorgekommen das Sie sich eine Leistung erschlichen haben (z.B. Schwarzfahren in einem öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel wie Bus oder Bahn, sich in

Veranstaltungen wie Kino, Diskotheken oder Konzerte rein geschlichen ohne zu bezahlen oder ähnliches)?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

17. Haben Sie schon einmal der Polizei geholfen, indem sie eine Person angezeigt haben, die sich gesetzeswidrig verhalten hat?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

18. Haben Sie jemals vorsätzlich urheberrechtlich geschütztes Material heruntergeladen ohne zu bezahlen (z.B. Filme, Musik, Bücher, Computerprogramme oder ähnliches)?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

18. Haben Sie schon einmal die Schuld für etwas auf sich genommen, um jemand Anderen zu schützen/helfen, obwohl sie nicht schuldig waren?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

19. Haben Sie schon einmal betrunken oder unter Einfluss anderer Substanzen, wie z.B. Drogen oder spezielle Medikamente, im Straßenverkehr teilgenommen indem Sie Auto, Motorrad, Fahrrad oder ähnliches gefahren sind?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

19. Haben Sie schon einmal einen Fehler begangen (z.B. etwas beschädigt, etwas entwendet, etwas verheimlicht oder ähnliches) und diesen Fehler freiwillig im Nachhinein zugegeben/gestanden, obwohl sie ihn nicht hätten zugeben/gestehen müssen?

☐ Ja

☐ Nein

20. Ist es schon mal vorgekommen, dass Sie jemanden mit Gewalt gedroht, oder bei jemandem Gewalt angewendet haben?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nein

20. Haben Sie schon einmal einer Person/Institution etwas gespendet (z.B. Geld, Kleidung, Möbel, Lebensmittel, etc.)?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nein

21. Haben Sie jemals ein anderes Delikt begangen, welches nicht oben genannt wurde, auch wenn sie dafür nicht bestraft oder verurteilt worden sind?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nein

Wenn ja, können Sie eine kurze Beschreibung von diesem Delikt geben?

21. Haben Sie schon mal etwas moralisch Gutes getan was oben nicht genannt wurde?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nein

Wenn ja, können Sie hier eine kurze Beschreibung dieser guten Tat geben?

22. Wenn Sie zurückdenken an die eben gestellten Fragen, ist ihnen dann bewusst das es sich um strafbare Dinge handelt die sie getan haben?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nein

22. Wenn Sie zurückdenken an die eben gestellten Fragen ist ihnen dann bewusst das es sich um moralisch gute Taten handelt die sie getan haben?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nein

Appendix D: Instruction fragment

Im folgenden Teil werden sie gebeten eine Berichterstattung, der Nachrichtenagentur „dpa“ vom 24. Juni 2013 über ein Gewaltverbrechen zu lesen, und sich in den Täter hineinzuversetzen. Versuchen Sie sich vorzustellen, dass sie dieser Täter sind. Versuchen Sie darauf zu achten, welche Gedanken und Gefühle Sie erfahren während Sie den Bericht lesen. Nachdem Sie ihn gelesen haben, werden sie gebeten mindestens zwei dieser Gedanken und Gefühle aufzuschreiben. Danach werden noch andere Fragen zu diesem Bericht gestellt. Auch hier gilt, es gibt keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten. Es geht allein um Ihre persönliche Einschätzung!

