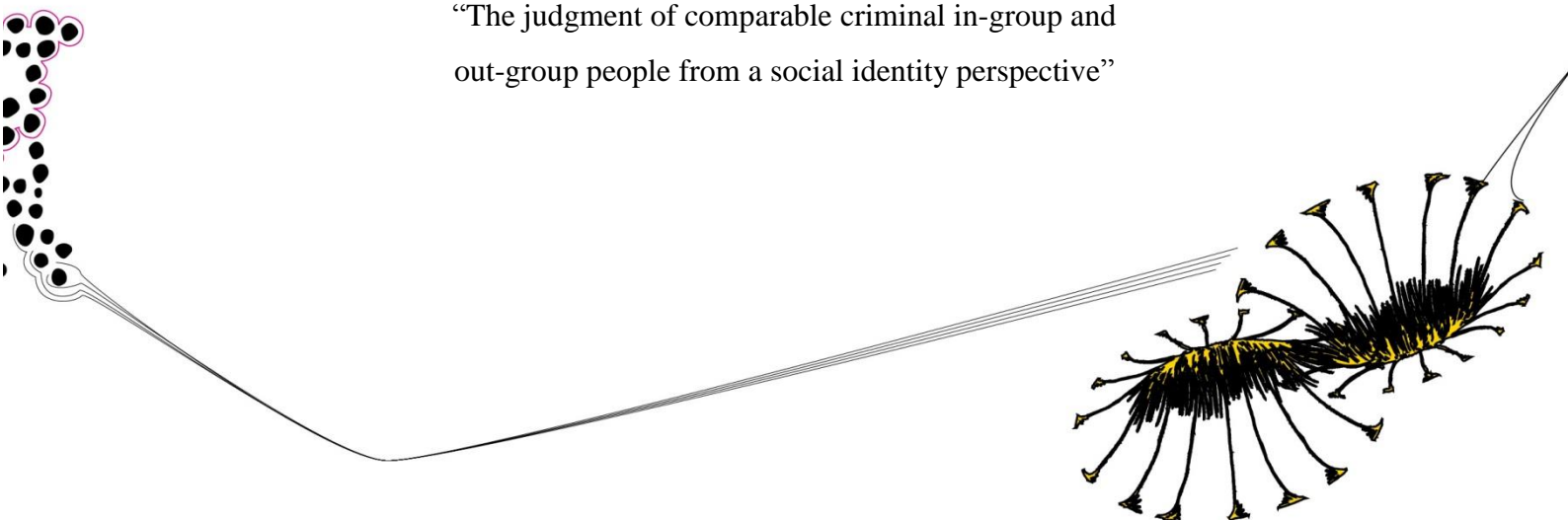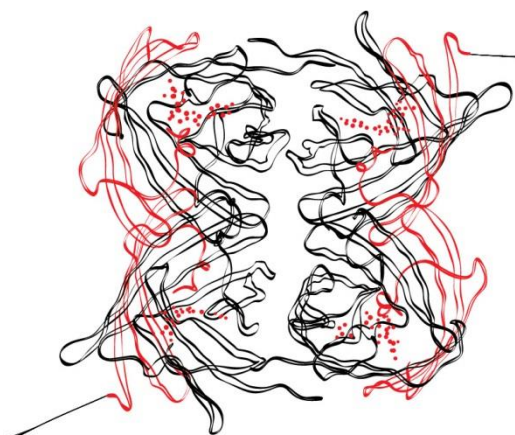**MASTERTHESIS**

"The judgment of comparable criminal in-group and

out-group people from a social identity perspective"
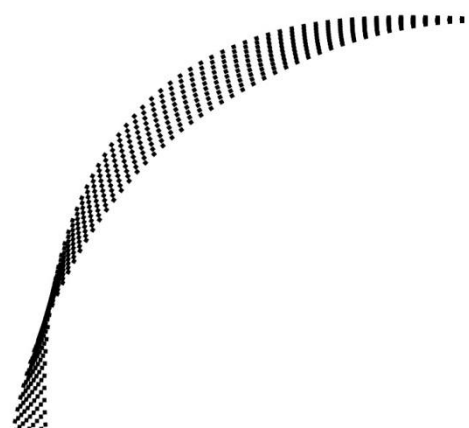
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Abstract

Objective Through the increased influx of Muslim refugee and especially through events such as the incidents in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2016, a debate has arisen which views critically the presence and the behaviour of Muslim refugee. Although only a small number of the Muslim refugee show criminal behaviour, many Europeans, including Germans, show negative attitudes towards these people. Based on social identity perspective, it is investigated, whether subjects such as in-group identification (feeling of in-group membership), contact, in-group prototypicality (thinking about the in-group) and out-group attitude (thinking about the out-group) possibly affect a difference in the judgement of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee. It is expected that criminal Germans are judged more negatively than comparable criminal Muslim refugee and that the more negative the contact, the more negative the judgement of criminal out-group people. Furthermore, it is expected not only that the higher the in-group identification, the more negative the judgement scores of criminal in-group people but also that the higher the in-group prototypicality and lower the out-group attitude, the more negative the judgement of criminal in-group people.

Method The questionnaire (N = 135) was spread through different social media platforms and via e-mail, and it was filled in by 135 respondents. For the final analysis, 127 respondents were investigated. Data were collected through different subscales and by presenting 12 similar scenarios (12 with German a perpetrator, 12 with a Muslim refugee perpetrator) to the respondents.

Results As expected, in most of the scenarios, criminal Germans were judged on average more negatively than comparable Muslim refugee. By means of a correlation and regression analysis, it became obvious that the assumptions that negative contact led to a more negative judgement of criminal out-group people and that high in-group identification led to a more negative judgement of criminal in-group people, were applicable. Against the assumption, it was shown that in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude did not lead to a difference in in-group and out-group judgement.

Conclusion Based on the phenomenon of the 'Black Sheep Effect', it was concluded that criminal in-group people are judged more negatively than comparable out-group people. Regarding possible predictors, it was said that in-group identification and contact are predictors which influence criminal in-group and out-group judgement. In contrast, in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude did not affect the difference in in-group and out-group judgements.

In recent years, an increasing number of shocking pictures, which show the tragedy of desperate people leaving their home countries, go around the world, catching the attention of ordinary people and evoking enormous reactions and discussions by European governments in offering help (Blommaert, 2015). These pictures, such as the dead body of a young Kurdish child or of overloaded or crashed boats with refugee on board, symbolise the refugee crisis. Often, these people come to Europe on the Balkan route (a route which connects the Middle East and Europe (Yazgan, Utku & Sirkeci, 2015; Vallaster, von Wallpach & Zenker, 2018).

