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PERSPECTIVE TAKING IN A CRIMINAL CONTEXT

The Effect of Self-Reflection & Group Membership of the Offender on Perspective Taking

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Abstract

In this study the effects of self-reflection and the offender's group membership on participant's willingness to take the perspective of the offender were investigated. Furthermore, it was examined to what extent participants' motivation to control prejudiced reactions towards an out-group member influenced their willingness to take the offender's perspective. It was expected that the degree of perspective taking would be higher for the out-group offender than for the in-group offender when reflecting on own criminal deeds. In contrast, the degree of perspective taking should be higher for the in-group offender when reflecting on own good deeds. The current study uses a 2 (self-reflection: 'criminal deeds' vs. 'good deeds') x 2 ('in-group' vs. 'out-group') between-subjects design. This study is a replication of Brouwer's study (2014) with an additional implicit measure to enable a comparison in explicitly (survey) and implicitly measured willingness (essay) to take the perspective of an offender. Little support was found for the hypotheses, mainly because of the unexpected effect of the order in which participants of filling in the survey first and then the essay or vice versa. Hence, implications for further research are provided in the limitation and implication section of the study.

Introduction

Miracle Village sounds like a paradise to be at, but in reality it means the isolation of ex-criminals to the outer world. Miracle Village is a village located in Florida (US) and used to be the residence for seasonal workers of the sugar cane plantation. Currently 115 to 120 ex-criminals live there. Miracle Village was founded in 2009 by a Christian relief organization for ex-criminals of sexual crime (Die Welt, 2014). The present manager is an ex-felon himself and lives there alongside its residents. The majority of the residents of Miracle Village had no choice but to move there because they were denied to rent a house. Besides, sexual crime offenders are not allowed to approach a playground, school or park for more than 300 meters in the state of Florida. This crime policy is reinforced through the discrimination by the so called crime mapping. This is a publicized list containing about 40.000 names of criminal offenders which is accessible at anytime, anywhere, by anyone through the internet. Florida was one of the first states to introduce this mapping in 1997, publishing the name, picture, his/her birth date, information about the crime and the offender's address. Critics accuse the public authority of hindering the re-socialization process through this crime mapping (Die Welt, 2014). After release from prison ex-offenders have a social stigma which might lead to social exclusion. By stigmatized groups, a group is meant about which negative attitudes, stereotypes and beliefs are held. Prejudice and discrimination resulting from this stigma has substantial negative economic, political, social and psychological consequences for the stigmatized group or individual (Crocker & Major, 1989). As in the case of criminals, they struggle with employment issues because they tend to be uneducated and to have few job skills. Some have serious mental health and/

or medical problems, with little family support (As cited in Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012). To prevent discrimination and enable ex-offenders to re-enter society, re-integrative efforts have to be undertaken. Reintegration is defined as the process of adjusting to the life outside of prison, in an attempt to maintain a crime-free life (As cited in Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012). Reintegration or re-socialization is not a unilateral process and demands tolerance from society. But to what degree are people willing to take the perspective of an offender, to scrutinize the motives of a crime and finally help the offender to re-integrate to society?

To get insight into the underlying processes of how society approaches criminals an attempt is made to investigate whether they are willing to take the perspective of an offender.

Perspective taking

Empirical research has shown that taking the perspective of an out-group, thus a group which does not belong to the group one identifies with, reduces the activation and deployment of negative stereotypes (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000) and also leads to more positive evaluations of members of an out-group (Shih et al., 2009). Furthermore, perspective-taking led to more favorable interracial interactions by increasing the positivity of automatic reactions, specifically by strengthening approach-oriented action tendencies (Todd et. al, 2011). Perspective-taking is defined as the active consideration of psychological experiences of the other and is analogous to the term empathy. The three step model of empathy introduced by Batson et al. (1997) claims that adopting the perspective of an individual of a stigmatized group would lead to increased empathic feelings for that individual which in turn shall lead to greater value of that individual's welfare, assuming that the increased valuing would generalize to the individual's group by means of more positive attitudes toward the group. Davis et al. (2004) investigated self-related cognitions in relation to perspective taking. Across different measures, it was evident that taking the perspective of another by imagining the self in the target's position, the perspective taking was immediately associated with self-related mental activity. Assuming that there is a relation between self-reflection and perspective taking.

Davis et. Al (1996) conducted a study concluding that perspective-taking produced a merging of the self and the other, indicating that self-presentations were attributed to an unfamiliar individual of whom they had taken the perspective. This in turn led to more positive attitudes towards the target by explaining the target's behavior through self-concepts. According to the merging of the self and other concept self-concepts might become more readily applied to other people, whereas characteristics of others might increasingly be applied to oneself.

In the following section the researcher discusses the role group membership and self-reflection may play in people's willingness to take the perspective of an offender.

Group membership

Research has shown that the degree to which individuals identify with a group determines their social behavior and psychological affect (Leach et al., 2008). Perceived in-group homogeneity makes the group a coherent social entity which is associated with perceiving the in-group rather distinct from the out-group by common characteristics. This de-individuation in an in-group leads to self-stereotyping which in turn leads to affiliation with the in-group's successes and failures. Especially maintaining a positive image of one's in-group is associated with the degree of satisfaction with the in-group identification. This may lead individuals to resist negative events as a threat to the positive evaluation of one's in-group (As cited in Leach et.al, 2008). The social identity theory supports these notions. In a criminal context, it also asserts that judging a person belonging to the same group one affiliates with, thus the in-group, an in-group member should benefit from in-group favoritism and therefore be punished more leniently (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986), whereas in-group offenders would be punished more harshly because they threaten the positive social identity. This effect is referred to as the 'black sheep effect' (BSE) (Marques, Yzerbyt and Leyens, 1988).

Earlier research has shown interactive main effects of the offender's group membership and self-reflection of own criminal or own good deeds on the willingness to take the perspective of an offender. These effects were tried to be replicated by investigating the following hypothesis: A person's self-reflection of own 'criminal deeds' should lead to a higher willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender. A person's self-reflection of own 'good deeds', on the other side, should lead to a higher willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender (Hypothesis 1a).

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is assumed that perspective taking shall lead to a reduction of prejudices and stereotypes therefore it is investigated whether the motivation to control prejudices shall lead to a higher willingness to take the perspective of an offender.

Plant and Devine (1998) argues that the automatic processes involved in prejudice consist of a socially shared, cultural stereotype which is predominantly negative, being automatically activated upon encountering a minority group member. According to Plant and Devine (1998), non-prejudiced individuals are motivated to inhibit the influence of this automatically activated cultural stereotype, whereas prejudiced individuals possess no such motivation and thus exhibit behavior that is in accordance with this activated stereotype. Moreover, in the social identity theory it is assumed that individuals behave differently toward out-group offenders than towards in-group offenders to maintain a positive social identity (As cited in Gollwitzer et al., 2012). This leniency towards the in-group is considered strategic to protect the in-group's image over the out-group's (Braun & Gollwitzer, 2012). Therefore, it is expected that the motivation to control prejudiced reaction should 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 (Hypothesis 1b).

Data indicates that linguistic features, such as pronouns, may be a neglected dimension which could have important meaning in social psychology. Pronouns determine the self-versus group-identity as well as the degree to which we pay attention to others and/or relate to them (Pennebaker, Mehl & Niederhoffer, 2003). It is assumed that pronouns reveal how an individual refers to others in an interaction (Tauczik & Pennebaker, 2010). Therefore, a psycholinguistic analysis will be used as an attempt to gain insight in perspective taking beyond self-rapport measures, trying to overcome possible drawbacks such as social desirability. Ames et al. (2008) conducted a research indicated that participants, who took the perspective of an actor in the first person perspective, used significantly higher measures of the first-person perspective in their essays than third-person pronouns. Ames et al. (2008) concluded of this that perspective taking had pro social effects, such as reduced prejudice which may result of the blurring of the boundaries between the self and the other.

LIWC

An efficient evaluation method for linguistic analysis seems to be the computerized text analysis program. An empirically supported text analysis program is the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC). LIWC is a transparent text analysis program that counts words in psychologically meaningful categories. The LIWC2007 is a tool which contains a default set of word categories and a default dictionary that defines which words (target words) should be counted in the target text file. In this study a German dictionary is used. The dictionary words are grouped in particular domains (e.g. negative emotion words); these are referred to as sub dictionaries. In this study attention will be paid only to the pronouns (particularly first and third person).

Earlier research revealed that when participants were lying they used less first-person singular ("I") and a higher total word count (Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010). Here, using fewer first-person singular ("I") words is expected to indicate higher prejudice against an out-group and less willingness to take the perspective of the offender. Function words such as personal pronouns are an example for attentional allocation, indicating how one is relating to the other. Moreover, The LIWC can calculate positive and negative emotion words within a text, along with signs of self-reflection and causal thinking (conjunction words). The increased use of positive emotion words towards the offender may indicate greater projection of own characteristics and reduced prejudice towards the offender, whereas increased use of negative emotion words may indicate lower willingness and higher prejudice against an offender. Content word categories explicitly reveal an individual's attention. Attention can reveal not just who or what someone is attending to but how the information is processed. Language can track what information people are selecting from their environment by monitoring attentional focus (Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010). In this study it is of interest to investigate whether the words used by

the offender in the crime report are mirrored, thus reproduced in the essays. If so, it is expected that the degree of perspective taking is higher.