Appendix E: Fragments

1. Out-group offender:

Quelle: dpa

25-jähriger Portugiese gesteht Straftat

Während ein Zeitungsausträger, früh am Morgen durch eine Passage in einem Einkaufszentrum ging, ertappte er einen Einbrecher. Dieser Einbrecher, sein Name ist Horacio P., war nach eigenen Aussagen darüber so erschrocken gesehen worden zu sein, dass er mit seinem Einbruchswerkzeug, einer Art Stemmeisen, gleich zweimal zuschlug. Deshalb steht der 25-Jährige Horacio P. nun vor Gericht. Der Angeklagte gesteht den Angriff: Er habe in den Laden einbrechen wollen, an dessen Eingangstür er das Stemmeisen schon angesetzt hatte. Der deutsche Zeitungsausträger, sein Name ist Thomas J. schildert den Vorfall allerdings etwas anders: Ihm sei das Verhalten des Mannes sehr komisch vorgekommen, er habe geschaut, sei aber weitergegangen. Der Mann sei ihm nachgelaufen und habe ihn wortlos und kaltblütig mit der rund ein Meter langen Stange seitlich auf den Kopf geschlagen. Thomas erlitt Platzwunden und Prellungen, war fünf Tage krankgeschrieben und vier Wochen in ärztlicher Behandlung. Als Horacio P. an diesem Morgen nach seiner Tat nach Hause kam, habe er immer noch unter Schock gestanden und es mit der Angst zu tun bekommen, dass der Mann, den er geschlagen hatte, sterben könnte: "Mir sind dann die Emotionen durchgegangen und ich habe angefangen zu heulen." Die Frage, ob er einen Notarzt für den Mann gerufen habe, verneint der Angeklagte und fügt an: "Ich weiß, das war eine Scheißaktion." Nach der Vernehmung des Zeitungsausträgers entschuldigt sich der 25-Jährige Horacio bei diesem: "Ich weiß, das ist keine Entschuldigung für das, was ich Ihnen angetan habe." Der Zeitungsausträger sieht ihn an und nickt mit dem Kopf.

2. In-group offender:

Quelle: dpa

25-jähriger Deutscher gesteht Straftat

Während ein Zeitungsausträger, früh am Morgen durch eine Passage in einem Einkaufszentrum ging, ertappte er einen Einbrecher. Dieser Einbrecher, sein Name ist Andreas W. war nach eigenen Aussagen darüber so erschrocken gesehen worden zu sein, dass er mit seinem Einbruchswerkzeug, einer Art Stemmeisen, gleich zweimal zuschlug. Deshalb steht der 25-Jährige Andreas W. nun vor Gericht. Der Angeklagte gesteht den Angriff: Er habe in den Laden einbrechen wollen, an dessen Eingangstür er das Stemmeisen schon angesetzt hatte. Der ebenfalls deutsche Zeitungsausträger, sein Name ist Thomas J. schildert den Vorfall allerdings etwas anders: Ihm sei das Verhalten des Mannes sehr komisch vorgekommen, er habe geschaut, sei aber weitergegangen. Der Mann sei ihm nachgelaufen und habe ihn wortlos und kaltblütig mit der rund ein Meter langen Stange seitlich auf den Kopf geschlagen. Thomas erlitt Platzwunden und Prellungen, war fünf Tage krankgeschrieben und vier Wochen in ärztlicher Behandlung. Als Andreas W. an diesem Morgen nach seiner Tat nach Hause kam, habe er immer noch unter Schock gestanden und es mit der Angst zu tun bekommen, dass der Mann, den er geschlagen hatte, sterben könnte: "Mir sind dann die Emotionen durchgegangen und ich habe angefangen zu heulen." Die Frage, ob er einen Notarzt für den Mann gerufen habe, verneint der Angeklagte und fügt an: "Ich weiß, das war eine Scheißaktion." Nach der Vernehmung des Zeitungsausträgers entschuldigt sich der 25-Jährige Andreas bei diesem: "Ich weiß, das ist keine Entschuldigung für das, was ich Ihnen angetan habe." Der Zeitungsausträger sieht ihn an und nickt mit dem Kopf.

3. Offender with unknown group membership:

Quelle: dpa

25-jähriger Mann gesteht Straftat

Während ein Zeitungsausträger, früh am Morgen durch eine Passage in einem Einkaufszentrum ging, ertappte er einen Einbrecher. Dieser Einbrecher, sein Name ist H. B., war nach eigenen Aussagen darüber so erschrocken gesehen worden zu sein, dass er mit seinem Einbruchswerkzeug, einer Art Stemmeisen, gleich zweimal zuschlug. Deshalb steht der 25-Jährige H. B. nun vor Gericht. Der Angeklagte gesteht den Angriff: Er habe in den Laden einbrechen wollen, an dessen Eingangstür er das Stemmeisen schon angesetzt hatte. Der deutsche Zeitungsausträger, sein Name ist Thomas J. schildert den Vorfall allerdings etwas anders: Ihm sei das Verhalten des Mannes sehr komisch vorgekommen, er habe geschaut, sei aber weitergegangen. Der Mann sei ihm nachgelaufen und habe ihn wortlos und kaltblütig mit der rund ein Meter langen Stange seitlich auf den Kopf geschlagen. Thomas erlitt Platzwunden und Prellungen, war fünf Tage krankgeschrieben und vier Wochen in ärztlicher Behandlung. Als H. B. an diesem Morgen nach seiner Tat nach Hause kam, habe er immer noch unter Schock gestanden und es mit der Angst zu tun bekommen, dass der Mann, den er geschlagen hatte, sterben könnte: "Mir sind dann die Emotionen durchgegangen und ich habe angefangen zu heulen." Die Frage, ob er einen Notarzt für den Mann gerufen habe, verneint der Angeklagte und fügt an: "Ich weiß, das war eine Scheißaktion." Nach der Vernehmung des Zeitungsausträgers entschuldigt sich der 25-Jährige H. bei diesem: "Ich weiß, das ist keine Entschuldigung für das, was ich Ihnen angetan habe." Der Zeitungsausträger sieht ihn an und nickt mit dem Kopf.

