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## Does a common-victim identity make East-Germans more positive about refugees?

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#### Abstract

Germany had a large influx of refugees since 2015 which urged the government and also German inhabitants to react to support the integration of incoming refugees. Although a lot of people endorse the attempt to help refugees, there are also people who disapprove this approach of the refugee crisis. Especially between East- and West-Germany differences can be found. The election results and previous research let suggest that East-Germany is more critical towards refugees than people from West-Germany. In an experiment we assessed if the integrated threat theory can be used to explain the upcoming hostilities towards refugees in East-Germany. Analysis showed that symbolic and realistic threat were influencing in predicting negative attitude towards refugees. Moreover we examined the question if it is possible to influence this opinion by creating a common-victim identity between East-Germans and refugees. Participant in the common-victim condition did not report more or less negative attitude towards refugees than participants in the control condition. Also the extent of identification with East-Germany had no interacting effect on this. Limiting factors and possible explanations for the missing effects are discussed. Does a common-victim identity make East-Germans more positive about refugees?

War and crisis forced millions of people from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraque and other countries to leave their home country to improve their lives. In 2015 a total of 63.5 million people worldwide tried to flee out of their risky regions. This was the highest number of refugees the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recorded (UNO-Flüchtlingshilfe). The Federal Office for migration and refugees registered around 1.2 million asylum applications in Germany since 2015. The majority of these applications can be ascribed to the increasing number of asylum seekers from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraque (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017). This high number forced the German government and also the population to react on the incoming refugees to integrate them in Germany regarding housing possibilities or financial support.

However, the German population has a very ambivalent opinion about refugees, who want to come and live in Germany. On the one hand a lot of German citizens are very interested to help refugees and support their integration. For instance there is a number of organizations that facilitate the refugees such as the "UNO Flüchtlingshilfe" or individual people which help refugees to learn the German language. On the other hand recurring news such as assaults on refugee hostels let suggest that there are also refugee opponents which use radical measures to show the refugees that they are not welcome in Germany. Another sign of the arising dislike against refugees is showing in the last elections in Germany. The AfD (alternative for Germany) is a political party that appeared in the election results in 2016 for the first time. The AfD is characterized by a very critical view about the incoming refugees. They also criticize the current government allowing such a big number of refugees to enter Germany. The aim of the present study is to explore the nature of the upcoming hostilities towards refugees and if it is possible to influence it.

Although there are both refugee opponents and supporter represented in Germany, there tend to be some regional differences. Referring to the election results for instance, it seems that in East-Germany the general attitude towards refugees might be more critical than in West-Germany. The AfD, as indicator of a more anti-refugee view, got their highest percentages in Mecklenburg-Western-Pomerania with about 21 % and Saxony-Anhalt with even 24 % which are both part of East-Germany (Statista, 2016). In comparison to this, in North Rhine-Westphalia they only got 7.4 % (Bundestagswahl, 2017). Also, research shows that there are still some differences between East-Germans and West-Germans regarding their behavior towards outgroups. A study from Brosig-Koch, Helbach, Ockenfels & Weimann (2011) for instance explored differences of solitary behavior between East-Germans and West-Germans. In their experiment East-Germans behave more selfishly and showed less solitary behavior than respondents from West-Germany. Wagner, Dick, Pettigrew and Christ (2003) also found out that in East-Germany people tend to have more prejudices against ethnic minorities than West-Germans. A possible reason for this finding might be that East-Germans have fewer opportunities to have contact with different ethnic groups and therefore less experience with them. As a result prejudices remain (Wagner et al., 2003).

#### Social identity theory

One possible explanation for upcoming prejudices and aversion against outgroups is the social identity theory. This theory states that belonging to a group has also influence on our well-being because the membership provides a sense of self-esteem. The more positive one thinks about his or her own group, the more positive is the own self-image of the individual person. Additionally to the favoritism of the own group, outgroups are viewed as different, leading to prejudices against them (Taijfel, 1972).

#### **Integrated threat theory**

Stephan and Stephan (2002) found also a further explanation for the formation of prejudices in their integrated threat theory. The integrated threat theory claims that there are four different types of threats which are accountable for the development of prejudices. These threats are realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. In this study the focus is just on realistic threat and symbolic threat because they are most important in the intergroup relation in comparison to intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes which are more important for the interpresonal level (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). Furthermore intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes seem to lack the explanatory ability according to several studies (e.g., Stephan, Diaz-Loving and Duran, 2000).