The categories were adapted to the German linguistic usage and German Emotion wording lists have been incorporated into the affect category (as cited in Wolf et.al, 2008). Studies by Wolf et al. revealed that the majority of the LIWC-categories is equivalent to the German version with good to very good correlations. For the German version there still has to be verified how far correlations with related psychological constructs can be illustrated. Studies revealed that different data modalities captured partially independent information while based on equal theoretic scope (cf. Argamon, Dhawle, Koppel & Pennebaker, 2005 as cited in Wolf et. Al, 2008). In this study a high word count, high usage of the first person singular and fewer third person singular should indicate a higher degree of perspective taking.

Hypothesis 2a: A person´s self-reflection of own criminal deeds leads to a higher use of the first person singular when writing an essay from the perspective of the out-group offender. A person´s self-reflection of own good deeds leads to a greater use of the first-person singular when writing an essay from the perspective of an in-group offender.

Hypothesis 2b: The motivation to control prejudiced reactions leads to higher use of the first person singular when writing the essay from the perspective of an out-group offender and to a lower use of the first person singular when writing the essay from the perspective of an in-group offender.

Method

Research design

The study design is a 2 (self-reflection of ‘criminal deeds’ vs. ‘good deeds’) x 2 (‘in-group’ vs. ‘out-group’) x 2 (item order: essay first vs. perspective-taking questions first) between-participants design. The research design is composed of an explicit and an implicit measurement which will be discussed in the following sections. In all of the eight conditions the participants were asked to take the perspective of the offender of a crime. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the eight conditions. In this research an online-survey on Qualtrics was used for the data collection.¹ In the first condition the respondents were asked to reflect on criminal deeds and take the perspective of the out-

¹ Results from earlier studies which this study is referring to have showed that after respondents have been asked to state their motivation to control prejudice, no further significant main and/or interaction effects were found on following variables suggesting that the respondents were responding in socially desirable manners after they have been confronted with the *Motivation to control prejudices scale*. This does not depict a realistic impression of the respondent. This aspect of social desirability might have clouded the interpretation of the responses to the following items. To overcome this obstacle two steps have been undertaken: Firstly, the item order of the survey has been changed to see if that brings about differences in response patterns as related to perspective taking. Secondly, the study has been conducted in a counterbalanced fashion to examine whether the order in which the implicit and explicit measure are presented has an effect on perspective taking.

group offender. In the second condition they were asked to reflect on good deeds and then reflect on the out-group offender. In the third and fourth condition the respondents had the same assignment but then in the counterbalanced order, meaning that they started off with the essay and afterwards filled in the survey for measuring the degree of perspective taking. The conditions four to eight were arranged analogously, but then asked to take perspective of the in-group offender instead of the out-group offender. With this in each condition the participants had reflected either on their criminal or good deeds, taken the perspective of an in-group or an out-group offender and started with either the survey or the essay.

Participants

The target group of this study were Germans, who represented the in-group. Participants were approached via the student mail, social network systems, e-mail and the Sona System. In total 210 people participated in this study. The data of 13 people had to be excluded because they did not meet the requirement of having the German nationality and thus not belonging to the in-group. Further the data of 85 respondents were excluded because they failed to complete the survey or did not reach to the perspective taking section of the survey. The remaining data of 112 participants was used as final sample for this research. Of the respondents were 74 female and 26 male, which are respectively 74% and 26%; 12 of the respondents did not indicate their gender. 100 respondents out of 112 indicated that they were of German origin, 12 of them indicated no nationality. 76% of the respondents ($n=76$) indicated no migrant background, 24% ($n=24$) indicated a migrant background. 10 of the respondents did not indicate whether the parents had a migrant background or not. Within those indicating that they had a migrant background, none of them were of Portuguese origin. 80% of the respondents indicated a higher education; the remaining 20% reported middle to lower education levels.

Material & Procedure

A. The explicit measurement

Independent variables

Nationality identification: To identify the affinity to the German nationality which represents the in-group, the 14-item questionnaire from Leach et. al (2008) was used. The questions were used to determine to which degree the participants identified themselves with being German. The questionnaire made use of the Likert scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) (Appendix B). The first scale contains three items and is called solidarity scale (Item 2.2, 2.6, 2.10, Appendix). One example question is: "I feel solidarity with Germans." The reliability analysis showed that the scale is highly reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$). The second scale is called satisfaction scale and contains four items (Items 2.1, 2.5, 2.8, 2.9). One example question is: "Being German gives me a good feeling." The reliability analysis showed that the scale is highly reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$). The third scale is called the centrality scale and contains three items (2.3, 2.4, and 2.7). One example

question is: "I often think about the fact that I am German." The reliability analysis showed that the scale is highly reliable (Cronbach's alpha $\alpha = .83$).

The fourth scale (individual self-stereotyping) contains two items (Item 2.11, 2.14). One example question is: "I am similar to the average German." The reliability analysis showed that the scale is highly reliable (Cronbach's alpha $\alpha = .86$). The fifth scale (in-group homogeneity) contains two items (Item 2.12, 2.13). One example question is: "Germans are very similar to each other." The reliability analysis here showed that the scale is highly reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

Manipulation of self-reflection of one's criminal vs. good deeds: Seven questions concerning either 'criminal' or 'good deeds' from Zwicker (2014) are used by means of manipulation on becoming aware of their own 'criminal deeds' or own 'good deeds'. In the 'criminal deeds' condition participants were asked whether they have ever committed a 'criminal deed'. One example question is: "Did you ever drive a car/motorcycle/bike under the influence of alcohol, drugs or other substances?" (Zwicker, 2014, own translation). In the 'good deeds' condition participants should answer questions about 'good deeds' they have accomplished. One example question is: "Have you ever helped an elderly or physically constrained person?" (Zwicker, 2014, own translation). The questions were answered either with 'Yes' or 'No' (see Appendix C).

Manipulation check criminal vs. good deeds: In order to check whether the manipulation of self-reflection of own 'criminal' or 'good deeds' was effective one question was asked per condition. The questions were to be answered either with 'Yes' or 'No'. 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, translated by Brouwer) (See Appendix C). The manipulation check of the criminal deeds worked for 96,6% ($n=57$) of the respondents. For 1,8% ($n=2$) of the respondents the manipulation did not work. The manipulation of the good deeds worked for 79,2% ($n=42$) of the respondents and did not work for 20,8% ($n=11$), thus in total the self-reflection manipulation did not work for 13 of the respondents (see Appendix P, Table P1).

Manipulation group membership offender: At the end of the questionnaire the participants were asked to state their nationality (German/non-German) to assure that they belonged to the in-group of this study. The target group of this study were Germans and so was the in-group offender. The out-group offender was non-German (Portuguese). All participants read a fictitious textual fragment developed by Zwicker (2014) which pretended to derive from a German news website (hna). The textual fragment was alike in every condition with the exception of the offenders' group membership and his name. In the in-group offender condition the offender was named Andreas W. and

was of German origin. In the out-group offender condition the offender was named Horacio P. and was of Portuguese origin (see Appendix E).

Manipulation check group membership offender: In order to prove whether the participants were aware of the group membership of the offender, a control question was asked at the end of the survey (Appendix P). In the out-group condition 31, 25% of the respondents (n=35) correctly indicated the nationality of the out-group offender and 8, 93% (n=10) of the respondents indicated the nationality of the out-group offender incorrectly as German. In the in-group condition 45, 54% of the respondents (n=51) indicated the nationality of the offender correctly as German, whereas 3 of the respondents (2,69%) falsely indicated the in-group nationality of the offender as Portuguese. Furthermore, 13 (11.61%) of the respondents did not answer at all to which nationality the offender belongs. In sum, the manipulation of the group membership of the offender did not work for 26 of the respondents; two of those respondents for whom the manipulation did not work, also the manipulation of the self-reflection did not work. Thus, in total, 37 participants did not answer one or both manipulation checks correctly (see Appendix P, Table P2).

Instruction taking perspective of offender: All participants received the instruction to take the perspective of the offender of the textual fragment presented in the survey (see Appendix D). This instruction was given before they read the fictitious textual fragment. After having read the text, the participants were asked to answer questions which aimed to examine if and to what degree the participants had taken the perspective of the offender.