In 2015 and 2016, the highest number of refugee reached Europe. The German Federal Office for Migration and Refugee (BAMF, for its acronym in German) reports that during this time, about 1.1 million refugee, mostly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, came to Germany (BAMF, 2016). These refugee are mostly "civilian war refugees" in search of protection and a safe place to live (Vallaster, et al., 2018, p. 2). Since the maximum rates in 2015, the number of refugee coming to Europe has decreased significantly. The BAMF reports that in 2017, about 225.000 new refugee came to Germany, a decline of 72.5% compared to the previous year (BAMF, 2017). This regressive trend is also observable in 2018, when from January to August, 130,000 new refugee registered in Germany (BAMF, 2018).

The reasons why people become refugee can be multifunctional. As described earlier, many refugee (e.g., from Syria, Iraq, Africa or Afghanistan) leave their countries because of civil wars or expulsions, or they want to escape poverty and to have a better life in Western countries (Vallaster, et al., 2018). Living in and integrating into a new country, the refugee are confronted with many challenges, such as learning a new language, extending their disrupted education, dealing with discrimination and leaving behind family members in their home country (Holzberg, Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018). If refugee are not able to handle these challenges, it can happen that they become discontent, show aggressions and become criminal.

Although there is an enormous influx into all of Europe, the different European countries handle the refugee differently. The European Social Survey explains that the continental European states (to which Germany belongs) and the Nordic states mostly show a more positive attitude towards the incoming refugee, compared to eastern, southern and central European states (Bordignon & Moriconi, 2017). The welcoming countries often invest a high amount of effort in integrating refugee, for example, by providing job and language training and assessing

professional skills (Bordignon & Moriconi, 2017, pp. 7-8). With these efforts, the countries try to reduce the segregation of refugee, so that there is a lower chance that they become isolated or show deviant behaviour. Nevertheless, these efforts often do not succeed (Bordignon & Moriconi, 2017, p. 8).

Incidents and insurgences show that there is a high amount of non-acceptance between native Germans and Muslim refugee, which results in criminal behaviour in both groups (Holzberg, et al., 2018). Such incidents include the growing number of refugee camps burned by racist Germans, or the mob of male Muslim refugee who molested and assaulted young women in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2016, stoking fear and anxiety among Germans (Holzberg, et al., 2018).

Because it is mostly refugee with a Muslim migration background who come to Germany (more than 60% of all registered refugee in Germany come from Islamic states such as Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan) (BAMF, 2017, Vallaster, et al., 2018), the current research only concentrates on Muslim refugee and native Germans.

As described earlier, there is a high amount of criminal behaviour observable in both groups (native Germans and Muslim refugee). The aim of the study is to investigate how judgements of criminal Muslim refugee are made and if differences to common criminal Germans are observable. By investigating possible factors influencing the different judgements of criminal Germans and Muslim refugee, it is possible to derive and detect possible problems or discrepancies in intergroup relationships. With this knowledge, it may be possible to create interventions and strategies to bring both groups closer and to reduce stereotypes and prejudices. Therefore, some factors are investigated, (e.g., 'in-group identification', 'contact', 'in-group prototypicality' and 'out-group attitude') that lean on the main principles and ideas of social psychology (which investigates the formation of personal identity and intergroup relations).

In social psychology, research is conducted into intergroup relationships in order to show how people build their own identity. The focus of such research is to detect possible factors influencing this process. One aspect of human identity is social identity. This phenomenon describes the feeling of belonging to a social group and includes high emotional and social significance of group membership (Tajfel 1972, in Hogg & Terry, 2000). The social identity theory explains that a part of the own identity, the "self-concept defined by our belonging to social groups" (Trepte, 2006, p. 255). By comparing and categorizing themselves and others (which belong to different social groups) and by evaluating these categorizations, people aim at developing a positive social identity and achieving positive self-esteem and self-enhancement (Trepte, 2006, p. 255-256). Tajfel (1979) explains that the definition of a group occurs on the basis of three different components (Trepte, 2006, p. 256). Firstly, there is the "cognitive component", which is explained as the knowledge about group membership. Secondly, there is the "evaluative component", which describe the evaluation (positive or negative) of group membership. And at least, there is the "emotional component", which combines both components and describe the emotions (negative or positive), which are associated with group membership and which arises by its evaluations (Tajfel, 1979, in Trepte, 2006, p. 256). So, it can be concluded that people earn self-esteem from the belonging of being part of a group and by evaluating these group membership. The theory also holds that people are motivated to "establish the positive distinctiveness of their group relative to other groups" (Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2008, p. 304). It is explained that these kind of motivation is shown when people have to challenge their feelings of esteem or if they are motivated to reduce uncertainty in certain situations (Dovidio, et al., 2008, p. 304). It is well-known that people who show high identification and cohesion with their group are more motivated both to maintain their group's positive distinctiveness and to show more in-group favouritism and often more out-group prejudice (Dovidio, et al. 2008, p. 304)

In terms of deviant behaviour (e.g., criminality), the judgement between out-group and in-group members can differ. Based on social identity theory, Marques, Yzerbyt, and Leyens (1988) explain that a reason the judgement scores of deviant in-group members are more extreme than the scores of comparable out-group people might be that deviant in-group members are judged as more imperilling or threatening because they override existing social rules and disagree with the social norms of the

in-group. As a result, group members tend to get rid of members who damage the social identity, in order to keep up a positive image of the group.

Many studies show that deviant members of one's own in-group are more strongly devaluated and punished than out-group deviant members (Abrams, Palmer, Rutland, Cameron & Van de Vyver, 2014; Marques, et al., 1988; Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010).

This effect, which is called the "Black Sheep Effect", is replicated in many social contexts and seems to be dependent how strongly the group feels connected (group cohesion) (Marques, et al., 1988). In different studies, so as by Pinto et al. (2010), participants judged two in-group or out-group members who adopted respectively a normative or deviant position. The result of these investigations was that the participants tended to upgrade the normative in-group people and derogate the comparing deviant in-group people (Pinto et al. 2010). In the case of the current research, the in-group is defined as the native German population, and the out-group is defined as Muslim refugee who come to Germany.

Furthermore, different studies show that people are reminded more often of negative out-group behaviour than comparable negative in-group behaviour (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986, in Bigler, Jones & Lobliner, 1997; p. 530). An explanation is that people tend to ascribe negative out-group behaviour to dispositions, whereas they ascribe negative in-group behaviour to situations (Bigler et al. 1997, p. 530).

Based on the above information and research results, it is generally expected that Germans tend to judge criminal in-group members more negatively than comparable out-group members. Therefore, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H1: Criminal in-group people are judged more negatively than comparable criminal out-group people.

Besides the aspect of social identity, the amount of integration and contact also plays an important role in the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people. Because of the enormous numbers of refugee, the aspect of integration has become more and more important. Cheung and Phillimore (2017) describe integration as a process by which immigrants become integrated and accepted so that they become part of society. They explain that many refugee are directly located to internal refugee camps; mostly, do not have any contact with local people, and a process of integration

is difficult to reach. A successful integration is a very complex process in different domains (social, economic, cultural and civil) and, in which many parties, for example, politicians, local people and, refugee, must be involved (Cheung & Phillimore, 2017). Furthermore, it is important that refugee achieve a feeling of social cohesion and that they are active participants in society (Cheung & Phillimore, 2017).