Appendix F: Questionnaire taking perspective

23. Geben Sie nun zwei Gedanken an, die Sie hatten, während Sie sich in Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. hineinversetzt haben.

24. Geben Sie nun zwei Gefühle an, die Sie hatten, während Sie sich in Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. hineinversetzt haben.

25. Wie sehr haben Sie probiert sich vorzustellen was Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. denkt, fühlt

und erfährt?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

26. Wie sehr haben Sie probiert sich vorzustellen was Sie selber denken, fühlen und erfahren würden, wenn sie Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. wären?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

27. Wie sehr haben Sie probiert objektiv zu bleiben und emotionalen Abstand zu halten gegenüber Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B.?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

28. Inwieweit haben Sie versucht Andreas/ Horacios/ H.B. Perspektive einzunehmen?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

29. Inwieweit ist es Ihnen gelungen, Andreas/ Horacios/ H.B Perspektive einzunehmen?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

30. Inwieweit war es Ihnen möglich, seine Perspektive einzunehmen?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

31. Inwieweit haben Sie einen Widerstand erfahren als Sie sich in Andreas/ Horacio / H.B einfühlen wollten?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

32. Ich fand, dass es Andreas/ Horacio / H.B nicht wert war, dass ich mich in ihn hineinversetze.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

33. Ich fand es schwierig, die menschliche Seite von Andreas/ Horacio / H.B zu sehen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

34. Ich hatte Angst, dass wenn ich mich zu sehr in Andreas/ Horacio / H.B hineinversetze, zu viel Sympathie für ihn zu empfinden.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

35. Ich wollte mich in Andreas/ Horacio / H.B nicht hineinversetzen, weil ich auf keine Art und Weise Sympathie für ihn empfinden möchte.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

36. Ich wollte mich nicht in Andreas/ Horacio / H.B hineinversetzen, weil ich es vermeiden wollte, seine Tat gut zu reden.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

37. In wie weit hatten Sie Schwierigkeiten, Andreas/ Horacios / H.B Perspektive einzunehmen?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

Appendix G: Questionnaire motivation to control prejudiced reaction (MVV-16)

Geben sie an, inwieweit die folgenden Aussagen zutreffen. Es geht um ihre persönliche Einschätzung, es gibt keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten. Bitte antworten sie so ehrlich wie möglich.

38. Man sollte sich nie durch Vorurteile leiten lassen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

39. Ich achte darauf, dass mein Verhalten nicht durch Vorurteile beeinflusst wird.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

40. Es ist mir egal, wenn jemand glaubt, dass ich Vorurteile gegenüber Straftätern hätte.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

41. Wenn man über Straftäter spricht, sollte man abwertende Bezeichnungen vermeiden.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

42. Jeder Mensch hat Vorurteile. Es kommt darauf an, sich nicht davon leiten zu lassen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

43. Man sollte sich seine eigenen Vorurteile bewusst machen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

44. Man sollte sich besonders fair verhalten, wenn man mit jemandem zu tun hat, der vermutlich häufig unter Vorurteilen zu leiden hat.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

45. Man sollte in Gesellschaft nichts Negatives über Straftäter sagen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

46. Ich ärgere mich über mich selbst, wenn ich etwas denke oder fühle, was für vorurteilsvoll gehalten werden könnte.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

47. Man sollte nicht über Straftäterwitze lachen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

48. Es wäre mir unangenehm, wenn jemand glauben würde, dass ich Vorurteile gegenüber Straftätern hätte.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

49. Es macht mich wütend, wenn jemand Vorurteile über Straftäter äußert.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