The realistic threat includes every threat that the outgroup could form against the ingroup regarding their existence, economic and political power and physical or material well-being. At the same time it is not important if these threats are true or just perceived by the ingroup because both can be reason for the formation of prejudices. Research shows that realistic threat has the ability to explain attitudes towards outgroups. Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999) conducted a study with US students reporting prejudices against immigrants from Cuba, Mexico and Asia and showed that realistic threat was a significant predictor of attitude towards them. Also other studies confirmed the significant role of realistic threat (Gonzàlez, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008; Stephan et al., 2002).

The symbolic threat comprises the threat to the world-view of the ingroup which results in prejudices against the outgroup. These perceived threats are particularly differences in values, attitudes and morals in their prevailing system. Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome and Ludlow (2005) conducted a study with Australians and their attitude towards refugees and reported an important role of symbolic and realistic threat.

Previous research has proved that realistic and symbolic threat has explanatory value to predict attitudes. Also refugees can be regarded as an outgroup with symbolic and realistic threat as possible explanations for the negative attitude from East-Germans towards refugees. The present study will also explore the role of perceived threat in the formation of prejudices against refugees among East-Germans. Thus it is hypothesized that the perception of realistic and symbolic threat is positively related to negative attitudes towards refugees in East-Germany (*Hypothesis 1*).

#### **Common victim identity**

However Stephan et al. (2000) described that certain conditions have influence on the amount of perceived threat towards the outgroup such as intergroup-contact, ingroup identification and status inequalities. Gonzàlez, Verkuyten, Weesie and Poppe (2008) for instance found evidence that Dutch people who have a high identification with the Netherlands felt more threat by Islam and Muslims regarding the Dutch values, beliefs and norms than Dutch people with a low identification.

The present study also focuses on the effect of ingroup-identification. Furthermore this study explores how far it is possible to create a common-victim identity between East-Germans and refugees and if this has any effect on the perceived threat and the attitude. How previous research shows, emphasizing a victim-identity can have different effects on the will to help other suffering groups. Wohl and Branscombe (2008) for instance showed that reminding Jewish Canadians of the Holocaust can also lead to a weaker feeling of collective guilt. In their experiment Jewish Canadians in the experimental conditions felt less collective guilt for their group's destructive behavior towards the Palestinians. Other research however demonstrated the contrary effect namely that victimization of a group results in collective action. Murray (2008, as cited in Warner, Wohl & Branscombe, 2014) reminded American Japanese of their internship during World War II. These American Japanese expressed need for action against discrimination against of Muslims after the terror attack on the twin towers 9/11.

Warner, Wohl and Branscombe (2014) tried to find out how these ambivalent reactions on victim reminder emerge. They established the theory that two circumstances are responsible for a positive reaction of the ingroup's victimization: benefit finding and perceived similarity. For them the response on an ingroup victimization depends on whether the ingroup perceives a meaning out of their suffering. For example that the groups learns how important it is to be good to others. A further factor is if the victim group perceives similarities between their own group's suffering and the outgroup's suffering which promotes prosocial behavior. In four experiments they could confirm this prediction.

The current study tries to find out if such a common-victim identity is also able to change the attitude towards refugees among East-Germans. Reminding East-Germans about their relatively weak economic power in comparison with West-Germany could generate a sense of victimization. Adding that East-Germans today are still stigmatized by others to be different from the rest of Germany and mentioning some prejudices against them, could urge

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East-Germans to see some similarities between East-Germans and refugees. Therefore it is predicted that emphasizing this victim-role of East-Germany contributes to a more positive view about refugees (*Hypothesis 2a*).

However there are also some arguments against this hypothesis. Next to the level of group-identification, the status of a group can also have influence on how much threat the group perceives. Research shows that especially minority groups tend to perceive more threat than majority groups. Stephan et al. (2002) examined the differences between Black and White people living in the U.S. and their perceived threat. They found out that Blacks perceived significantly more symbolic and realistic threat by Whites than vice versa.

Emphasizing the victim-role of East-Germany could also emphasize their minority status. This in turn could likewise result in an increase of perceived threat. Therefore there is also an alternative hypothesis in this study which claims that emphasizing the victim-role of East-Germany contributes to a more negative view about refugees (*Hypothesis 2b*).