A successful integration of refugee is very important because otherwise, there are many negative aspects which can threaten the local people. If successful integration occurs, people show feelings of stability, security and allegiance, while disintegration results in feelings of exclusion, violence and disparity between the out-group and in-group (Löffler, 2011). Perceived cultural threats, competition for jobs, public services and social benefits can result in many people showing no interest in integrating refugee but rather resenting and opposing their arrival (Toshkov & Kortenska, 2015). Thus, it becomes obvious that internal psychological aspects such as fear and resentment are possible factors preventing integration.

One factor of a possible successful integration is contact with individual people. Having contact is important for a successful integration because it is a crucial factor in reducing prejudices, stereotypes and negative predispositions (Sigelman & Welsh, 1993). Allports contact theory states that interpersonal contact between members of different groups of races tends to reduce prejudices between majority and minority group members under "optimal conditions", thus if there are equal status, common goals or group support or cooperation (Allport, 1954, in Sigelman & Welsh, 1993; Berger, Brenick, Lawrence, Coco & Abu-Raiya, 2018). This effect can be shown through the "Robbers Cave Experiment" by Sherif, in which it is obvious, that prejudices between groups decrease when two members of different races work intensively together in order to reach a similar goal (Sigelman & Welsh, 1993, pp. 781-782).

According to Berger et al. (2018), another aspect for an effective intergroup contact is a friendship between members of different group of races. In such a case, the out-group member is seen as an individual and not as a part of the out-group, so that "individuating information" is highlighted (Aberson, 2015). Thus, it can be concluded that if two persons communicate with each other, there is a chance to learn and understand the counterpart much better, so that possible prejudices should diminish.

Incidents, such as the sexual mob in Cologne, which stoking fear and anxiety among Germans are an example for negative contact between different groups (Holzberg, et al., 2018). Such negative incidents often cause the building of prejudices and the developing image which is made from the opposing group. A study by Barlow et al. (2012), in which the interaction between Black and Muslim Australians and asylum seekers is investigated by comparing the connection between the amount of contact and prejudice support these findings, that negative contact is a stronger predictor of building up prejudices than positive contact. In a second study, in which the degree of contact between Black and White Americans is investigated, it appears that negative contact is a stronger indicator for racism and discrimination (Barlow et al., 2012, p. 1629). An explanation for the fact that negative contact is a stronger predictor than positive contact is that it makes intergroup categories more salient and that there is a connection observable between negative contact and increasing prejudices, whereas positive contact is connected with tolerance and decreasing prejudices (Barlow et al., 2012, pp. 1629-1630).

Because of the presented information, it can be observed that the type of contact plays an important role in the judgement of out-group people. Consequently, it can be assumed that negative contact effect the building of prejudices, discrimination and racism much more than positive contact. As a result, it can be expected that there is an observable negative correlation between the judgement of Muslim refugee and the type of contact, the native people had with them. So, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H2: The more negative the contact is judged between Germans and Muslim refugee, the more negative the judgement of criminal out-group people.

- *The difference between criminal in-group and out-group judgements will be lower if the contact between both groups is seen as negative.*

Another aspect, from a social identity perspective, that possibly plays a role in the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people, is the in-group identification.

In-group identification can be defined as: defining oneself as a group member; the personal significance and importance of group membership for a sense of personal belonging and the individual's sense of self; and being proud of one's own in-group

feeling of closeness to the particular in-group because of psychological attachment (Raffield, Greenlow, Price & Collard, 2016). Raffield et al. (2016) conclude that people who "identify strongly with an in-group are more likely to regard themselves as a member of the in-group, to view themselves as similar to the other members of the in-group and to feel connected to the in-group's other members" (p. 37).

By including the findings of Marques, et al. (1988), which state that the judgement scores of deviant in-group members are more extreme than the scores of comparable out-group people because deviant in-group members are judged as more imperilling or threatening because they override existing social rules and disagree with the social norms of the in-group (pp. 2-5), the following hypothesis is formulated:

> **H3:** The higher the in-group identification, the more negative are the judgement scores of criminal in-group people.
> - *The difference between criminal in-group and out-group judgements will be lower if in-group identification is low.*

The next theories are important in terms of opinion formation about others and thus can be possible influences on the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people, are the intergroup theory (which explains the formation of out-group attitude) and the in-group projection model (which explains in-group prototypicality).

Ratliff and Nosek (2011) describe the opinion formation of others as a process which develops if people meet a new person who belongs to a known social group. Then, an impression of the person is made based on stereotypically traits, which are associated with the person's group membership, or on individual traits that are unique to this person (Ratliff & Nosek, 2011, p. 1693). Tajfel, Flament, Billig and Bundy (1971) observe that in intergroup relations, people tend to categorise others into social groups (Bigler, et al., 1997). This process is described in intergroup theory, which also maintains that the mere presence of categories is sufficient to developing prejudices and to discriminate another person or group (Bigler, et al. 1997, p. 530). On the basis of these remarks, it can be said that opinion formation, which includes out-group hate, is often a process based on stereotypes and prejudices ascribed to a person, not on experiences of contact.

In creating an image of an out-group and by constructing an attitude, the realistic group conflict theory can play an important role. According to Riek, Mania and Gaertner (2006), a negative out-group attitude develops when an intergroup threat is observable. This means that two different groups are in conflict with each other, for example when the "potential success of one group threatens the well-being of the other" (p. 336). Sherif and Sherif (1969) explain that if groups have complementary goals, their relations will be positive, but if groups have conflicting goals, relations will deteriorate (Riek, et al. 2006, p. 336). They conclude that "the resulting conflict may increase in-group solidarity, which in turn widens the in-group/out-group distinction, creating intergroup hostility" (Riek, et al., 2006, p. 336).

The in-group projection model developed by Wenzel and Mummendey is based on Turner's social categorisation theory and asserts that members of a group compare themselves with members of another group (in this case, native Germans and Muslim refugee) in a superordinate category (in this case, all Germans / Germany). This means that members of a group more strongly project typical in-group characteristics and properties onto a superordinate category than they project out-group characteristics (Wenzel, Mummendey & Waldzus, 2008). The theory states that in-group members are seen as more prototypical of the superordinate category because the superordinate category is positively evaluated and seen as relevant to individual self-identity. For this reason, in-group people project typical in-group characteristics (stereotypes / prototypes) onto the superordinate category (Wenzel, et al. 2008).