50. Es lohnt sich nicht, sich ständig Sorgen darüber zu machen, ob man sich gerade irgendwem gegenüber vorurteilsvoll verhält.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

51. Ich finde es wichtiger zu sagen, was man denkt, als sich ständig darüber Sorgen zu

machen, ob man jemandem damit zu nahe tritt.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

52. Es ist mir sehr unangenehm, jemanden zu verletzen, daher versuche ich immer, Rücksicht auf die Gefühle anderer zu nehmen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

53. Wenn ich Gedanken oder Gefühle habe, die andere diskriminieren, behalte ich sie für mich.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

Appendix H: Questionnaire estimate of the offender

Der nächste Abschnitt des Fragebogens beschäftigt sich mit Ihrer persönlichen Einschätzung zu Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B.. Da es um Ihre Meinung geht, gibt es weder richtige noch falsche Antworten. Bitte achten sie darauf dass sie jede Frage beantworten bevor sie fortfahren.

54. Inwieweit empfinden Sie Andreas/ Horacios/ H.B. Aussagen als glaubwürdig?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

55. Inwieweit empfinden Sie Andreas/ Horacios/ H.B. Aussagen als aufrichtig?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

56. Inwieweit empfinden Sie Andreas/ Horacios/ H.B. Aussagen als ehrlich?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

57. Inwieweit denken sie das Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. diese Straftat im Voraus geplant hat?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

58. Inwieweit denken Sie, dass Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. motiviert ist, sein straftätiges Verhalten in Zukunft zu vermeiden?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

59. Inwieweit finden Sie, dass Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. ein guter Mensch ist?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

60. Wie wahrscheinlich, denken Sie ist es, dass Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. noch einmal straffällig wird?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

61. Für wie wahrscheinlich halten Sie es, dass Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. sein Verhalten in Zukunft verändern wird?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

62. Für wie wahrscheinlich halten Sie es, dass Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. nochmal Gewalt anwenden wird?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

63. Für wie wahrscheinlich halten Sie es, dass Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. seine Tat bedauert?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

Appendix I: Questionnaire judgment of the offender

Es folgen Wortpaare mit der Sie ihre Meinung zu Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. abgeben können:

64. **Kalt** ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ **Warm**

65. **Negativ** ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ **Positiv**

66. **Feindselig** ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ **Freundlich**

67. **Verdächtig** ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ **Vertrauenswürdig**

68. **Verachtend** ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ **Respektvoll**

69. **Ekel** ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ **Bewunderung**

Appendix J: Questionnaire norm activation

Bei den folgenden Fragen geht es um Ihre persönliche Einschätzung zu der begangenen Straftat. Da es um Ihre Meinung geht, gibt es weder richtige noch falsche Antworten. Bitte achten sie darauf dass sie jede Frage beantworten bevor sie fortfahren.

70. Wie oft denken sie kommt diese Art von Straftat vor?

Sehr selten ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr oft

71. Wie ernst finden sie diese Straftat?

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr ernst

Appendix K: Questionnaire social proximity

Im Folgenden geht es darum, wie Sie zu Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B stehen können, wenn es um Ihr soziales Umfeld geht? Geben Sie bei jeder Aussage bitte an, inwieweit Sie zustimmen. Bitte vergewissern Sie sich auch hier das sie jede Frage ausfüllen.

72. Ich kann mir vorstellen, dass ich einen Straftäter wie Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. heiraten würde, und dass er zu einem Teil meiner Familie würde.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

73. Straftäter wie Andreas/ Horacio/H.B. können genauso gute Freunde von mir sein, wie Menschen ohne kriminelle Vergangenheit.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

74. Ich empfinde es als großes Problem, wenn ein Straftäter wie Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. in meiner direkten Umgebung wohnen würde.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

75. Ich kann mir vorstellen, dass ich mit einem Straftäter wie Andreas/ Horacio/ H.B. auf der Arbeit zusammenarbeiten würde.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

Appendix L: Control question group membership

76. Welche Nationalität hatte der Täter, welcher im obigen Fragment beschrieben wurde?

- ☐ Deutsch
☐ Portugiesisch
☐ Unbekannte Nationalität

Appendix M: Questionnaire threat to self-image

Bitte geben sie an wie sie sich jetzt in diesem Moment fühlen.