The higher perception of threat in minority groups can also have to do with the extent of identification. Previous research shows that minority groups have in general a stronger identification with their group than members of majority groups (Saguy, Dovidio & Pratto, 2008). Morrison and Ybarra (2008) argue that highly-identified members of a group have a higher urge to protect their ingroup and therefore perceive more threat than members who have a lower identification with their group. This however would mean that the extent of identification with a certain group predicts the attitude towards outgroups. Hence we also expect that the identification with East-Germany might have influence on the extent of a negative attitude towards refugees. We thus hypothesize that a high identification with East-Germany increases the impact of emphasizing a common-victim role on the attitude towards refugees (*Hypothesis 3*). Based on the two alternative predictions, on the one hand one may expect that the relation between a high identification with East-Germany and outgroup attitudes is more positive when reminded about their common victim status compared to a control condition. On the other hand one may expect that the relation between a high identification with East-Germany and outgroup attitudes is more negative when reminded about their common victim status compared to a about their common victim status compared to a control condition.

#### Method

#### **Participants**

In total 241 people from East-Germany started with the online survey. Of these participants, 104 canceled during the session or did not agree with the informed consent. Further 13 participants had to be excluded because they did not come from East-Germany. Hence, 124 participants were used for the analysis. In the end, 65 participants took part in the common-victim condition and 59 in the control condition. The mean age of the included participants was 33.6, ranging from 19 to 73 (SD = 13.1) with 71 females and 53 males.

The participants were recruited through social media as Facebook and forums or were directly asked by the researcher to participate in the study.

#### **Design and procedure**

This experiment was a between-subject design with two groups who read one of two fictitious newspaper articles. The manipulation took place through a newspaper article which had the aim to emphasize a victim-identity among East-Germans and to examine whether this has an effect on the attitude towards refugees. The participants were randomly assigned to one of these two conditions. It required about 15 minutes to fill in the questionnaire.

Before the questionnaire was distributed, it was translated into German to reach a sample as large as possible, including also East-Germans without proper English skills. In the experimental condition participants received a fictitious newspaper article about what it means to live in East-Germany. The article described different challenges East-Germany has to overcome regarding the lack of economic power or stigmatization of the East-German inhabitants. In the control condition participant received a neutral newspaper about a self-riding shuttle which is currently tested by the public in London.

#### Measures

The questionnaire was made in Qualtrics and consisted of several scales from previous studies. After some demographical data such as age, gender and highest education, the participants were asked to read an article which was either from the control condition or from the common-victim condition. After reading the article, participants completed first three different scales which were measured with a 7-point Likert scale (1=*totally disagree* to 7=*totally agree*). *Identification* with East-Germany was measured with 12 items which consisted of statements about the East-German identity (e.g., "I think of East-Germany as part of who I am" and "I see myself as quite similar to the other members of East-Germany";  $\alpha = .75$ ; Henry, Arrow and Carini, 1999). Both the identification scale and the following scales were originally designed for different groups than East-Germany and refugees. In this experiment the groups were therefore adjusted to the relevant target group.

*Realistic threat* was measured by a scale consisting of 12 items (e. g., "Refugees have more economic power than they deserve in this country" and "Refugees make it harder for Germans to get a good job";  $\alpha = .92$ ; Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy and Polifroni, 2008).

*Symbolic threat* was measured with 7 items (e. g., "Immigration from refugees is undermining German culture" and "Refugees should learn to conform to the rules and norms of German society as soon as possible after they arrive";  $\alpha = .80$ ; Stephan, Bachmann and Ybarra, 1999).

To measure if the manipulating newspaper article had an effect on the perceived similarity between East-Germans and refugees it was made use of an overlap scale. Participant had to tick an image that describes best their closeness to the refugees. They could choose between 7 different images, each of them illustrating refugees and East-Germans with a circle. In every image, these two circles had different distances, representing the closeness of the two groups. The overlap scale was introduced by Schubert and Otten (2002).

Attitude towards refugees was measured with 12 items which contained certain attributions (e.g., friendly, intelligent or proud). Participants had to indicate the amount of refugees who possess the stated attribution in form of percentages (adopted from Stephan, Ageyev, Coates-Shrider, Stephan and Abalakina, 1994;  $\alpha = .89$ ).

On a last page the respondents were informed that the newspaper article at the beginning was fictitious. Further the respondents were told that the newspaper article in the experimental condition had the aim to manipulate the respondent's attitude towards refugees by creating a common-victim identity. See table 1 for scale means, standard deviations and inter-scale correlations of the above mentioned scales.