Dependent variables

Taking perspective: To what extent the participants were willing to take the perspective of the offender was measured with 13 items which referred to the difficulty participants might have had experienced while taking the perspective of an offender and/or how willing they were to take the offenders perspective. These items were previously used in the studies of Zebel, Doosje, Spears and Vliek (2010), Zwicker (2014) and Brink (2012). There are four different scales with a Likert scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (very much). In seeking to establish to what extent the participants took the perspective of the offender the *degree of perspective taking* scale was used (Appendix F; Item 6.1, 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6). One example question is: "To what extend did you imagine what the offender thinks, feels and experiences?" (Zwicker, 2014, own translation). The reliability analysis revealed that the scale is highly reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$). The scale *remaining objective towards the offender* (Appendix F; Item 6.3) consists of one item. The question was: "How hard did you try to remain objective and keep an emotional distance to the offender?" (Zwicker, 2014, own translation). In order to get to know to what extent the participant had experienced resistance towards taking the perspective of the offender the scale *resistance towards taking perspective* was used (Appendix F; Item 6.7, 6.9,

6.13). One example question is: “To what extent did you experience resistance while trying to take the perspective of the offender?” Here the reliability analysis showed that it also has a good reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .78$) In seeking to establish whether the participants refused to take the perspective of the offender, because of feeling sympathy with the offender, the *scale no perspective taking through fear of sympathy* (Appendix F; Item 6.8, 6.10, 6.11, 6.12) was used. One example question is: “To what extent did you have difficulties taking the perspective of the offender?” (Zwicker, 2014, own translation). Here the reliability analysis revealed a high reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .84$).

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions: In order to measure the participants’ motivation to control prejudiced reactions the German questionnaire for uncovering the motivation to behave unprejudiced by Banse and Gawronski (2003) was used (Motivation zu vorurteilsfreiem Verhalten, MVV-16). The questionnaire consists of 16 items and has to be answered on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (not correct at all) to 5 (fully correct). The questionnaire can be divided into three scales. The first scale is used to measure the extent of the participant’s *behavioral control* which consists of 8 items (Appendix G; Items 10.4, 10.7, 10.8, 10.9, 10.10, 10.12, 10.15, 10.16). One example question is: “One should make himself aware of his own prejudices.” (Banse&Gawronski, 2003, own translation). The reliability analysis showed that the scale has a good reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .75$). The second scale contains four items and measures the extent to which the participant is admitting own prejudices (Appendix G; Items 10.1, 10.2, 10.4, 10.5, 10.6) with a high reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .77$). One example question is: “When talking about offenders, degrading terms should be avoided.” (Banse & Gawronski, 2003, own translation). The third scale contains four items and is used to measure unprejudiced self-expression (Appendix G; Items 10.3, 10.11, 10.13, 10.14) and has a bad reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .56$). The Cronbach’s alpha could not be heightened by deleting an item. One example question is: I think it is more important to say what one thinks rather than worrying whether you are offending anyone.”(Banse&Gawronski, 2003, own translation).²

Estimate of offender: In order to get an impression of how the participants estimate the offender ten items from the questionnaire of Weiner, Graham, Peter and Zmuidinas (1991) were used. These items are answered on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (very much) (Appendix H). To estimate whether the participants estimated the offender as reliable the scale *reliability of offender* is used which consists of four items (Appendix H; Items 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.10). The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .91$). One example question is:”To what extent do you perceive the offender as honest?” The scale *planned in advance intention* consists of one item (Appendix H; Item 7.4). The question is: “To what extent do you think that the offender planned the crime in advance?” In seeking knowledge of whether the participants thought that the offender will

² In the setup of the survey a mistake has undergone regarding the scoring. Instead of a 5-point Likert scale a 6-point scale has been used accidentally, so there was no neutral point.

recidivate (repeatedly commit crime) the scale *recidivism-chance offender* is used (Appendix H Item 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8, 7.9) which consists of five items. One example question is: "How likely do you think is it that the offender regrets his offence?" The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$).

Judgment of offender: The participants' opinion about the offender was measured with the scale judgment of offender which contains six items ranging from -2 (cold) to +2 (warm) (Appendix I, Items 8, 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5). One example of the word pairs which were presented for judgment was ranging from 'hostile' to 'friendly'. The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$).

Social proximity: The scale from Schrimpf (2013) was used in order to measure the social proximity between the respondent and the offender. The scale consists of four items which are answered on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). An example question is: "I can imagine myself working with a criminal like Andreas/ Horacio." (Appendix J, items 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4). The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$). Negatively scored items had to be recoded in order to obtain the scale reliability.

Threat of self-image: In order to measure the participants 'perceived threat to their self-image imposed by reflecting on own 'criminal deeds' Brouwer (2014) constructed eight items. The first scale consists of three items measuring the degree to which the participants have a *negative self-image* (Appendix K, Items 4.3, 4.4, 4.6). The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .71$). One example question is: "I feel embarrassed.". The second scale consists of three items and examines the degree to which the respondents have a *reliable self-image* (Appendix K, Items 4.5, 4.7, 4.8). One example question is: "I feel trustworthy.". The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .78$). The last scale consists of two items which measures to what extent the participant has a *positive self-image* (Appendix K, Items 4.1, 4.2). One example question is: "I feel proud about myself." The reliability analysis showed that it has a good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .78$). There was a scale from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) (see Appendix K) on which the respondents indicated how they felt at the moment.

Control variable: At the end of the questionnaire the participants were asked how serious they had participated in this study indicated by a slider ranging from 0 to 100 percent. Furthermore, some demographical questions were asked (Appendix L). The mean frequency of serious participation was 90.2% with a standard deviation of 11%. The minimum percentage of serious participation of the respondents was 50% and the maximum 100%. Additionally, some demographical questions were asked (Appendix N).

B. The implicit measurement

Instruction essay: All participants got the instruction to take the perspective of the offender of the textual fragment in which the course of events of the crime was depicted (Appendix O). The participants were asked to pay attention to their feelings and thoughts they had while reading the textual fragment.

Essay: After reading the textual fragment the participants were asked to depict the course of events of the crime from the offender's perspective whilst stating how they would have felt or what they would have thought being in his position.

Debriefing: Finally, the participants got a briefing about the topic of the study and over the fictive textual fragment and the fictive character of the offender (Appendix P).

Results

In the following sections the results of the univariate analyses of variance for perspective taking and the three scales of the Motivation scale will be conducted. The dependent variables were perspective taking, the motivation to control prejudiced reactions, the estimate of the offender, the judgment of the offender, social proximity and the threat of self-image. The main focus lied on perspective taking and the three scales for the motivation to control prejudiced reactions. The estimate of the offender, the judgment of the offender, social proximity and the threat to self-image were rather used as variables to shed light on whether or not perspective taking and the motivation to take place were high or low. The independent variables self-reflection ('good deeds' or 'criminal deeds'), group membership of the offender ('in-group' or 'out-group') and item order ('survey first' or 'essay first') were the fixed factors of the variance analyses. Respondents for whom the manipulation of the self-reflection and the manipulation of the group membership did not work (see above; total n = 37) were excluded from these ANOVA analyses.³

Perspective Taking

Degree of perspective taking: The variance analyses showed that there were no significant effects, all $F_s < 1.50$, all $p_s > .23$ (see Appendix P, Table P3). Thus, no support was found for hypothesis 1.

³ Including the respondents for whom the manipulation checks did not work a few effects changed. However, the most accurate and reliable analysis is the one without the respondents for which the manipulations did not work; therefore, these participants were excluded from the analysis.

Remaining objective towards the offender: Unexpectedly, a main effect of item order emerged on remaining objective towards the offender $F(1,67) = 11.35, p=.001$. The participants indicated that they remained more objective when they were asked to firstly fill in the survey and afterwards the essay ($M=4.69, SD= 1.54$) than when they were asked to begin with the essay and then fill in the survey ($M=3.58, SD= 1.40$).

Furthermore, an unexpected, marginal interaction effect between self-reflection and item order emerged $F(1,67) = 3.26, p=.075$. When being reminded of their criminal deeds the respondents were more prone to remain objective towards the offender when they were first asked to fill in the survey ($M=4.35, SD= 1.53$) rather than to write the essay ($M=3.78, SD= 1.35$). In the good deeds condition this difference was enhanced: the respondents were more prone to remain objective when filling in the survey first ($M=5.19, SD= 1.47$) rather than writing the essay first ($M=3.23, SD= 1.48$) (see figure 1). No other significant effects emerged, all $Fs < 2.04$. $ps > .16$.