In an experiment, Wenzel and colleagues show that Germans connect more prototypical German characteristics to the superordinate group of Europeans than to Italians, who also project more prototypical Italian characteristics to the superordinate group than to the other subgroup (Germans) (Wenzel, et al., 2008). Members of both groups see their own in-group as more typical for Europe than the other group, and they feel that their own characteristics conform most to the European characteristics (Wenzel, et al., 2008). According to the theory, this process can lead to a discrimination against groups seen as less typical within the superordinate group (Wenzel, et al., 2008). In terms of the current study, it can be inferred that Germans project more typical German characteristics onto the superordinate group (all Germans / Germany) than onto the other subgroup (Muslim refugee). Research by Ufkes, Otten, Van Der Zee, Giebels and Dovidio (2012) supports the finding, that

people see their own in-group as more prototypical of a superordinate category compared to a minority group.

Based on these remarks, it can be expected that there is interdependency between in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude. Thus, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H4: The higher the in-group prototypicality and lower the out-group attitude, the more negative judgement of criminal in-group people.

- *The difference between criminal in-group and out-group judgements will be lower if in-group prototypicality is low and / or out-group attitude is high.*

The aim of the study is to investigate from a social identity perspective how different factors, such as the way of contact, in-group identification, in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude, influence the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people. To this end, a questionnaire was conducted, whereby each of the factors was separately examined in order to detect possible correlations and connections between the proposed factor and the judgement scores. The questionnaire was widespread via social networks and via e-mail, and the participants were randomly chosen.

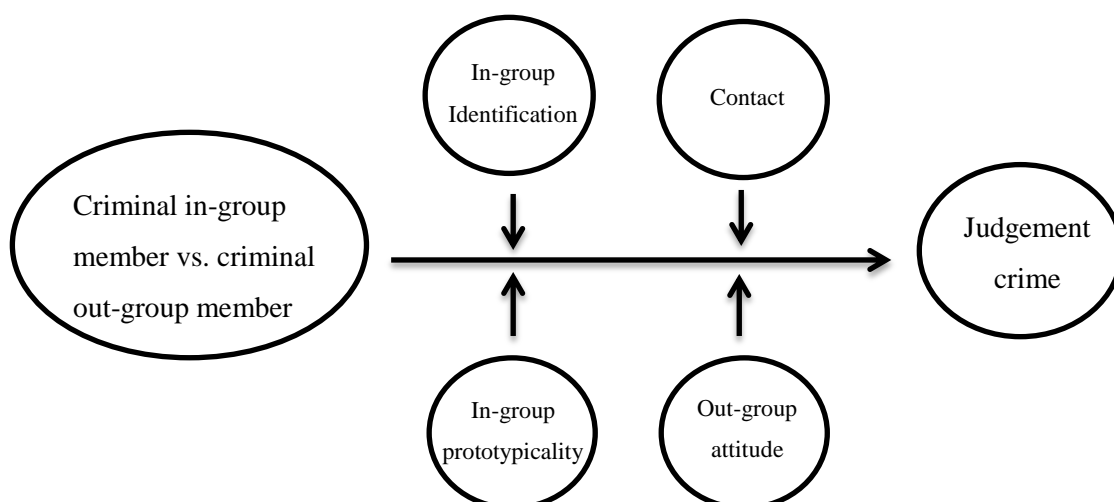The full conceptual model of the whole investigation looks like this:

Figure 1. Conceptual model.

Method

Design. The research included four independent variables: 'in-group identification', 'contact', 'in-group prototypicality', and "out-group attitude'. These variables were measured through different scales, subscales of items that were self-devised or inspired by the already existent scales of different earlier studies. The dependent variables, namely the judgement of criminal behaviour by Germans and Muslim refugee, were measured through in a total of 24 self-devised scenarios, that is, 12 with German and 12 with Muslim perpetrators, so that both groups can be compared with each other.

In-group identification

The first independent variable, used in the study, was the measurement of in-group identification. To what extent Germans identified themselves with her own in-group (other Germans) was tested by means of 14 items of the 'In-group identity scale' developed by Leach et al. (2008), which were divided into five different categories ('Solidarity', 'Satisfaction', 'Centrality', 'Individual Self-Stereotyping' and 'In-Group Homogeneity'). Therefore, the respondents had to rate the respective item on a 5-point Likert scale, which ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

The reliability analysis revealed that the whole in-group identification scale showed a reliability of Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.83$ and Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.84$. Both values were on a high level, what means that the internal consistency of the scale was good (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.83$), and that 84% of the variance (Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.84$) was based on true scores and 16% was based on errors.

Contact

The second independent variable, used in the study, was the measurement of contact that Germans have had with Muslim refugee. This included on the one hand the amount of contact between Germans and Muslim refugee and on the other hand the classification of the contact (i.e., whether the contact was seen as negative or as positive). In order to measure the amount of contact between Germans and Muslim refugee, the respondents were at first asked with the following question: *'Have you ever had contact with Muslim refugee?'* Participants could answer with 1 (Yes) or 2 (No). In order to use the question for the further analysis, this question was standardised. If respondents answered with 'Yes', they were asked to judge how often

they perceived the contact as positive or negative. If they answered with 'No', they did not answer the other questions regarding the amount of contact. If the first question was answered with 'Yes', the following two questions were presented: '*On average, how frequently do you have positive / good contact with Muslim refugee?*' and '*On average, how frequently do you have negative / bad contact with Muslim refugee?*' (In order to use the question for the reliability calculation of the scale, this question was recoded). Both questions lean on the research questions of a study by Pedersen and Griffiths (2006), which was used by Barlow et al. (2012). Both questions were judged on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always). For the further analysis, a dummy codification was done on the basis of these three questions.

The first dummy (D_1) is coded with the following:

1) a 0 for 'no contact' and for 'neutral contact'
2) a 1 for 'had contact' and 'positive contact'
3) a 0 for 'had contact' and 'negative contact' (see Table 1)

The second dummy (D_2) is coded with:

1) a 0 for 'no contact' and for 'neutral contact'
2) a 0 for 'had contact' and 'positive contact'
3) a 1 for 'had contact' and 'negative contact' (see Table 1)

Table 1

Overview of the dummy codification based on the first three questions relating to the construct 'contact'

	D_1	D_2
No contact / Neutral contact	0	0
Contact / Positive	1	0
Contact / Negative	0	1

[1] The reliability analysis stated that the whole contact scale shows a reliability of Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.85$ and Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.91$. Both values were on a high level, what means that the internal consistency of the scale was excellent (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.91$), and that 91% of the variance (Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.91$) was based on true scores and 9% was based on errors.

In-group prototypicality

The third independent variable was the measurement of in-group prototypicality. In order to both gain an impression of, how Germans judge their own in-group people (native Germans) related to Germans in general (Germany) and to measure the perceived in-group prototypicality, the respondents were presented with the following two statements: *'Native Germans are representative of Germany'* and *'The typical resident of Germany has a German background'* (Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel & Weber, 2003). The statements were answered on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

The reliability analysis revealed that the whole in-group prototypicality scale shows a reliability of $\alpha = 0.91$ and Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.91$. Both values were on a high level, what means that the internal consistency of the scale was good (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.85$), that 91% of the variance (Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.91$) was based on true scores and 9% was based on errors.