Table 1

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Identification East-	4.78 (0.75)	.29**	.41**	.20*
Germany				
2. Realistic threat		2.70 (1.16)	.62**	.72**
3. Symbolic threat			4.69 (.99)	.59**
4. Attitude refugees				42.7 (16.86)
<i>Note: N</i> = 124				
;** <i>p</i> < .01				
* <i>p</i> <.05				

#### Scale means, standard deviations and inter-scale correlations

#### Results

#### **Manipulation check**

To check whether the article had an effect on the perceived similarity between oneself and refugees there was made use of an independent-samples t-test to compare the means of the overlap scales between the common-victim condition and the control condition. There was no significant difference in the scores of the common-victim condition (M = 2.94, SD = 0.22) and the control condition (M = 2.76, SD = 0.17), t(122) = -6.3, p = .53. Therefore we cannot conclude that the manipulation was successful.

#### **Realistic and symbolic threat**

To examine if realistic threat is positively related to a negative attitude towards refugees, a multiple linear regression was conducted. A significant regression equation was found for realistic threat, b = .822, SD = .11, t(122) = 7.404, p < .001. Also symbolic threat showed a significant relation to the attitude towards refugees, b = .375, SD = .12, t(122) = 2.906, p = .004. The first hypothesis therefore can be confirmed with a higher measure of both realistic and symbolic predicting a negative attitude towards refugees.

#### Attitude towards refugees

With symbolic and realistic threat as predictors of negative attitude also an independent-samples t-test was conducted between the means of perceived threat in the common-victim condition and the control condition. There was no significant difference between the means of perceived realistic threat in the common-victim condition (M = 2.84, SD = 1.18) and the control condition (M = 2.54, SD = 1.12); t(122) = -1.42, p = 0.16. There was also no significant difference between the means of symbolic threat with M = 4.79, SD = 1.02 in the common-victim condition and M = 4.59, SD = 0.97 in the control condition; t(122) = -1.13, p = .259.

As the non-significant differences of realistic and symbolic threat let predict, there was also no significant difference between the means of the attitude towards refugees in the common-victim condition (M = 44.89, SD = 27.26) and the control condition (M = 40.30, SD = 16.21); t(122) = -1.52, p = .131. Both hypothesis 2a and hypothesis 2b have to be rejected.

To ascertain if the extent of identification with East-Germany had any influence on the attitude towards refugees between the two groups, an interaction analyses was made. With the extra tool "process" in SPSS (Hayes, 2012) it came out that the main effect of identification on attitude was significant, b = .722, t(120) = 2.949, p = .004 but the main effect of group was not, b = .434, t(120) = 1.411, p = .152. The effect of identification does not differ significantly in the common-victim condition, b = -.625 t(120) = -1,383, p = .169. Hypothesis 3 therefore has to be rejected.

#### **Additional analysis**

During the analysis it was salient that realistic and symbolic threat had very different means. Therefore additionally a dependant-sampled t-test was conducted to figure out if the two means differed significantly from each other. There was a significant difference between the mean of realistic threat (M = 2.67, SD = 1.16) and the mean of symbolic threat (M = 4.67, SD = .99); t(123) = -23.56, p < .001.

#### Discussion

The aim of the study was to investigate if creating a common victim-identity between East-Germans and refugees would result in a change of the attitude against refugees. Further we investigated if the integrated threat theory can be used to describe the development of hostilities against refugees among East-Germans.

#### Realistic and symbolic threat

The results in the study confirmed that high measures of realistic and symbolic threat were significantly related to a negative attitude towards refugees. This is in line with previous research which already investigated in the integrated threat theory and proved symbolic and realistic threat to be an important predictor for intergroup hostility (Stephan et al., 1999). The results are also consistent with previous research that showed that realistic threat has to be seen as main source of the development of prejudices against outgroups. Thereby symbolic threat plays also an important but subordinate role (Stephan et al., 2000, Stephan et al. 1999, Bizman & Yinon, 2001, Murray & Marx, 2012).

Although symbolic threat seems to be much more present in this study than realistic threat, the relation between symbolic threat and attitude towards refugees is not as large as for realistic threat. A possible explanation for this could be that the participants are future oriented in this situation and expect that incoming refugees will adapt the European standards. Maybe the differences in values are also not expected to have any influence on the own culture and therefore have not such a strong relation to a negative attitude. The high measures of symbolic threat can maybe ascribed to the permanent presence of the dreaded Islamisation of the European culture in the media.

#### **Common victim identity**

The hypothesis that creating a common-victim identity would result in either a more negative or a more positive attitude towards refugees could not be confirmed. Also the interaction effect of identification between the two conditions could not be found. A possible explanation for the missing effects can be found in the mechanisms stated by Warner and colleagues (2014). Warner et al. found out that benefit finding and similarity to the victimized group can be responsible for the feeling that victim group members should help suffering others. In this study however it is not tested if East-Germans find any benefits of their preceding and current suffering.