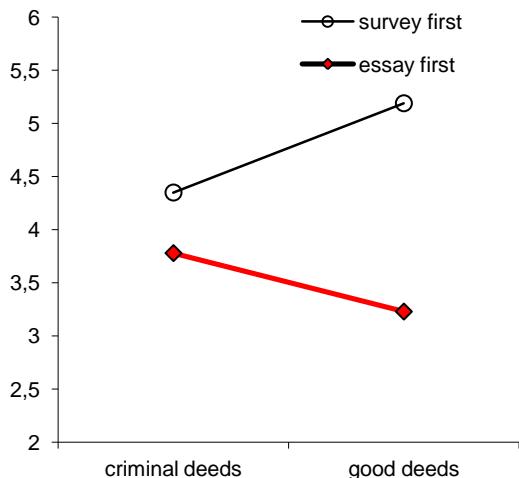


Figure 1: interaction effect of self-reflection and item order on the degree to which participants remained objective towards the offender in the article

Resistance towards perspective taking: The variance analysis showed a weak main effect of group membership on the resistance towards perspective taking emerged $F(1,67) = 3.02, p= .087$, but the effect did not reach significance. Thus, no support was found for hypothesis 1 in which it was assumed that reflecting on own criminal deeds should lead to a higher willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender than of an in-group offender and the contrary effect for the good deeds.. Furthermore, unexpectedly a main effect of item order on the resistance towards perspective taking emerged $F(1,67) = 4.85, p= .031$. When asked to fill in the survey first the respondents resisted more to

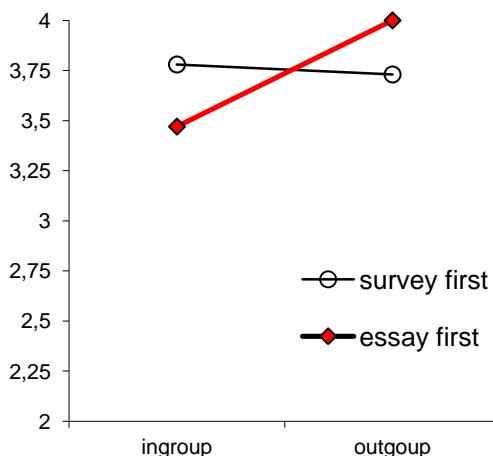
take the perspective of the offender ($M=4.25$, $SD= 1.32$) than when asked to write the essay first ($M=3.63$, $SD= 1.23$). No other significant effects emerged, all $Fs < 1.19$, $ps > .28$.

No perspective taking through fear of sympathy: No significant effects can be deducted, all $Fs < 1.73$, al $ps > .19$ (see Appendix P, Table P3). Thus, no support was found for hypothesis 1.

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions

Behavioral Control: The variance analysis showed that there was a marginal main effect of self-reflection on behavioral control $F(1, 67)= 3.02$, $p= .087$. In the criminal deeds condition the motivation to control behavior was slightly higher ($M=3.84$, $SD= 0.74$) than in the good deeds condition ($M=3.53$, $SD= 0.59$). But the effect did not reach significance; therefore no support was found for hypothesis 1a.

Unexpectedly, a marginal interaction effect was found for group membership and item order on behavioral control $F(1, 67)= 3.78$, $p= .056$. In the survey first condition the tendency to control one's behavior was slightly higher towards the in-group offender ($M=3.78$, $SD= 0.66$) than towards the out-group offender ($M=3.73$, $SD= 0.76$). In the essay first condition the tendency to control one's behavior was higher towards the out-group offender ($M=4.00$, $SD= 0.75$) than towards the in-group offender ($M= 3.47$, $SD= 0.63$). No other significant effects emerged, all $Fs < 1.17$. $ps > .28$.



Admitting own prejudices: According to the variance analysis there was a marginal main effect of self-reflection on admitting own prejudices emerged $F(1,67)= 2.99$, $p= .088$. Participants who were reminded of own criminal deeds were slightly more prone to admit own prejudices ($M=5.05$, $SD= 0.67$) than those who were reminded of own good deeds ($M= 4.81$, $SD= 0.73$). No other significant effects emerged, all $Fs < 2.51$. $ps > .12$

Unprejudiced self-expression: According to the variance analysis (see Appendix R) there were no significant effects, all $Fs < 1.92$, all $ps > .17$ (see Appendix P, Table P3).

Estimate of the offender

Reliability of the offender: According to the variance analysis no significant effects were found, all $Fs < 1.62$, $ps > .21$ (see Appendix P, Table P3).

Planned in advance intention: According to the two way variance analysis no significant effects were found, all $Fs < 1.622$, all $ps > .21$ (see Appendix P, Table P3).

Recidivism-chance offender: According to the two way variance analysis no significant effects were found, all $Fs < 2.60$, $ps > .11$ (see Appendix P, Table P3).

Judgment of offender

The variance analysis showed that there was a main effect of group membership on the judgment of the offender $F(1,67) = 6.28$, $p=.015$. The participants' judgment was better for the out-group offender ($M=2.66$, $SD= 0.56$) and worse for the in-group offender ($M=2.36$, $SD= 0.65$). Furthermore, an unexpected interaction effect was found for self-reflection and item order on the judgment of the offender $F(1,67) = 3.25$, $p= .076$. When being reminded of own criminal deeds the judgment of the offender was slightly better for the survey first condition ($M= 2.48$, $SD= 0.69$) than for the essay first condition ($M= 2.37$, $SD= 0.64$). When being reminded of own good deeds the judgment was better in the essay first condition ($M=2.63$, $SD= 0.52$) than in the survey first condition ($M=2.49$, $SD= 0.65$). Furthermore, an unexpected interaction effect of self-reflection, group membership and item order on the judgment of the offender emerged $F(1,67) = 5.98$, $p= .017$. In the survey first condition, the out-group offender was valued better when reflecting on criminal deeds ($M=2.91$, $SD= 0.44$) than when reflecting on own good deeds ($M=2.47$, $SD= 0.57$). Whereas, the in-group offender was valued better in the good deeds condition ($M=2.50$, $SD= 0.72$) than in the criminal deeds condition ($M=2.21$, $SD= 0.69$) (see figure 2a). These results have been found in earlier research from Brouwer (2014) as well. In contrast, in the essay first condition when reflecting on criminal deeds the out-group offender was valued worse ($M=2.39$, $SD= 0.54$) than in the good deeds condition ($M=2.63$, $SD= 0.52$). In the good deeds, the in-group offender was valued slightly better ($M= 2.43$, $SD= 0.40$) than in the criminal deeds ($M=2.35$, $SD= 0.74$) condition (see figure 2b).

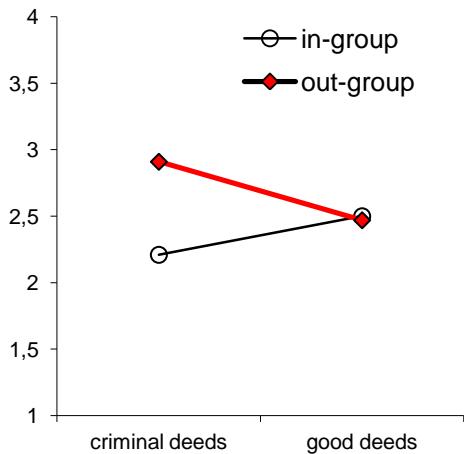


Figure 2a. Interaction effect between self-reflection and group membership in the survey first condition on the judgment of the offender

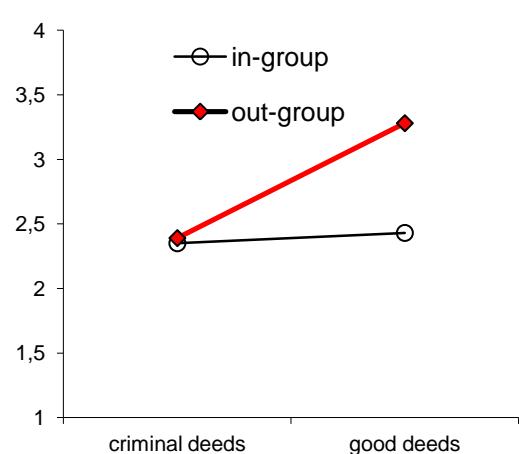


Figure 2b. Interaction effect between self-reflection and group-membership in the essay first condition on the judgment of the offender

Social proximity

The variance analysis (see Appendix R) showed that there were no significant effects, all $Fs < 2.24$, $ps > .14$ (see Appendix P, Table P3).

Threat of self-image

Negative self-image: According to the variance analysis a main effect of self-reflection on the negative self-image emerged $F(1,67)= 5.21$, $p= .026$. Respondents in the criminal deeds condition reported a higher negative self-image ($M=3.06$, $SD= 1.28$) than in the good deeds condition ($M=2.36$, $SD= 1.11$). No further significant effects were found, all $Fs < 0.81$, all $ps > .37$.

Reliable self-image: Expectedly, there was a main effect of self-reflection on reporting to have a reliable self-image $F(1,67)= 4.90$, $p= .030$. Respondents being reminded of their own criminal deeds reported having a lower reliable self-image ($M= 5.20$, $SD= 1.31$) than respondents being reminded of their own good deeds ($M=5.87$, $SD= 0.87$). Unexpectedly, the two way variance analysis also showed an interaction effect of group membership and item order on the reliable self-image $F(1,67)= 4.06$, $p=.048$. In the survey first condition the participants reported a lower reliable self-image ($M=5.19$, $SD= 1.26$) than in the essay first condition ($M=5.80$, $SD= 0.80$) when confronted with the in-group offender. When confronted with the out-group offender, the participants reported a higher reliable self-

image in the survey first condition ($M=5.80$, $SD= 1.45$) rather than in the essay first condition ($M=5.00$, $SD= 1.18$). No further significant effects were found, all $Fs < 0.30$, all $ps > .58$.