Out-group attitude

The last independent variable, used in the research was the measurement of out-group prototypicality. In order to measure the out-group attitude, (i.e., if and to what degree Germans had prototypes of/or prejudices against Muslim refugee and how the respondents think about Muslim refugee in general), the following statements were presented: *'Muslim refugee are an important and valuable part of our society',*

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[1] After getting a general impression on the valence of contact as a whole, the respondents which answered yes to the first question were pleased to be more specific. Therefore the participants were asked to estimate how much contact (in percent) they have had with Muslim refugee in the last months by means of the question: 'Can you estimate how much contact (in percent) of all your contact, you have had with Muslim refugee in the last month?' This estimation could be made by means of a slider, with which they could rate from 1 to 100 percent. This question was lean on the main study of Paolini (2003), which investigated the variability in a contact-prejudice relationship towards Australian undergraduate across different out-groups and which was used by Barlow et al. (2012). For the following analysis, this question was standardised. After the estimation of the contact with Muslim refugee in the last months, the respondents were pleased to judge to what degree this contact was negative or positive. Therefore, the following two questions were presented: 'To which degree was this contact positive?' and 'To which degree was this contact negative? (In order to use the question for the reliability calculation of the scale, this question was recoded.) These judgements could be made on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (not a bit) to 5 (very much) and were again lean on the study of Pedersen and Griffiths (2003) and used by Barlow et al. (2012). For the following analysis, these three questions were not investigated.

and 'Muslim refugee are a disturbing and threatening part of our society'. Both statements were judged on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Because the second question was negatively formulated, it was recoded for the further analysis. After the recoding, the statement ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). In addition the respondents judged different out-group statements: '*How positive / negative is your image of Muslim refugee in Germany?', 'In general, how competent do you think Muslim refugee in Germany are?',* and '*In general, how friendly do you think Muslim refugee in Germany are?'* (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). The first statement was judged on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive), the second from 1 (very incompetent) to 5 (very competent) and the last from 1 (very unfriendly) to 5 (very friendly).

The reliability analysis revealed that the whole out-group attitude scale shows a reliability of Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.62$ and Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.84$. The Cronbach's α value ($\alpha = 0.62$) was not very high, so that the internal consistency of the scale was questionable. The Gutman's λ_2 ($\lambda_2 = 0.84$) was on a high level, so that 84% of the variance was based on true scores and 16% was based on errors.

Criminal in-group and out-group people

By means of 12 cases, which included different types of criminality, it was investigated whether there is a difference between the judgements of criminal in-group and out-group people. An example of such a scenario was the following: '*A German is in possession of an illegal weapon.'* or comparably, '*A Muslim refugee is in possession of an illegal weapon'.* The scenarios were rated by means of a 5-point Likert scale, which ranged from 1 (not severe) to 5 (very severe). In order to compare the judgements and to detect if there were differences in the rating of severity between both groups, the scenarios were equal for both groups. For the calculation of the correlation scores and for the regression analysis, the difference scores of the two variables were used.

The reliability analysis stated that the whole measurement of the 12 scenarios of criminal Germans showed a reliability of $\alpha = 0.76$ and Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.81$. The measurement of the 12 scenarios of criminal Muslim refugee showed a reliability of $\alpha = 0.82$ and Gutman's $\lambda_2 = 0.86$. In both cases, the Cronbach's alpha values ($\alpha = 0.76$ and $\alpha = 0.82$) were on a high level, so that the internal consistency of the scales was good. Also the Gutman's λ_2 values ($\lambda_2 = 0.81$ and $\lambda_2 = 0.86$) were on a high level, so

that 81% or rather 86% of the variance was based on true scores and 19% or rather 14% was based on errors.

Control questions

At the end of the questionnaire, the respondents filled in four questions about the honesty and reliability of their answers. These 'control questions' were adopted and adjusted from the study by Karemaker (2014) and the questionnaire of Zebel (2015). On a 3-point Likert scale, rated from 1 (Yes), 2 (No) and 3 (Neither yes nor no), the respondents could state to which degree they confirmed their answers to the questions. An example of a 'control question' was: '*Did you understand all of the questions?'*

The analysis showed that the questions were mostly understandable for the respondents. Furthermore, all respondents reported to have answered the questions honestly and filled in the questions seriously. Most of the respondents also trusted that their data would stay anonymous and would be treated confidentially. One respondent stated that he did not trust the researcher, and three reported to have no opinion on these questions (see Table 2). Thus, all in all, it can be concluded that the questions were mostly seriously answered and, the results applicable to the following research.

After filling in the control questions, the respondents were informed of the aim and the expectations of the study and asked if they confirmed that their data may be used for the research.

Table 2

Overview of the number of respondents who responded regarding the different conditions of the control questions (N = 127)

Question	Yes	No	Neither Yes nor No
Did you understand all of the questions?	126	1	0
Did you answer the questions honestly?	127	0	0
Did you fill in the questions seriously?	127	0	0
Do you trust that your data will remain anonymous and trusted confidentially?	123	1	3

Note: The frequencies of the 127 respondents are presented for each control question separately'. The control questions were adopted and adjusted from the study by Karemaker, M. (2014). Range of the scale: 3-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = Yes, 2 = No, 3 = Neither yes nor no.

     Participants. In total, 135 participants took part in the study. The outlined questionnaire was formulated in German and was widely circulated through social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, Skype, Instagram and Twitter) via a link, or else directly via e-mail. In total, eight respondents were excluded from the analysis. Three of them were excluded, because they did not belong to the chosen target group (Germans): one respondent was not considered, because he did not name his age, so it was not clear if he was really at least 18 years old and if his data may be used or not): and four respondents were excluded because they did not confirm that their data may be used for scientific research. The analysis showed that 54.3% of the remaining 127 participants, who were between 18 and 82 years old (*M = 29.78; SD = 13.28*), were male, and 45.7% were female (see Table 3). It also became clear that most of the people who filled in the questionnaire did not have a migration background (95.3%); they also reported that their parents did not have a migration background (89%), (see Table 3). In addition, the analysis indicated that most respondents were Christians (97.6%), lived in a city (62.2%) and were working people (51.2%) (see Table 3).

Table 3

Overview of the respondents' demographic data (N = 127)

Demographic data	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Gender		
Male	69	54.3%
Female	58	45.7%
Nationality		
German	127	100%
Not German	0	0%
Migration Background		
Yes	6	4.7%
No	121	95.3%
Parents' migration background		
Yes	14	11%
No	113	89%
Religion		
Christianity	124	97.6%
Judaism	1	0.8%
Hinduism	1	0.8%
No Religion	1	0.8%
Habitation		
In a village	42	33.1%
In a city	79	62.2%
In the country	6	4.7%
Daily activity (double naming was possible)		
Go to school	19	15%
Do professional training	14	11%
Study	42	33.1 %
Work	65	51.2%
Pensioner	7	5.5%
Other employment	0	0%

Procedure. The questionnaire was produced in German and was distributed through the snowball principle. In order to collect as many respondents as possible in a short period of time, the questionnaire was placed as a link on different social media

platforms, such as Facebook, Skype, Instagram and Twitter. In addition, different respondents were directly connected via e-mail or directly contacted. At the start, the respondents were informed that participation in the study was completely voluntary, that the study could be stopped at any time and that the data was processed anonymously and exclusively used for this study (see Attachment 6). Once the informed consent was filled in, the respondents were directly transferred to the questionnaire with the different scales (i.e., regarding in-group identification, prototypicality, contact, scenarios of the criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee, control questions). After completing the questionnaire, the respondents were thanked for their participation, and they were informed about the aim and the expectations of the research. This information was provided at the end of the study so that there was no influence on the respondents in answering the questions and in order to avoid socially desired answers.