Further it is not clear if the suffering of East-Germans is at least perceived as comparable with the suffering of refugees. Moreover the manipulative newspaper article in this study emphasized mainly the victim role of East-Germany without any connection to refugees. Therefore the missing similarity between the suffering of East-Germans and the suffering of refugees could also be responsible that respondents did not see any corresponding characteristics which should result in more closeness. Although participants in the common-victim condition reported a more negative attitude towards refugees, the difference was not significant. The alternative hypothesis is based on the principle that emphasizing the minority status of East-Germany could result in more perceived threat and with this a more negative attitude against refugees. It could be that in both conditions a sort of manipulation that emphasizes the minority status took place. The scale that should measure the identification with East-Germany maybe reminded the participant already of their minority status so that in both conditions the participants felt more threat. This in turn could have reduced the effect of the newspaper article between the two conditions.

#### Limitations of the current study

Previous research proved that the level of education can have influence on the attitude towards refugees. Higher educated people have thus a less negative attitude towards refugees (Corwell, 2000, Moris & Heaven, 1984 as cited in Schweitzer et al., 2005). In the current study more than 70% of the participants have Abitur (the highest German educational achievement) or a university degree. The used sample in this study thus may underrate the extent of negative attitudes towards refugees.

A further limitation concerns the manipulation check in this study. An overlap scale was used to find out if the newspaper article is responsible for more perceived similarities and closeness between East-Germans and refugees. This however does not prove if participants read the article at all. As some participants reported after filling out the questionnaire it was not easy to read the article if a mobile phone was used for the survey. Therefore it could be that a substantial amount of participants did not read the newspaper article at all.

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Additionally another point of criticism concerns the extent of identification with East-Germany. With a mean of 4.78 on a 7-point Likert scale, the identification was not as high as expected among the participants in comparison with a study from Warner et al. (2014) where the identification was 5.97 on a 7-point Likert scale. This could be a reason why the newspaper article had not the desired effect.

A part of participants also reported that they live not in East-Germany anymore and therefore could have a stronger identification with whole Germany rather than East-Germany. With a mean age from 33 years it also has to be considered that most of the participant did not experienced the former GDR and have therefore also not such a strong attachment to East-Germany as an older sample would have.

#### **Future studies**

Future studies should also consider West-Germans in the survey to address the question if the high AfD results really indicate a more negative view towards refugees and to confirm that differences still exist between East- and West-Germany when it comes to the current refugee crisis. Further, researchers should try to get an older sample where emphasis on the own subgroup may have greater influence. Thereby it should have to be considered that even older people from East-Germany may change their identification with East-Germany because the reunification recedes in the distance and that even former citizens of the GDR could adopt a more German identification.

Also changes in the manipulative newspaper article could result in a greater effect. For instance the newspaper article could already include the suggestion that there might be a common-victim role between refugees and East-Germans. Thereby this connection between refugees and East-Germans should not be too obvious because this might lead the participants to detect the manipulation and could result in distorted answers.

Indeed it could also be interesting to examine if a dual-identity would make any differences in this context. Billiet, Maddens and Beerten (2003) for instance focused in their study on the different circumstances that can have influence on how a minority group perceives foreigners in the context of a dual-identity. They found out that in Flanders, citizens who identify more strongly with their region have a more negative attitude towards foreigners than citizens who identify more strongly with Belgium. In Wallonia a reverse relationship was found. The different results were explained with the social representation of the region. The minority group can define itself in ethnic-cultural terms which results in a more negative view towards foreigners or in civic terms which results in a more positive view. East-Germans then could be asked how they would define their group and if this is in line with the findings from Billiet et al.

A more detailed image can also be produced if the two mechanisms of Warner et al. (2014) are considered in the study. With this, one could pursue the question in how far East-Germans find benefits from their past and current suffering and if the suffering is comparable with that of refugees according to East-Germans.

#### Conclusion

Hostilities against refugees form a problem in times where Germans and refugees have to live side by side. The current study contributes to a deeper understanding on how hostilities towards refugees in East-Germany develop. Realistic and symbolic threat play an important role in this process and confirm the validity of the integrated threat theory. It further shows that negative attitudes towards refugees indeed exist if we look at the results and see that about 40 % of refugees are attributed with negative statements. However in this study it was not possible to influence this opinion by creating a common victim identity. More research is needed to find out if East-Germans would change their opinion about refugees if there are reminded on their own suffering whereby researchers have to pay attention on the role that an East-German identification still plays, now 28 years after the reunification.