Positive self- image: Expectedly, the two way variance analysis showed that self-reflection has a main effect on the positive self-image $F(1,67)= 5.53$, $p= .022$. The participants reported having a lower positive self-image when being reminded of one's own criminal deeds ($M=3.78$, $SD= 1.36$) than when being reminded of own good deeds ($M=4.64$, $SD= 1.22$). No further significant effects were found, all $Fs < 2.71$, all $ps > .11$.

LIWC analysis

Also for the linguistic analysis the sample which was corrected for the manipulation checks was used, this was a total of 62 respondents.⁴

Word count: According to the variance analysis no significant could have been found, all $Fs < 2.07$, all $ps > .16$ (see Appendix P, Table P3).

I (first person singular): According to the variance analysis a three-way interaction effect emerged between self-reflection, group membership and item order on the use of the first person singular $F(1,52)= 5.55$, $p= .022$. In the survey first condition (see Figure 3a), the use of the first person singular was higher for the out-group offender when reflecting on own criminal deeds ($M=15.69$, $SD= 5.44$) than for the good deeds condition ($M=10.40$, $SD= 9.07$). However, the use of the first person singular was higher for the in-group offender when reflecting on own good deeds ($M=12.09$, 5.60) than when reflecting on own criminal deeds ($M=11.06$, $SD= 6.96$) (see figure 3a). These results are in line with hypothesis 2a in which it was expected that the use of the first person singular would be higher for the out-group offender when reminded of own criminal deeds and higher for the in-group offender when reflecting on own good deeds. In contrast, in the essay first condition, the use of the first person singular was higher for the out-group offender when reflecting on own good deeds ($M= 18.20$, $SD= 2.55$) than when reflecting on own criminal deeds ($M=11.08$, $SD= 6.81$). But the use of the first person singular was higher for the in-group offender when reflecting on own criminal deeds ($M=12.43$, $SD= 3.05$) than when reflecting on own good deeds ($M=8.42$, $SD= 6.27$). (see figure 3b). No further significant effects were found all $Fs < 2.36$, all $ps > .13$.

⁴ Including the respondents for whom the manipulation checks did not work a few effects changed. For the more accurate and reliable analysis is the one without the respondents for which the manipulations did not work, it has been decided to exclude those from the analysis.

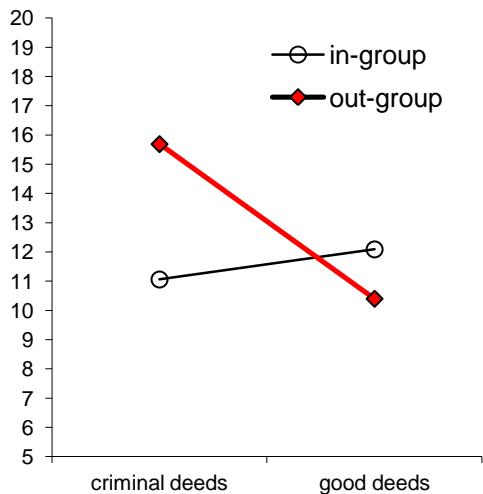


Figure 3a. Interaction effect between self-reflection And group membership in the survey first condition on the use of the first person singular

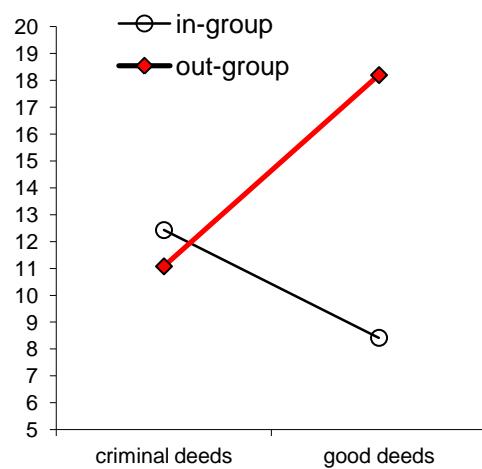


Figure 3b. Interaction effect between self-reflection and group membership in the Essay first condition on the use of the first Person singular

Er (third person singular): Unexpectedly a marginal interaction effect emerged between group membership and item order $F(1,53)= 3.14, p= .082$. No further significant effects were found, all $Fs < 2.37$, all $ps > .13$ (see Appendix P, Table P3).

Since the LIWC program does not encounter aspects such as mirroring and the passive voice (the subjunctive), an attempt has been made to qualitatively analyze the essays. Based on the words used by the offender in the fragment, such as ('erschrocken', 'Stemmeisen' or 'Scheißaktion') the frequency of words having been mirrored in the essays have been encountered. Mirroring was highest when being reminded of own good deeds and taking the perspective of the out-group offender and then reflecting on own criminal deeds condition when asked to write the essay first. An example is: 'Ich war so erschrocken, dass ich dem mit dem Stemmeisen einen Hieb verpasste. [...] Ich meine es war schon eine Scheissaktion in das Geschaeft einbrechen zu wollen [...]' Furthermore, the quantitative analysis showed that the passive voice was used. An example sentence is: 'Wäre ich Andreas, so wäre ich vor dem Einbruch wahrscheinlich auch sehr nervös gewesen und würde viele Dinge falsch aufnehmen und paranoid sein.' In some essays a shift from the passive voice to the first person singular (T) could have been detected. An example is: ' [...] Ich hätte den Mann nicht angreifen dürfen und vor allem hätte ich nicht einfach gehen dürfen ohne Hilfe zu rufen. Meine Gefühle von Schuld, Verweiflung und angst haben mich so gelähmt, dass ich nicht mehr klar denken konnte. Das alles tut mir sehr Leid.'

Correlation

Questionnaire taking perspective

Standard item order

In order to investigate whether a higher motivation to control prejudiced reactions leads to a greater willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender and thus to a higher use of the first person singular and to a lower willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender (Hypothesis 2b) a correlation analysis has been conducted. The variables used in the correlation analysis are the degree of perspective taking and the three scales from the MVV-16: behavioral control, admitting own prejudices and unprejudiced self-expression.⁵

The correlation analysis showed that when confronted with an out-group offender participant's degree of perspective taking had a positive relation with their readiness to admit own prejudices ($r = .662, p < .05$) in the criminal deeds condition. Thus, as the participants' readiness to admit own prejudices was high, so was their degree of perspective taking.

In contrast, the degree of perspective taking towards an out-group offender in the good deeds condition had a positive relation with the admission of own prejudices (Pearson correlation $r = .399, p = .224$). Thus, as the participants' willingness to admit own prejudices was high, their degree of perspective taking was also high. In the case of an in-group offender in the good deeds condition the participant's degree of perspective taking did not correlate significantly with any of the three scales of the MVV-16. Thus, no support was found for hypothesis 2a.

The use of the first person singular did not correlate significantly with the degree of perspective taking. Thus, no support was found for hypothesis 2. When being confronted with an in-group offender in the criminal deeds condition, the use of the first person singular and the degree of perspective taking had a moderate negative relation (Pearson correlation $r = -.362, p > .05$). Thus, as the degree of perspective taking was high, the use of the first person singular was low. No significant correlations between the use of the first person singular and the three scales of the MVV-16 were found. In the good deeds condition the degree of perspective taking of the out-group offender had a negative relation with the use of the first person singular (Pearson correlation $r = -.587, p > .05$) as well as with the admission of own prejudices (Pearson correlation $r = -.468, p > .05$).

No significant correlations were found for the degree of perspective taking of the in-group offender and the use of the first person singular in the good deeds condition.

⁵ In earlier research (Brouwer, 2014) the scale *admitting own prejudices* showed the strongest relation with the degree of perspective taking, therefore this scale will be examined only. The full correlation table is shown in the Appendix.

Discussion & Conclusion

This study aimed to replicate earlier research results of the study of Brouwer (2014) and Zwicker (2014). It was investigated whether reflecting on own ‘criminal deeds’ or own ‘good deeds’ has different effects on taking the perspective of an offender depending on the group membership of the offender. More specifically, it was expected that the self-reflection of own ‘criminal deeds’ should lead to a lower willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender, whereas reflecting on own ‘good deeds’ was expected to lead to a greater willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender. Additionally, a psycholinguistic analysis was conducted in order to examine whether the interaction effect of the self-reflection and group membership on the willingness to take the perspective can be found in an implicit measure. Therefore, it was investigated whether the self-reflection of own ‘criminal deeds’ leads to a greater use of the first person singular ('I') when writing an essay from the perspective of an out-group offender depicting the crime in the textual fragment. In contrast, the self-reflection on own ‘good deeds’ was expected to lead to a greater use of the first person singular ('I') when writing the essay from the perspective of an in-group offender.