Results

In order to determine which of the previously presented hypotheses might be affected and which of the chosen variables are influential, many different analyses were done. In the following remarks, these analyses are demonstrated in detail.

Correlations

In order to investigate, which variables influence each other, a correlation analysis was conducted. In the following, the most important correlations relevant toward answering the research questions are summed up (see, Table 4):

1) In-group identification and the difference score of criminal Germans and Muslim refugee were positively correlated with each other. This means that it could be expected that the difference between the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group behaviour will be larger if in-group identification is high.

2) In-group prototypicality and out-group attitude were negatively correlated with each other. Thus, it could be expected that people who showed high in-group prototypicality (and thus saw native Germans as typical of a German identity), showed a low out-group attitude (and thus saw Muslim refugee as disturbing of threatening to society).

3) In-group prototypicality was negatively correlated with D_1 and positively correlated with D_2, meaning that it could be expected that respondents who showed a high in-group prototypicality (i.e., who saw native Germans as typical for a German identity), have had negative and less contact with Muslim refugee.

4) In-group prototypicality was negatively correlated with the difference score between criminal Germans and Muslim refugee. This means that it could be expected that the difference between the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group behaviour would be lower if in-group prototypicality was low.

5) Out-group attitude was positively correlated with D_1 and negatively correlated with D_2. Therefore, it could be expected that Germans, who saw Muslim refugee as disturbing and threatening, have also had negative and frequent contact with Muslim refugee.

6) Out-group attitude was positively correlated with the difference score between criminal Germans and Muslim refugee. This means that it could be expected that the difference between the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group would be lower if out-group prototypicality were high.

7) D_1 and D_2 were negatively correlated with each other, meaning that it could be expected that people who have had positive contact with Muslim refugee, could not have had negative contact with them.

8) D_1 was positively correlated with the difference score between criminal Germans and Muslim refugee. Thus, it could be expected that the difference between the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people would be larger if Germans have had positive contact with Muslim refugee.

9) D_2 was negatively correlated with the difference score between criminal Germans and Muslim refugee. This means that it could be expected that the difference between the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people would be lower if Germans have had negative contact with Muslim refugee.

The other correlations, which can be found in the correlation table, were not relevant toward answering the research questions and are therefore not depicted in the rest of the study.

Table 4

Overview of the correlations between the different independent variables (N = 127)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1)	In-group identification		-.03	-.03	.02	.12	.16	.01	.04	.17	-.05	.25**
2)	In-group prototypicality			-.45**	-.38**	.28**	.09	.19	-.05	-.05	-.00	-.37**
3)	Outgroup attitude				.63**	-.74**	.05	-.22*	-.03	-.05	-.07	.47**
4)	D_1 (had contact / positive contact)					-.43**	-.12	-.13	.23**	.05	-.05	.37**
5)	D_2 (had contact / negative contact)						-.14	.10	.16	.02	-.02	-.42**
6)	Age							.05	-.25	.06	.10	.07
7)	Gender								-.17	.13	.02	-.17
8)	Life space									-.04	.05	.02
9)	Own migration background										.40**	-.07
10)	Parents migration background											-.06
11)	Difference Score (crim. Germans – crim. Muslim refugee)											

Note: In each column, the Pearson correlation coefficient of each predictor is presented. * = Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** = Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In order to investigate whether there were significant differences between the judgement scores of criminal Germans and Muslim refugee, a significance test in the form of a paired sample t-test was done.

Significance test and analysis of the mean scores

The significance test indicated that there were significant differences in the judgement scores (t (122) = 3.115, p < .01). In order to reflect the differences more deeply, the overall mean score and the mean scores per scenario were separately reflected. The overall mean scores of both groups of criminal people showed that criminal Germans (*M = 4.62, SD = 0.24*; see Table 13 in Appendix) were more negatively judged than criminal Muslim refugee (*M = 4.54, SD = 0.31*; see Table 13 in Appendix). By comparing the different scenarios, it became clear that the most scenarios were scored minimally higher (more negatively) by criminal in-group people to comparable out-group people (see Figure 2). In contrast, it was conspicuous that *'…molesting a young woman'* and *'…killing another person'* were scored minimally higher when perpetrated by Muslim refugee (*M = 5.00; M = 5.00;* see Figure 2) than by criminal German people (*M = 4.98; M = 4.99*; see Figure 2). In addition, the scenario of *'…assaulting a young woman'* was scored equally by both groups (both *M = 5.00*, both *SD = 0.00*; see Table 13, Appendix). The exact values of each scenario can be found in Table 13 (see Appendix).

In summary, so as said in the 'Black Sheep Effect', it can be concluded that criminal in-group people are judged more negatively than comparable criminal out-group people, so that hypothesis 1 can be accepted.