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#### Appendix

#### **Text common-victim condition**



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#### Die Briten durften zum ersten Mal einen führerlosen Shuttle-Bus testen

Rund 100 Menschen werden in den nächsten drei Wochen mit dem Prototyp Shuttle in Greenwich, London reisen. Das Fahrzeug, das eine Geschwindigkeit von bis zu 16 km/h erreichen kann, wird von einem Computer gesteuert. Dennoch wird eine ausgebildete Person ebenfalls an Bord sein, der den Bus notfalls stoppen kann. Oxbotica entwickelte die Technologie, um dieses Vorhaben zu ermöglichen. Die Firma äußerte, dass insgesamt 5000 Menschen gefragt wurden, ob sie an dem Testlauf teilnehmen wollen.

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"Wir hoffen, dass wir die Akzeptanz der Öffentlichkeit gewinnen, diese Art von Fahrzeugen mit ihnen zu teilen", so der Geschaftsführer Graeme Smith. Der Shuttle kann bis zu 100 m weit sehen und hält an, wenn etwas seinen Weg blockiert – wenngleich auch eine Notbremse benutzt werden kann. "Er wurde designet um sicher und fehlerfrei zu sein, besonders in der Fußgängerzone", so Dr. Smith.

Funktionäre hinter dem Gateway-Projekt glauben, dass der Shuttle-Bus die Transportwege in Greenwich verbessern könnte. Industrieminister Nick sagte: "Großbritannien hat eine lange Geschichte im PKW-Bereich und diese Art von Technologie

hat das Potential Leben zu retten, sowie mehr Freiheit für ältere Menschen und Menschen mit eingeschränkter Mobilität zu gewährleisten."

Auch an anderen Orten der Welt, wurden solche führerlosen Fahrzeuge von der Allgemeinheit getestet. Im Januar wurde in Las Vegas ein ähnliches Fahrzeug getestet, das die Fahrgäste entlang der Fremond Street entlang transportierte. Im August 2016 gab die singapurische Firma nuTonomy an, das erste Unternehmen zu sein, das fahrerlose Fahrten über eine Taxi App anbietet.

(BBC, April 2017)

Woman Cleared in Death Tied

## Identification

Bitte geben Sie an, inwieweit Sie den folgenden Aussagen zustimmen.

							Trifft
	Trifft				Trifft		ganz
	voll und		Trifft	teils-	eher	Trifft	und gar
	ganz zu	Trifft zu	eher zu	teils	nicht zu	nicht zu	nicht zu
1. Ich würde es							
bevorzugen einer anderen							
Gruppe als den	0	C	0	0	0	0	C
Ostdeutschen							
anzugehören.							
2. In Ostdeutschland							
muss man sich nicht	0	C	C	0	0	С	C
aufeinander verlassen.							
3. Ostdeutschland ist ein							
Teil dessen, wer ich bin.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
4. Mitglieder aus							
Ostdeutschland mögen	C	C	0	C	C	0	C
sich gegenseitig.							
5. Alle Mitglieder aus	С	C	C	C	С	C	C

	Trifft voll und ganz zu	Trifft zu	Trifft eher zu	teils- teils	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft nicht zu	Trifft ganz und gar nicht zu
Ostdeutschland müssen sich beteiligen, um ein Gruppenziel zu erreichen. 6. Ich sehe mich selbst							
<ul><li>ganz anders als andere</li><li>Ostdeutsche.</li><li>7. Ich genieße es mit</li></ul>	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
anderen Mitgliedern aus Ostdeutschland zu interagieren. 8. Ostdeutschland kann	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Dinge leisten, die ein einzelnes Mitglied nicht erreichen könnte.	C	C	C	C	C	C	С
9. Ostdeutschland ist nicht Teil dessen, wer ich	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

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	Trifft voll und ganz zu	Trifft zu	Trifft eher zu	teils- teils	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft nicht zu	Trifft ganz und gar nicht zu
bin. 10. Ich mag nicht besonders viele von den anderen Menschen aus Ostdeutschland.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
<ul> <li>11. Die Mitglieder in</li> <li>Ostdeutschland müssen</li> <li>nicht miteinander</li> <li>kooperieren um eine</li> <li>Gruppenaufgabe</li> <li>abzuschließen.</li> </ul>		C	C	C	C	C	C
<ul><li>12. Ich bin sehr ähnlich</li><li>zu den anderen</li><li>Mitgliedern</li><li>Ostdeutschlands.</li></ul>	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

## **Realistic threat**

Bitte geben Sie an, inwieweit Sie den folgenden Aussagen zustimmen.