Furthermore, it was expected that a higher motivation to control their prejudiced reactions should lead to a greater willingness to take the perspective of an out-group offender, whereas, in contrast, a higher motivation to control prejudiced reactions should lead to a lower willingness to take the perspective of an in-group offender.

Overall, little support was found for the hypotheses. However, two interesting effects have been found. An interesting three way interaction between self-reflection, group membership and item order on the judgment of the offender emerged. When asked to fill in the survey first, the out-group offender was valued better when reflecting on criminal than when reflecting on own good deeds. Whereas, the in-group offender was valued better in the good deeds condition than in the criminal deeds condition. The same effects have been found in early research from Brouwer (2014) and Zwicker (2014).

An analogous effect of the self-reflection and group membership on the degree of perspective taking was found in the use of the first person singular. In the survey first condition the use of the first person singular was higher for the out-group offender when reflecting on own criminal deeds than when reflecting on own good deeds. However, the use of the first person singular was higher for the in-group offender when reflecting on own good deeds rather than when reflecting on own criminal deeds. These results are in line with hypothesis 2a in which it was expected that the use of the first person singular would be higher for the out-group offender when reminded of own criminal deeds and higher for the in-group offender when reflecting on own good deeds. The ultimate attribution error by Pettigrew (1979) offers an explanation for this phenomenon stating that people tend to ascribe negative behavior of an out-group member to internal disposition, whereas negative acts committed by in-group members are ascribed to external, situational factors.

In contrast, the opposed effects were found in the essay first condition. Throughout the survey item order disturbed the manipulation of the self-reflection and the group membership on the different variables that were tested. For example, an unexpected main effect of item order on the resistance towards perspective taking has been discovered. When asked to fill in the survey first the respondents resisted more to take the perspective of the offender than when asked to write the survey first. It appears thus as if writing the essay first pushed the participants towards greater perspective taking.

Unexpectedly, an interaction effect was also found for group membership and item order on behavioral control. In the essay first condition the tendency to control one's behavior was higher towards the out-group offender than towards the in-group offender. In the survey first condition the tendency to control one's behavior was slightly higher towards the in-group offender. Here a similar effect can be detected: it appears as if writing the essay first pushed people towards a greater motivation to control prejudiced reactions.

The participants clearly took the instruction to take the perspective of the offender seriously, without providing insight in whether the perspective was taken deliberately towards the offender or because that was the assignment. Davis et al. (2004) addressed the same problem by stating that the instruction of perspective taking is artificial, thus explicitly instructing participants to empathize. Therefore, it is difficult to determine what the underlying processes of perspective taking have been.

Limitations & Implications

One disadvantage of this study is the length of the questionnaire. Approximately 100 items were presented and a textual fragment, in response to which an essay had to be written.

Also the manipulation of the group membership did not work for more than 20% of the respondents,. An attempt was made to implicitly measure the willingness to take the perspective of an offender. But the order in which the questionnaire was conducted seemed to disturb the effects of self-reflection and group membership on the willingness to take the perspective of the offender. Considering the counterbalanced order, thus first writing the essay and then responding the questionnaire revealed contrasting effects. It appeared as if the instruction to take the perspective pushed the respondents towards perspective taking. This is supported through earlier research by Ames et al. (2008) in which a significantly higher use of the first-person perspective was found in the essays than third-person pronouns when taking the perspective of an actor. Besides, some respondents only reported feelings and/ or thoughts that the offender might have had committing the crime. At this moment, it is not clear if this was the case because they simply did not want to take the perspective of the offender, they were rushing through the questionnaire or because they did not understand the instruction properly. The word count did not seem to be a reliable measure for perspective taking, because the essays deviated quite much in their length throughout the conditions, which made it hard to draw conclusions from it. Therefore it was decided to leave that variable out of consideration. Another drawback of the study

was that the LIWC linguistic analysis program does not differentiate between the passive voice (subjunctive) and also between the pronouns used to describe either the offender or the victim of the crime. In the essay the reference to the victim as well as the offender using a subjunctive were not differentiated. Therefore the conclusions drawn are questionable in their validity.

Based on these insights, for future research it is advised to use a shorter questionnaire or split the survey in an explicit part and an implicit part conducted at different times the drop-out rate to minimize. If a psycholinguistic investigation of perspective taking is considered for future research it is also advised to use a less directive instructions to warrant that the respondents will take the perspective deliberately and not for the task's sake. Finally, an effort should be made to make the respondents more aware of the offender's group membership. A simple way to heighten the awareness could be to print the name and the group membership of the offender bold.

Nevertheless, no earlier research had been done on the psycholinguistic level of perspective taking from the viewpoint of the offender which is an interesting starting point for reintegrating efforts of (ex-) criminals

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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: Fragments

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 social proximity

Appendix K: Control question group membership

Appendix L: Questions about participant (Demographics)

Appendix M: Instruction essay

Appendix N: Debriefing

Appendix O: LIWC categories

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 um die Fragestellung 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, d.h. nicht unter Alkohol- oder Drogeneinfluss. Die Teilnahme an dieser Untersuchung bleibt zu jeder Zeit anonym. Es ist weder möglich nachzuvollziehen welcher Teilnehmer welche Antworten gegeben hat, noch werden Ihre Daten an Dritte weitergegeben. Sie können zu jeder Zeit mit der Umfrage aufhören ohne jegliche Angabe von Gründen. Die Umfrage dauert ca. 30 Minuten. Bitte achten Sie darauf alle Fragen zu beantworten bevor Sie fortfahren, da eine Auswertung ist nur möglich, wenn der Fragebogen komplett ausgefüllt wurde. Im Anschluss der Befragung erhalten Sie ausführlichere Informationen zu dieser Untersuchung. Wenn Sie am Ende der Untersuchung über die Resultate informiert werden wollen oder andere Fragen haben, dann melden Sie sich bei y.ata@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. Ich bedanke mich im Voraus für ihre Teilnahme.

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?

2.1 Ich bin froh Deutsche(r) zu sein.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2.2 Ich fühle mich solidarisch gegenüber Deutschen.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2.4 Ich denke oft an die Tatsache, dass ich Deutsche(r) bin.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2.6 Ich fühle mich mit Deutschen verbunden.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2.10 Ich fühle mich zugehörig/betroffen mit Deutschen.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2.11 Ich habe viel mit dem durchschnittlichen Deutschen gemein.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2. 12 Deutsche sind sich sehr ähnlich.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2.13 Deutsche teilen sich viele Gemeinsamkeiten.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

2.14 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.

3.2.2 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

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

- Ja
 Nein

3.2.2.1 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

3.1.2 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

3.2.3 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

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

- Ja
- Nein

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

- Ja
- Nein

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

- Ja
- Nein

3.2.5 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

3.1.5 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

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

- Ja
- Nein

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

- Ja
- Nein

3.2.7 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?

3.1.7 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?

3.2.9 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

3.1.9 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 Zeitungsasträger, 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 Zeitungsasträger, 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 Zeitungsasträgers entschuldigt sich der 25-Jährige Horacio bei diesem: "Ich weiß, das ist keine Entschuldigung für das, was ich Ihnen angetan habe." Der Zeitungsasträger sieht ihn an und nickt mit dem Kopf.

2. In-group offender:

Quelle: dpa

25-jähriger Deutscher gesteht Straftat

Während ein Zeitungsasträger, 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 Zeitungsasträger, 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 Zeitungsasträgers entschuldigt sich der 25-Jährige Andreas bei diesem: "Ich weiß, das ist keine Entschuldigung für das, was ich Ihnen angetan habe." Der Zeitungsasträger sieht ihn an und nickt mit dem Kopf.

Appendix F: Questionnaire taking perspective

6.1 Wie sehr haben Sie probiert sich vorzustellen was Andreas/ Horacio denkt, fühlt und erfährt?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

6.3 Wie sehr haben Sie probiert objektiv zu bleiben und emotionalen Abstand zu halten gegenüber Andreas/ Horacio?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

6.4 Inwieweit haben Sie versucht Andreas/ Horacios Perspektive einzunehmen?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

6.5 Inwieweit ist es Ihnen gelungen, Andreas/ Horacios Perspektive einzunehmen?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

6.6 Inwieweit war es Ihnen möglich, seine Perspektive einzunehmen?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

6.7 Inwieweit haben Sie einen Widerstand erfahren als Sie sich in Andreas/ Horacio einfühlen wollten?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

6.9 Ich fand es schwierig, die menschliche Seite von Andreas/ Horacio zu sehen.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

6.13 In wie weit hatten Sie Schwierigkeiten, Andreas/ Horacios 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.

10.1 Man sollte sich nie durch Vorurteile leiten lassen.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

10.6 Man sollte sich seine eigenen Vorurteile bewusst machen.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

10.8 Man sollte in Gesellschaft nichts Negatives über Straftäter sagen.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

10.10 Man sollte nicht über Straftäterwitze lachen.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

10.14 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

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

10.16 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. 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.