77. Ich fühle mich stolz.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

78. Ich denke positiv über mich selbst.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

79. Ich fühle mich beschämt.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

80. Ich fühle mich verlegen.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

81. Ich fühle mich aufrichtig.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

82. Ich denke negativ über mich selbst.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

83. Ich fühle mich vertrauenswürdig.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

84. Ich fühle mich ehrlich.

Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

Appendix N: Questions about participant

Nun noch einige Fragen zu ihrer Person:

85. Geschlecht:

- ☐ Weiblich
☐ Männlich

86. Alter:

87. Nationalität:

- ☐ Deutsch
☐ Andere, nämlich

88. Hat ein Elternteil oder beide eine andere Nationalität als Deutsch?

- ☐ Nein
☐ Ja, nämlich

89. Was ist die höchste schulische Ausbildung die sie abgeschlossen haben?

- ☐ Sonderschule
☐ Hauptschule
☐ Realschule
☐ Fachoberschule
☐ Gymnasium
☐ Gesamtschule
☐ Berufsschule Fachhochschule
☐ Universität
☐ Andere, nämlich

90. Kennen Sie jemanden, der Opfer einer Straftat war?

- ☒ Ja
☐ Nein

91. Wenn ja können Sie eine kurze Beschreibung dieser Straftat geben?

92. Waren sie jemals Opfer einer Straftat?

- ☒ Ja
☐ Nein

93. Wenn ja können Sie eine kurze Beschreibung dieser Straftat geben?

94. Kennen Sie jemanden, der eine Straftat begangen hat, auch wenn derjenige nicht dafür bestraft oder verurteilt worden ist?

- ☒ Ja
☐ Nein

95. Wenn ja können Sie eine kurze Beschreibung dieser Straftat geben?

96. Haben sie jemals selbst eine Straftat begangen, auch wenn sie dafür nicht bestraft oder verurteilt worden sind?

- ☒ Ja
☐ Nein

97. Wenn ja können Sie eine kurze Beschreibung dieser Straftat geben?

98. Inwieweit haben Sie an dieser Umfrage gewissenhaft teilgenommen?

- Überhaupt nicht ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Sehr

Appendix O: Debriefing

Ich bedanke mich recht herzlich für Ihre Teilnahme an meiner Untersuchung.

Das Thema dieser Untersuchung lautet: “In den Schuhen von Tätern: Ein Schritt zu weit?”. Nachdem Sie nun an dieser Umfrage teilgenommen haben, möchte ich Sie noch darüber aufklären, dass es sich bei dem beschriebenen Täter um eine fiktive Person handelt. Somit sind die erwähnte Berichterstattung und ihre Quelle erfunden. Die Untersuchung basiert auf verschiedenen Fragebögen und jede Version bezieht sich auf eine andere fiktive Täterbeschreibung, um verschiedene Reaktionen auf verschiedene Täterprofile feststellen zu können. Sie haben dabei geholfen Einblicke darüber zu bekommen, inwieweit Menschen bereit sind die Perspektive eines Täters einzunehmen. Falls Sie Fragen oder Anmerkungen zu dieser Untersuchung haben, können Sie mich gerne per E-Mail kontaktieren unter l.m.brouwer-1@student.utwente.nl.

Appendix P: Analysis tables

Table P1. Manipulation check: Self-reflection

Condition	Manipulation self-reflection		N
	Yes	No	
Criminal deeds, out-group	38 100%	0 0%	38
Criminal deeds, in-group	41 97,62%	1 2,38%	42
Criminal deeds, control-group	38 95%	2 5%	40
Good deeds, out-group	38 88,37%	5 11,63%	43
Good deeds, in-group	41 91,11%	4 8,88%	45
Good deeds, control-group	38 90,48%	4 9,52%	42

Table P2. Manipulation Check: Group membership of the offender

Condition	Manipulation group membership		N
	Yes	No	
Criminal deeds, out-group	28 73,7%	10 26,3%	38
Criminal deeds, in-group	27 64,3%	15 32,7%	42
Criminal deeds, control-group	33 82,5%	7 17,5%	40
Good deeds, out-group	28 65,1%	15 34,9%	43

Good deeds, in-group	32 71,1%	13 28,9%	45
Good deeds, control-group	31 73,8%	11 26,2%	42