							Trifft
	Trifft				trifft		ganz
	voll und		Trifft	teils-	eher	Trifft	und gar
	ganz zu	trifft zu	eher zu	teils	nicht zu	nicht zu	nicht zu
1. Flüchtlinge haben in							
diesem Land zu viele				-	-		-
Macht- und		0	0	0	0		0
Verantwortungspositionen.							
2. Flüchtliche dominieren							
die deutsche Gesellschaft		C	С	C	C	C	
mehr als sie sollten.							
3. Wenn Flüchtlinge in							
Positionen von Autorität							
sind, diskrimieren sie			-	-	-		-
Deutsche und "Nicht-		C	C		0		0
Flüchtlinge" bei ihren							
Entscheidungen.							
4. Flüchtlinge profitieren	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

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	Trifft voll und ganz zu		Trifft eher zu	teils- teils	trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft nicht zu	Trifft ganz und gar nicht zu
mehr von							
Bildungsmaßnahmen als							
Deutsche.							
5. Flüchtlinge haben mehr							
wirtschaftliche Macht in		-					
diesem Land als sie	C	C	C	0	C	0	0
verdienen.							
6. Flüchtinge machen es							
Deutschen schwerer in							
eine gute Schule zu	C	•		0		•	0
kommen.							
7. Flüchtlige machen es							
Deutschen schwerer, gute	C	C	0	0	G	C	0
Noten zu bekommen.							
8. Flüchtlinge machen es	C		0	0	0		0
Deutschen schwerer gute							

	Trifft voll und ganz zu	trifft zu	Trifft eher zu	teils- teils	trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft nicht zu	Trifft ganz und gar nicht zu
Jobs zu bekommen. 9. Viele Unternehmen glauben, dass Flüchtlinge qualifizierter sind als Deutsche.	C	C	C	E	C	C	C
<ul><li>10. Flüchtlinge haben</li><li>mehr politische Macht in</li><li>diesem Land, als sie</li><li>verdienen.</li></ul>	C	C	C	E	C	C	C
<ul><li>11. Flüchtlinge machen es</li><li>Deutschen schwerer, eine</li><li>gute Lebensqualität zu</li><li>haben.</li></ul>	C	C	C	B	C	C	C
12. Das Rechtssystem lässt Flüchtlinge mit mehr davonkommen als	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

							Trifft
	Trifft				trifft		ganz
	voll und		Trifft	teils-	eher	Trifft	und gar
	ganz zu	trifft zu	eher zu	teils	nicht zu	nicht zu	nicht zu
Deutsche.							

## Symbolic threat

Bitte geben Sie an, inwieweit Sie den folgenden Aussagen zustimmen.

							Stimme
	Stimme				Stimme		ganz
	voll und	Stimme	Stimme		eher	Stimme	und gar
	ganz zu	zu	eher zu	neutral	nicht zu	nicht zu	nicht zu
1. Flüchtlinge sollten							
lernen sich so schnell wie							
möglich nach ihrer	C	C	C	C	C		0
Ankunft den Regeln und							
Normen der deutschen							
Gesellschaft anzupassen.							
2. Die Immigration von Flüchtlingen untergräbt	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

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							Stimme
	Stimme				Stimme		ganz
	voll und	Stimme	Stimme		eher	Stimme	und gar
	ganz zu	zu	eher zu	neutral	nicht zu	nicht zu	nicht zu
die deutsche Kultur.							
3. Die Werte und							
Überzeugungen der							
Flüchtlinge bezüglich	C	0	0	G	0	0	0
Arbeit sind im Grunde							
sehr ähnlich zu denen der							
meisten Deutschen.							
4. Die Werte und							
Überzeugungen der							
Flüchtlinge bezüglich							
moralischer und	C	C	C	C	C	0	0
religiöser Themen sind							
im Grunde sehr ähnlich							
zu denen der meisten							
Deutschen.							
5. Die Werte und	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Überzeugungen der							_

	<u>St</u> :				Ctimere e		Stimme
	Stimme				Stimme	<b>a</b> .	ganz
	voll und	Stimme			eher		und gar
	ganz zu	zu	eher zu	neutral	nicht zu	nicht zu	nicht zu
Flüchtlinge bezüglich							
Familie und dem							
Sozialisieren von							
Kindern sind im Grunde							
sehr ähnlich zu denen der							
meisten Deutschen.							
6. Die Werte und							
Überzeugungen der							
Flüchtlinge bezüglich							
sozialer Beziehungen	C	C	C	0	C	C	C
sind nicht kompatibel mit							
denen der meisten							
Deutschen.							
7. Flüchtlinge sollten die							
deutschen Verfahren							
nicht akzeptieren	C	0	0	0	C	0	0
müssen.							