7.1 Inwieweit empfinden Sie Andreas/ Horacios Aussagen als glaubwürdig?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.2 Inwieweit empfinden Sie Andreas/ Horacios Aussagen als aufrichtig?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.3 Inwieweit empfinden Sie Andreas/ Horacios Aussagen als ehrlich?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.4 Inwieweit denken sie das Andreas/ Horacio diese Straftat im Voraus geplant hat?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.5 Inwieweit denken Sie, dass Andreas/ Horacio motiviert ist, sein straffäliges Verhalten in Zukunft zu vermeiden?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.6 Inwieweit finden Sie es, dass Andreas/Horacio ein guter Mensch ist?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.7 Wie wahrscheinlich denken Sie ist es, dass Andreas /Horacio noch einmal straffällig wird?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.8 Für wie wahrscheinlich halten Sie es, dass Andreas/Horacio sein Verhalten in Zukunft ändern wird?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.9 Für wie wahrscheinlich halten Sie es, dass Andreas/Horacio nochmal Gewalt anwenden wird?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

7.10 Für wie wahrscheinlich halten Sie es, dass Andreas/Horacio seine Tat bedauern wird?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

Appendix I: Questionnaire Judgment of the offender

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

Kalt Warm

Negativ Positiv

Feindselig Freundlich

Verdächtig Vertrauenswürdig

Verachtend Respektvoll

Ekel Bewunderung

Appendix J: Questionnaire Social proximity

Im Folgenden geht es darum, wie sie zu Andreas / Horacio 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, dass Sie jede Frage ausfüllen.

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

9.3 Ich empfände es als großes Problem, wenn ein Straftäter wie Andreas/ Horacio in meiner direkten Umgebung wohnen würde.

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

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

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

Appendix K: Control question group membership

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

- Deutsch
- Portugiesisch

Appendix L: Questions about participant

Nun noch einige Fragen zu Ihrer Person:

Geschlecht

- Weiblich
- Männlich

Alter

Nationalität

- Deutsch
- Andere, nämlich

Hat ein Elternteil oder beide eine andere Nationalität als Deutsch?

- Nein
- Ja, nämlich

Was ist die höchste schulische Ausbildung die Sie abgeschlossen haben?

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

Kennen Sie jemanden, der Opfer einer Straftat war?

- Ja
- Nein

Wenn ja, können Sie eine kurze Beschreibung dieser Straftat geben?

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

- Ja
- Nein

Wenn ja, können Sie kurz eine Beschreibung dieser Straftat geben?

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

- Ja
 Nein

Wenn ja, können Sie eine Kurze Beschreibung dieser Straftat geben?

Inwieweit haben Sie an dieser Umfrage gewissenhaft teilgenommen?

Überhaupt nicht Sehr

Appendix M: Instruction Essay

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 einen Brief an den Täter zu schreiben, indem Sie ihm schildern wie Sie sich in seiner Position gefühlt hätten, was Ihnen für Gedanken durch den Kopf gegangen wären. Nehmen Sie sich dafür genügend Zeit

Appendix N: Debriefing

Ich bedanke mich herzlich für Ihre Teilnahme an meiner Untersuchung.

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. Außerdem werden an Hand des Briefes, der an den Täter adressiert ist, psycholinguistische Variablen untersucht, die Aufschluss geben sollen über die kognitiven Prozesse, die eine Rolle spielen bei der Perspektivnahme. 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 y.ata@student.utwente.nl.

Appendix O: LIWC-Categories and the corresponding dictionary entries

LIWC-Categories and the corresponding dictionary entries

LIWC- Dimension	Abbreviation	Dictionary entry (example)
Basic Linguistic Dimensions		
Total word count	WC	
Assent	Assent	Ja, ok, einverstanden
<i>Pronouns (Total)</i>	<i>Pronoun</i>	Ich, wir, sie, dein
1. Person Singular	I	Ich, mir, mein
1. Person (Total)	Self	Ich, wir, mein
2. Person (Total)	Other	Sie, er, deren
II. Psychological Processes		
<i>Affective and emotional processes</i>	<i>Affect</i>	Glücklich, hässlich, lächeln
<i>Negative Emotions</i>	<i>Negative</i>	Traurig, Hass, wertlos

Note. Categories printed in cursive characters contain subcategories

Appendix P: Analysis tables

Table P1. Manipulation check self-reflection

Condition	Manipulation self-reflection		N
	Yes	No	
Criminal deeds, out-group	13	1	14
	92,9%	7,1%	
Criminal deeds, out-group +	13	0	13
Counterbalanced	100%	0%	
Criminal deeds, in-group	17	1	18
	94,4%	5,6%	
Criminal deeds, in-group +	14	0	14
Counterbalanced	100%	0%	
Good deeds, out-group	11	3	14
	78,6%	21,4%	
Good deeds, out-group +	6	4	10
Counterbalanced	60%	40%	
Good deeds, in-group	13	1	14
	92,9%	7,1%	
Good deeds, in-group +	12	3	15
Counterbalanced	80%	20%	

Table P2. Manipulation check group membership of the offender

Condition	Manipulation group membership		N
	Yes	No	
Criminal deeds, out-group	9	4	13
	69,2%	30,8%	
Criminal deeds, out-group +	11	2	13
Counterbalanced	84,6%	15,4%	
Criminal deeds, in-group	15	0	15
	100%	0%	
Criminal deeds, in-group +	12	1	13
Counterbalanced	92,3%	7,7%	
Good deeds, out-group	9	2	11
	81,8%	18,2%	

Good deeds, out-group +	6	2	8
Counterbalanced	75%	25%	
Good deeds, in-group	11	0	11
	100%	0%	
Good deeds, in-group +	13	2	15
Counterbalanced	86,7%	13,3%	

Table P3.ANOVA tables

Variable	Perspective taking	DF	F	Sig.
Degree of Perspective taking	Self-reflection	(1,67)	0.04	.836
	Group membership	(1,67)	0.24	.628
	Item order	(1,67)	0.91	.342
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.57	.452
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	1.50	.225
	Groupmembership*itemorder	(1,67)	1.09	.301
	Self-reflection*groupmembership*	(1,67)	0.14	.707
Remaining objective Towards perspective Taking	Itemorder			
	Self-reflection	(1,67)	0.03	.866
	Group membership	(1,67)	2.04	.158
	Item order	(1,67)	11.35	.001
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.01	.930
	Selfreflection*itemorder	(1,67)	3.26	.075
	group membership* Item order	(1,67)	0.08	.779
Resistance towards Perspective taking	self-reflection* group membership	(1,67)	0.99	.323
	Itemorder			
	Self-reflection	(1,67)	0.19	.665
	Group membership	(1,67)	3.02	.087
	Item order	(1,67)	4.85	.031
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.43	.515
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	1.19	.279
No perspective taking Through fear of Sympathy	group membership* Item order	(1,67)	0.08	.773
	Selfreflection*group membership*	(1,67)	2.81	.098
	Item order			
	Self-reflection	(1,67)	0.30	.588
	Group membership	(1,67)	0.88	.352
	Item order	(1,67)	1.73	.193
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.03	.868
Motivation to control prejudiced reactions	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	0.23	.636
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	0.07	.798
	Self-reflection*Groupmembership*	(1,67)	0.16	.691
	itemorder			
	DF	F	Sig.	

Behavioral control	Self-reflection	(1,67)	3.02	.087
	Group membership	(1,67)	1.17	.284
	Item order	(1,67)	0.01	.929
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	1.60	.210
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	1.04	.313
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	3.78	.056
	Selfreflection* group membership	(1,67)	2.81	.098
	Itemorder			
Admitting own Prejudices	Self-reflection	(1,67)	2.99	.088
	Group membership	(1,67)	1.51	.223
	Item order	(1,67)	2.19	.143
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	2.51	.118
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	0.15	.698
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	0.00	.952
	Selfreflection* Groupmembership*	(1,67)	0.01	.934
	Itemorder			
Unprejudiced self- expression	Self-reflection	(1,67)	0.78	.380
	Group membership	(1,67)	0.00	.996
	Item order	(1,67)	1.07	.305
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	1.21	.275
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	1.92	.171
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	1.30	.259
	Selfreflection* Groupmembership*	(1,67)	1.36	.248
	Item order			
	Estimate of the offender	DF	F	Sig.
Reliability of the Offender	Self-reflection	(1,67)	1.02	.317
	Group membership	(1,67)	1.62	.208
	Item order	(1,67)	0.02	.887
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.00	.961
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	0.12	.729
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	0.13	.720
	Selfreflection* groupmembership*	(1,67)	0.06	.816
	itemorder			
Planned in Advance intention	Self-reflection	(1,67)	0.68	.412
	Group membership	(1,67)	0.21	.652
	Item order	(1,67)	0.14	.714
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.01	.915
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	0.86	.357
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	0.61	.439
	Selfreflection* Groupmembership*	(1,67)	1.62	.207
	Itemorder			
Recidivism-chance Offender	Self-reflection	(1,67)	1.43	.237
	Group membership	(1,67)	2.60	.111
	Item order	(1,67)	0.01	.908
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.15	.703
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	0.09	.770
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	0.13	.723