Figure 2. Average judgement scores of German and Muslim refugee per each scenario (N = 127)
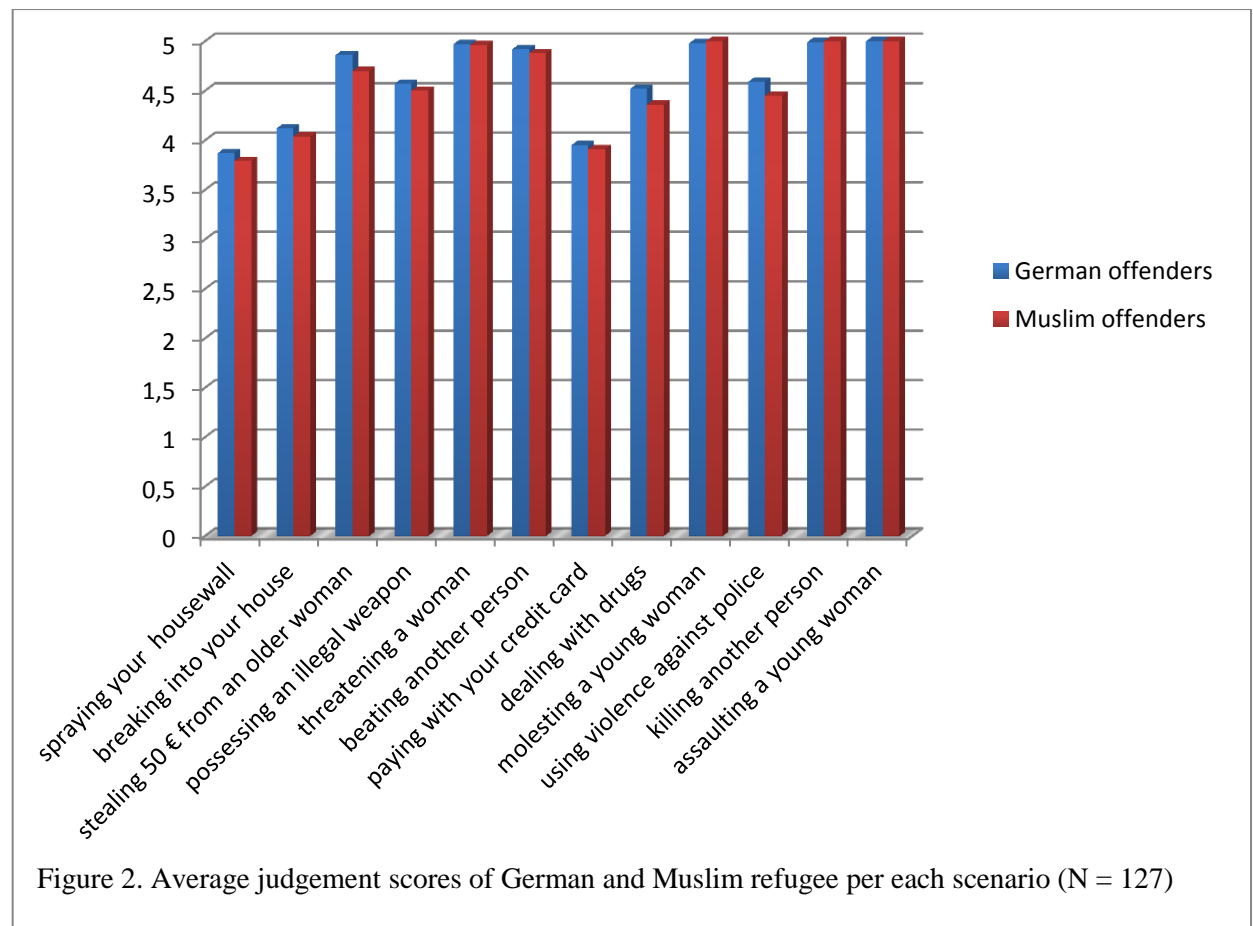
Figure 2. The bar diagram shows the average judgement scores of Germans and Muslim refugee by each scenario. The blue bar shows the average scores for German criminals, and the red bar show the average scores for criminal Muslim refugee.

Examining the demographic data revealed that six people reported having a migration background. Consequently, it could be questioned, whether they also judged criminal Germans more negatively, or whether they judged criminal Muslim refugee more negatively (perhaps because they saw them as their in-group). In order to investigate this question, a separate analysis was made, in which the mean scores and standard deviations for criminal Germans and Muslim refugee were reflected separately. In both conditions one person was not reflected. By comparing these values, it became apparent that Germans with a migration background also judged criminal Germans more negatively compared to criminal Muslim refugee (see Table 5).

Table 5

Overview of the mean scores and standard deviations of the judgement scores for criminal Germans and Muslim refugee by Germans with a migration background compared to Germans without a migration background (N = 127)

| | Judgement scores | | | |
| | Criminal Muslim refugee | | Criminal Germans | |
	M	SD	M	SD
Germans with a migration background (N = 6)	4.47	0.13	4.72	0.21
Germans without a migration background (N = 121)	4.55	0.31	4.61	0.24

Note: M = Mean score, SD = Standard deviation.

In order to investigate the formulated research questions, the demonstrated correlations (see Table 4) were analysed more deeply. To this end, a regression analysis was conducted in which the variables and interactions relevant to answering the research questions were investigated. Variables, not included in the regression analysis were: 'gender', 'age', 'living environment', 'own migration background' and 'parent's migration background'.

Regression analysis

By means of the regression analysis, it was examined which predictors were influential on the average judgement scores of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee and whether main- of interaction effects were observable. Therefore, a regression analysis of the difference scores of Germans and Muslim refugee was undertaken with the following (possible) predictors: 'D_1 (positive contact)', 'D_2 (negative contact)', 'in-group identification', 'in-group prototypicality' and 'out-group attitude'. Furthermore, a possible interaction effect between out-group attitude and in-group prototypicality (which was relevant for answering the fourth research question) was investigated. The regression analysis showed that the predictors presented above explained about 35% of the total variance (adjusted R^2 = .34) of the whole model.

The coefficient table (in which main- and interaction effects are presented) shows that D_1 did not influence the difference judgement scores between criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee ($b = .07$, $SE = .04$, t (121) = 1,58; $p = .12$; see Table 6). In contrast, D_2 had an influence on the difference judgement scores ($b = -.15$, $SE = .07$, t (121) = -2,26; $p = .03$; see Table 6). The b-value was negative, so that the variable had a negative influence. Thus, the difference between criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee will be lower if there is negative contact observable between both groups (Germans and Muslim refugee). In other words, connecting to earlier findings, the 'Black Sheep Effect' will be lower if Germans reported having negative contact with Muslim refugee. This implied that that the difference between criminal in-group and out-group behaviour would be larger if the contact with Muslim refugee was seen as negative. Thus, it can be concluded that hypothesis 2 (*'The more negative the contact is judged between Germans and Muslim refugee, the more negative the judgement of criminal out-group people.'*) can be accepted.

Furthermore, it was shown that in-group identification influenced the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group behaviour ($b = .16$, $SE = .04$, t (121) = 4.19; $p = .00$; see Table 6). The b-value was positive, which means that the difference between criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee will be lower if in-group identification is low. In other words, it can be determined that the 'Black Sheep Effect', will be lower if in-group identification is low. Related to hypothesis 3 (*'The higher the in-group identification, the more negative are the judgement scores of criminal in-group people'*), it can be concluded that the difference between criminal in-group and out-group behaviour would be larger, if in-group identification were high. This implied that people, who score high on the in-group identification scale, also scored high on criminal in-group behaviour. Thus, hypothesis 3 can be accepted.

Moreover, it can be asserted both that in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude did not affect the difference judgement scores (of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee) apart (both ps >.13, see Table 6) and that there was also only a marginal observable interaction effect between both variables ($b = .06$, $SE = .03$, $t(121) = 1.95$; $p = .053$; see Table 6). This means that neither variable led to a difference in the judgements of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee and thus also did not affect the 'Black Sheep Effect'. For these reasons, hypothesis 4 (*'The higher the in-group prototypicality and lower the out-group attitude, the more negative judgement of criminal in-group people.'*) cannot be accepted.