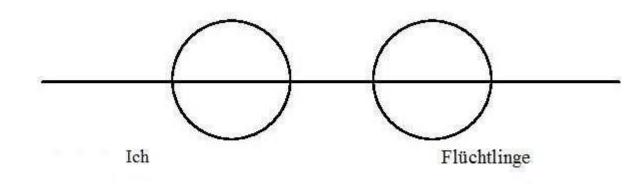
## **Overlap scale**

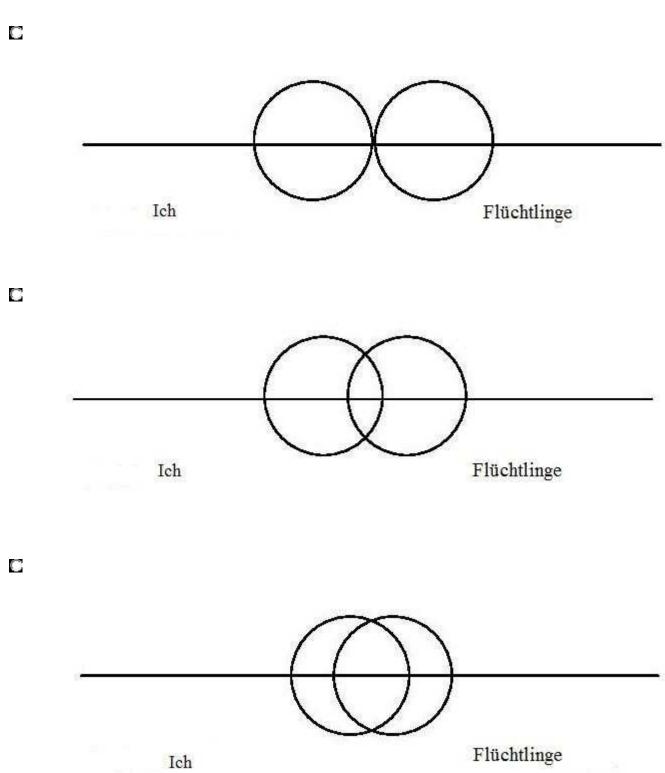
Bitte markieren Sie das Bild, das Ihre Nähe zu den Flüchtlingen am besten beschreibt.

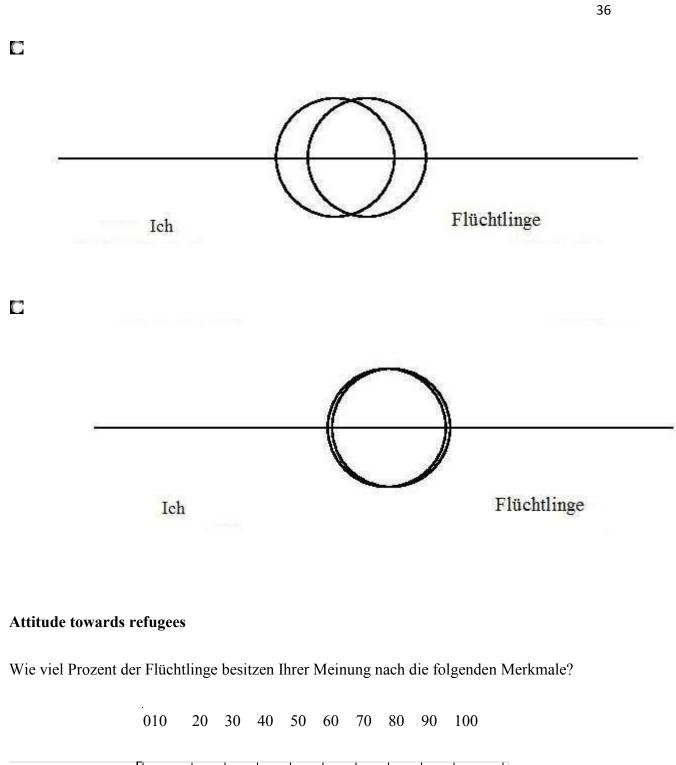
## $\bigcirc$



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fleißig						

010 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

ignorant						
freundlich						
aggressiv						
zuverlässig						
undiszipliniert						
stolz						
unehrlich						
respektvoll						
unintelligent						
sauber						

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010 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

cliquenhaft