	Selfreflection* Group membership*	(1,67)	0.81	.372
	Itemorder			
	Judgment of the offender	DF	F	Sig.
Judgment of the Offender	Self-reflection	(1,67)	1.75	.191
	Group membership	(1,67)	6.28	.015
	Item order	(1,67)	0.33	.566
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1,67)	0.02	.902
	Self-reflection* item order	(1,67)	3.25	.076
	Item order* group membership	(1,67)	0.13	.717
	Selfreflection*group membership*	(1,67)	5.98	.017
	Itemorder			
	Social Proximity	DF	F	Sig.
Social Proximity	Self-reflection	(1.66)	0.56	.459
	Group membership	(1.66)	1.21	.275
	Item order	(1.66)	0.34	.561
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1.66)	0.03	.867
	Selfreflection* Itemorder	(1.66)	0.22	.637
	Groupmembership * Item order	(1.66)	0.07	.792
	Self-reflection*Group membership*	(1.66)	2.24	.139
	Itemorder			
	Threat to self-image	DF	F	Sig.
Negative self-image	Self-reflection	(1, 67)	5.21	.026
	Group membership	(1, 67)	0.13	.715
	Item order	(1, 67)	0.61	.439
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1, 67)	0.14	.708
	Self-reflection* item order	(1, 67)	0.00	.946
	Item order* group membership	(1, 67)	0.81	.370
	Selfreflection* group membership*	(1, 67)	0.01	.906
	Itemorder			
Reliable self-image	Self-reflection	(1, 67)	4.90	.030
	Group membership	(1, 67)	0.01	.929
	Item order	(1, 67)	0.02	.903
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1, 67)	0.30	.588
	Self-reflection* item order	(1, 67)	0.08	.774
	Item order* group membership	(1, 67)	4.06	.048
	Selfreflection* group membership*	(1, 67)	0.14	.709
	Itemorder			
Positive self-image	Self-reflection	(1, 67)	5.53	.022
	Group membership	(1, 67)	0.00	.994
	Item order	(1, 67)	0.24	.629
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1, 67)	0.03	.870
	Self-reflection* item order	(1, 67)	2.71	.105
	Item order* group membership	(1, 67)	0.49	.487
	Selfreflection* Group membership*	(1, 67)	1.82	.182
	Itemorder			

Wordcount	Self-reflection	(1, 52)	0.06	.801
	Group membership	(1, 52)	0.46	.499
	Item order	(1, 52)	0.50	.481
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1, 52)	0.79	.378
	Self-reflection* item order	(1, 52)	2.07	.157
	Item order* group membership	(1, 52)	0.05	.819
	Selfreflection*Group membership*	(1, 52)	0.00	.996
	Itemorder			
<hr/>				
Ich	Self-reflection	(1, 52)	0.03	.876
	Group membership	(1, 52)	2.36	.131
	Item order	(1, 52)	0.02	.905
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1, 52)	0.42	.520
	Self-reflection* item order	(1, 52)	0.99	.325
	Item order* group membership	(1, 52)	0.55	.462
	Selfreflection* group membership	(1, 52)	5.55	.022
	Itemorder			
<hr/>				
Er	Self-reflection	(1.53)	0.01	.936
	Group membership	(1, 53)	2.34	.130
	Item order	(1, 53)	0.02	.897
	Self-reflection*group membership	(1, 53)	0.01	.928
	Self-reflection* item order	(1, 53)	0.22	.643
	Item order* group membership	(1, 53)	3.14	.082
	Selfreflection* Groupmembership*	(1, 53)	0.46	.500
	Itemorder			

Table P4. Quantitative analysis essays

LIWC category	Condition							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Mirroring	15	30	33	16	18	22	28	14
Passive voice	0	2	4	2	3	1	2	4

Table P5. Means (M), and standard deviations (SD) and correlation between the degree of perspective taking (PT), the motivation scales (MVV-16) and 'Ich`and `Er`

Criminal deeds condition Standard item order	M	SD	Degree of PT	Behavioral control	Admitting prejudices	Unprejudiced self-expression	Ich	Er
Out-group								
Degree of perspective taking	4.49	1.14	1	.19	.66**	-.28	.09	.40
Behavioral control MVV	4.19	0.50	.19	1	.11	-.28	-.70*	-.18
Admitting own prejudices MVV	5.46	0.40	.66**	.11	1	-.20	.16	-.29
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	3.77	0.94	-.28	-.28	-.20	1	.14	.35
Ich	16.04	5.38	.09	-.70*	.16	.14	1	.18
Er	3.28	2.47	-.40	-.18	-.29	.35	.18	1
In-group								
Degree of perspective taking	4.41	1.12	1	.24	.06	-.43	-.36	.11
Behavioral control MVV	3.69	0.78	.24	1	.61**	-.71**	-.03	.19
Admitting own prejudices MVV	4.88	0.79	.06	.61**	1	-.37	-.00	-.07
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	3.74	0.94	-.43	-.71**	-.37	1	.33	-.27
Ich	9.03	7.40	-.36	-.03	-.00	.33	1	.08

Er	2.58	3.86	.11	.19	-.07	-.27	.08	1
Good deeds condition								
Out-group								
Degree of perspective taking	4.40	1.11	1	.22	.40	-.56	-.59	-.09
Behavioral control MVV	3.77	1.00	.22	1	.49	-.62*	-.14	-.00
Admitting own prejudices MVV	4.50	0.75	.40	.49	1	-.61*	-.47	.53
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	4.02	1.21	-.56	-.62*	-.61*	1	.22	.12
Ich	13.30	5.48	-.59	-.14	-.47	.22	1	-.11
Er	2.79	2.56	-.09	-.00	.53	.12	-.11	1
In-group								
Degree of perspective taking	4.96	0.78	1	.01	-.03	-.21	-.16	-.27
Behavioral control MVV	3.75	0.44	.01	1	-.14	-.18	-.49	-.11
Admitting own prejudices MVV	4.95	0.75	-.03	-.14	1	.27	-.06	-.25
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	3.75	0.64	-.21	-.18	.27	1	-.02	.22
Ich	18.59	21.31	-.16	-.49	-.06	-.02	1	.75*

Er	3.39	3.78	-.27	-.11	-.25	.22	.75*	1
Criminal deeds condition								
Counterbalanced item order	M	SD	Degree of PT	Behavioral control	Admitting prejudices	Unprejudiced self-expression	Ich	Er
Outgroup								
Degree of perspective taking	5.14	1.21	1	.02	.31	.00	.24	-.25
Behavioral control MVV	3.87	0.95	.02	1	.85**	-.17	-.05	-.25
Admitting own prejudices MVV	5.10	0.85	.31	.85**	1	-.00	.13	-.22
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	3.83	0.94	.00	-.17	-.00	1	-.24	-.12
Ich	11.62	6.70	.24	-.04	.13	-.24	1	.12
Er	1.62	1.77	-.25	-.25	-.22	-.12	.12	1
Ingroup								
Degree of perspective taking	4.65	1.20	1	.29	-.17	-.11	.31	-.40
Behavioral control MVV	3.54	0.62	.29	1	.68*	-.82**	.05	-.06
Admitting own prejudices MVV	4.83	0.77	-.17	.68*	1	-.60*	-.08	.07
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	3.81	0.91	-.11	-.82**	-.60*	1	-.11	.24

Ich	12.33	3.01	.31	.05	-.08		-.11	1	.14
Er	5.03	5.85	-.40	-.06	.07		.24	.14	1
Good deeds									
out-group									
Degree of perspective taking	5.22	0.66	1	.25	.52	-.19	-.08	-.48	
Behavioral control MVV	3.47	0.51	.25	1	.05	-.56	.50	-.16	
Admitting own prejudices MVV	4.78	0.62	.52	.05	1	-.03	-.12	.38	
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	3.69	1.02	-.19	-.56	-.03	1	.20	.54	
Ich	12.10	6.16	-.08	.50	-.12	.20	1	.04	
Er	1.03	2.05	-.48	-.16	.38	.54	.04	1	
In-group									
Degree of perspective taking	4.48	1.40	1	.06	.53*	-.03	-.39	.01	
Behavioral control MVV	3.35	0.57	.06	1	.20	-.42	-.26	-.41	
Admitting own prejudices MVV	4.53	0.73	-.53*	.20	1	-.19	-.18	-.34	
Unprejudiced self-Expression MVV	3.62	0.56	-.03	-.42	-.19	1	-.26	.46	
Ich	10.46	7.36		-.39	-.26	-.18	-.26	1	-.09

Er	4.17	3.20	.01	-.41	-.34	.46	-.09	1
**=p<.01, *=p<.05								