Table P3. ANOVA Tables

Variable	PERSPECTIVE TAKING	DF	F	Sig.
Degree of perspective taking	Self-reflection	(1,251)	3.29	0.071
	Group membership	(1,251)	5.21	0.006
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,251)	17.59	0.000
Remaining objective towards the offender	Self-reflection	(1,251)	1.31	0.25
	Group membership	(1,251)	1.82	0.16
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,251)	1.94	0.15
Resistance towards perspective taking	Self-reflection	(1,251)	0.05	0.82
	Group membership	(1,251)	4.64	0.011
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,251)	7.68	0.001
No perspective taking through fear of sympathy	Self-reflection	(1,251)	0.02	0.90
	Group membership	(1,251)	1.34	0.27
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,251)	9.47	0.000
	MOTIVATION TO CONTROL PREJUDICED REACTIONS	DF	F	Sig.
Behavioral control	Self-reflection	(1,245)	2.06	0.15
	Group membership	(1,245)	1.16	0.32

	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,245)	1.28	0.28
Admitting own prejudices	Self-reflection	(1,245)	2.98	0.086
	Group membership	(1,245)	1.84	0.16
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,245)	5.43	0.005
Unprejudiced self-expression	Self-reflection	(1,245)	3.81	0.052
	Group membership	(1,245)	0.59	0.55
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,245)	0.24	0.79
ESTIMATE OF THE OFFENDER		DF	F	Sig.
Reliability of the offender	Self-reflection	(1,244)	0.56	0.46
	Group membership	(1,244)	3.10	0.047
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	0.08	0.92
Planned in advance intention	Self-reflection	(1,244)	5.20	0.024
	Group membership	(1,244)	0.55	0.58
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	0.08	0.93
Recidivism-chance offender	Self-reflection	(1,244)	2.53	0.11
	Group membership	(1,244)	0.96	0.38
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	1.59	0.21
JUDGMENT OF THE OFFENDER		DF	F	Sig.
Judgment of the offender	Self-reflection	(1,244)	1.06	0.30
	Group membership	(1,244)	3.26	0.040
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	0.74	0.48

NORM ACTIVATION		DF	F	Sig.
Frequency of the crime	Self-reflection	(1,244)	0.00	0.96
	Group membership	(1,244)	1.71	0.18
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	3.03	0.050
Severity of the crime	Self-reflection	(1,244)	4.87	0.028
	Group membership	(1,244)	0.11	0.90
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	0.42	0.66
SOCIAL PROXIMITY		DF	F	Sig.
Social proximity	Self-reflection	(1,244)	1.46	0.23
	Group membership	(1,244)	1.48	0.23
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	0.27	0.75
THREAT TO SELF-IMAGE		DF	F	Sig.
Negative self-image	Self-reflection	(1,244)	0.25	0.62
	Group membership	(1,244)	0.12	0.89
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	2.32	0.10
Reliable self-image	Self-reflection	(1,244)	2.17	0.14
	Group membership	(1,244)	0.00	1.00
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	0.37	0.70
Positive self-image	Self-reflection	(1,244)	0.63	0.43
	Group membership	(1,244)	0.07	0.93
	Self-reflection*Group membership	(1,244)	1.36	0.26

Table 4P. Means (M) and standard deviation (SD), and correlation between the variables

CRIMINAL DEEDS CONDITION		M	SD	PT degree	MCPR behavioral control	MCPR admitting prejudices	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression
Out-group	PT degree	5.25	.82	1	.18	.45**	-.00
	MCPR behavioral control	3.93	.83	.18	1	.19	.76**
	MCPR admitting prejudices	5.19	.46	.45**	.19	1	.07
	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression	3.79	.89	-.00	.76**	.07	1
In-group	PT degree	3.86	1.01	1	.05	.16	-.04
	MCPR behavioral control	4.01	.62	.05	1	.37*	.62**
	MCPR admitting prejudices	4.82	.57	.16	.37*	1	.37*
	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression	3.55	.89	-.04	.62**	.37*	1
Control-group	PT degree	4.52	1.18	1	.41**	.36*	.38*
	MCPR behavioral control	3.71	.70	.41**	1	.33*	.62**
	MCPR admitting prejudices	4.89	.70	.36*	.33*	1	.09
	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression	3.68	.69	.38*	.62**	.09	1
GOOD DEEDS CONDITION		M	SD	PT degree	MCPR behavioral control	MCPR admitting prejudices	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression

	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression	3.47	.97	.05	.51**	.42**	1
In-group	PT degree	4.91	.95	1	.19	.18	-.07
	MCPR behavioral control	3.72	.61	.19	1	.25	.19
	MCPR admitting prejudices	4.75	.75	.18	.25	1	.22
	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression	3.42	.92	-.07	.19	.22	1
Control-group	PT degree	4.92	1.02	1	.13	.33*	.02
	MCPR behavioral control	3.75	.68	.13	1	.13	.52**
	MCPR admitting prejudices	5.04	.66	.33*	.13	1	.05
	MCPR unprejudiced self-expression	3.47	.94	.02	.52**	.05	1

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

Table 5P. Correlation between all dependent variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Perspective taking									
1. Degree	1	.11	-.46**	-.39**	.13*	.32**	.06	.32**	.16**
2. Objective	.11	1	.03	.03	.08	.12	-.08	-.10	.06
3. Resistance	-.46**	.03	1	.48**	.09	-.10	.05	-.28**	-.03

4. Fear sympathy	-.39**	.03	.48**	1	.13*	-.36**	-.02	-.14*	-.06
Motivation to control prejudices									
5. Behavioral control	.13*	.08	.09	.13*	1	.25**	.52**	.25**	.23**
6. Admitting prejudices	.32**	.12	-.10	-.36**	.25**	1	.23**	.17**	-.03
7. Unprejudiced self-expression	.06	-.08	.05	-.02	.52**	.23**	1	.12	.01
Estimate of Offender									
8. Reliability	.32**	-.10	-.28**	-.14*	.25**	.17**	.12	1	.33**
9. Recidivism	.16**	.06	-.03	-.06	.23**	-.03	.01	.33**	1
10. Planned in advance intention	-.03	.13*	.04	.13*	.01	-.19**	-.01	-.18**	.12
Judgment of offender									
11. Judgment of offender	.28**	-.09	-.21**	-.18**	.15*	.01	.02	.53**	.35**
Norm activation									
12. Frequency	.05	.11	-.03	-.03	-.06	.11	-.04	.03	-.04
13. Severity	-.03	.12	.14*	-.01	.00	.19**	-.06	-.09	-.04
Social proximity									

14. Social proximity	.20*	-.13*	-.17**	-.16*	.06	.07	.01	.36**	.15*
Threat of self-image									
15. Positive self-image	.05	.02	-.11	.01	.00	-.08	.04	.05	-.04
16. Reliable self-image	.11	.04	-.03	-.12	-.02	.14*	-.02	.13*	.13*
17. Negative self-image	.06	-.03	.06	.17**	.15*	-.15*	.18**	-.01	.06
Variable	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
Perspective taking									
1. Degree	-.03	.28**	.05	-.03	.20**	.05	.11	.06	
2. Objective	.13*	-.09	.11	.12	-.13*	.02	.04	-.03	
3. Resistance	.04	-.21**	-.03	.14*	-.17**	-.11	-.03	.06	
4. Fear sympathy	.13*	-.18**	-.03	-.01	-.16*	.01	-.12	.17**	
Motivation to control prejudices									
5. Behavioral control	.01	.15*	-.06	.00	.06	.00	-.02	.15*	
6. Admitting prejudices	-.19**	.01	.11	.19**	.07	-.08	.14*	-.15*	
7. Unprejudiced self-expression	-.01	.02	-.04	-.06	.01	.04	-.02	.18**	

Estimate of Offender								
8. Reliability	-.18**	.53**	.03	-.09	.35**	.05	.13*	-.01
9. Recidivism	.12	.35**	-.04	-.04	.15*	-.04	.13*	.06
10. Planned in advance intention	1	-.03	-.02	.02	-.07	.05	-.11	.15*
Judgment of offender								
11. Judgment of offender	-.03	1	-.13*	-.28**	.50**	.04	.05	.02
Norm activation								
12. Frequency	-.02	-.13*	1	.27**	-.18**	-.03	.04	-.05
13. Severity	.02	-.28**	.27**	1	-.30**	.13*	.25**	-.15*
Social proximity								
14. Social proximity	-.07	.50**	-.18**	-.30**	1	.13*	.01	.04
Threat of self-image								
15. Positive self-image	.05	.04	.03	-.03	.13*	1	.37**	.04
16. Reliable self-image	-.11	.05	.04	.25**	.01	.37**	1	-.25**
17. Negative self-image	.15*	.02	-.05	-.15*	.04	.04	-.25**	1

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