Table 6

Overview of the β, t, df (degree of freedom) and p-values of the different predictors and of possible interactions relating to the difference score of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee (N=121)

	β	SE	T	df	p
In-group identification	.16	.04	4.19	6, 115	.00
In-group prototypicality	-.04	.02	-1.52	6, 115	.13
Out-group attitude	.02	.06	.43	6, 115	.67
D_1 (had contact / positive contact)	.07	.04	1.58	6, 115	.12
D_2 (had contact / negative contact)	-.15	.07	-2.26	6, 115	.03
In-group prototypicality * Out-group attitude	.06	.03	1.95	6, 115	.053

Because there was a marginal regression observable relating to the interaction between in-group prototypicality and outgroup attitude, this interaction was deeper reflected. Therefore, two groups are made (through a median split) on the basis of in-group prototypicality (low vs. high in-group prototypicality). After that, for each of both groups, correlations between the difference score and the 'out-group attitude' variable were investigated. For both groups (low and high in-group prototypicality), positive correlations between the out-group attitude and the difference score were observable (see Table 7). That means that there was no significant difference between both groups (people with low in-group prototypicality and with high in-group prototypicality) observable relating to the scores of the out-group attitude and the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people.

Table 7

The correlations between the difference score and out-group attitude on the basis of low and high in-group prototypicality (N = 123)

		Difference Score	Outgroup Attitude
Low IP	Difference Score	1	.26*
	Outgroup Attitude	.26*	1
High IP	Difference Score	1	.53**
	Outgroup Attitude	.53**	1

Note: In each column, the Pearson correlation coefficient of the predictors is presented. * = Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). ** = Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The same procedure was done on the basis of out-group attitude (low vs. high out-group attitude), where correlations between the difference score and in-group prototypicality were investigated. It was shown that there was a negative correlation observable by a low out-group attitude and no correlation by a high out-group attitude (see Table 8). That means that there was a difference between both groups (people with a low in-group out-group attitude and with a high in-group attitude) observable relating to the scores of the in-group prototypicality and the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people.

Table 8

The correlations between the difference score and in-group prototypicality on the basis of low and high out-group attitude (N = 123)

		Difference Score	In-group Prototypicality
Low OA	Difference Score	1	-.36**
	In-group Prototypicality	-.36**	1
High OA	Difference Score	1	-.16
	In-group Prototypicality	-.16	1

Note: In each column, the Pearson correlation coefficient of the predictors is presented. * = Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). ** = Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Discussion

The aim of the study was to investigate which predictors influence the judgements of criminal in-group (Germans) and criminal out-group (Muslim refugee) people. As possible predictors, the variables: 'contact', 'in-group prototypicality', 'out-group attitude' and 'in-group identification' are chosen.

The analysis showed that the average judgement scores of criminal Muslim refugee are higher than comparable German criminals. The correlations of the different variables shows that many relationships are observable. Thereby, it can be seen that there are many positive correlations, for example between in-group identification and the difference score of criminal Germans and Muslim refugee, between in-group identification and the D_2 variable, between out-group attitude and D_1, between out-group attitude and the difference score of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee and between D_1 and the difference score of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee. Furthermore, many negative correlations are observable: between in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude, between in-group prototypicality and D_1, between in-group prototypicality and the difference score of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee, between out-group attitude and D_2, between D_1 and D_2 and between D_2 and the difference score of criminal Germans and criminal Muslim refugee.

Apart from these findings, it is shown that more negative contact among Germans and Muslim refugee, also lead to more negative judgement towards criminal out-group people. Relating to the variable 'in-group identification', it can be concluded that the higher the in-group identification, the more negative is the judgement score of criminal in-group people. The other two predictors ('in-group prototypicality' and 'out-group attitude') did not influence the judgement scores. There was also only a marginal interaction effect observable between both variables. By investigating this marginal interaction effect, it was shown that there was a difference between both groups of out-group attitude (low vs. high out-group attitude) observable relating to the scores of in-group prototypicality and the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people. By comparing low and high in-group prototypicality, there was no difference observable relating to the scores of the out-group attitude and the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people.

Theoretical reflection

Existing literature, such as Pinto (2010) or Marques, et al. (1988), determined that criminal in-group members are viewed more critically because they overstep the social norms of the own in-group. According to the 'Black Sheep Effect', social in-group members form a more negative attitude towards the criminal in-group person, in order to keep up the positive image of the group; they have no understanding for the criminal in-group person and see him or her as a threat of damaging the social identity (Pinto, 2010; Marques et al. 1988). These findings are also supported by the current research, in which it is shown that criminal in-group people are on average judged more negatively than comparable out-group people.

In addition to these findings, the current research shows that negative contact had an influence on the judgement scores of criminal out-group people. The results indicated that negative contact lead to more negative judgements of criminal out-group people. This was expectable, since many studies, such as the presented study by Barlow et al. (2012), support these findings. Barlow et al. (2012) conducted two studies in which they investigated the interactions between the amount of contact and the valence of prejudices between different groups of persons. Both studies came to the same conclusion that negative contact was a strong predictor relating to building up prejudices, racism, discrimination and avoidance (Barlow et al. 2012, p. 1629).

Additionally, the current research showed that in-group identification has an influence on the judgement scores of in-group people. In terms of the research hypothesis, it was concluded that a high amount of in-group identification is connected with a more negative judgement of criminal in-group people. This was expected, because much research, which is presented in the introduction, maintained that a high amount of in-group identification can be connected with a positive image of the in-group, because members see the group as a part of the social identity (Raffield, et al. 2016). Simultaneously, the current research showed that criminal in-group behaviour is judged as more extreme (more negatively) compared to criminal out-group behaviour. This effect can be explained by the fact that deviant behaviour is not accepted by in-group people, because they are expected to behave according to the existing rules and norms of the group and not to disagree with existing social norms (Marques, et al. 1988, pp. 2-5).

The current research also revealed that neither in-group prototypicality nor out-group attitude affects the judgement of criminal in-group people. There was also

only a marginal interaction effect observable between both variables, with differences in low and high out-group attitude and no difference in low and high in-group prototypicality relating to the scores of in-group prototypicality or rather out-group attitude and the judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people. This was not foreseeable, for several reasons: Besides the fact that in-group identification leads to strong group cohesion and proximity, many studies presented in the introduction, such as Wenzel, et al. (2008) and Ufkes et al. (2012), explain that people attribute characteristics to their own in-group that are seen as typical of the superordinate group (in-group prototypicality). Therefore, it was concluded that out-groups would be judged more negatively because they differ from the characteristics, seen as typical of a superordinate group. Because there are no conflicting findings in the literature, which could support the presented results, it is difficult to find logical explanations for them. It is possible that there are problems with the conceptual or methodological structure of the research. It could be that the questions of the scales (or the respond options) are not formulated very clearly. This may have led to the problem that the respondents tended to score moderately on a question, because they did not want to give a crass answer and that the questions are not suitable to answer the research questions. Another problem could be that the order of the scales was not chosen in a good manner, meaning that it is possible that the answer to a question from the in-group identification scale influenced the answer on the out-group attitude scale. It might be useful for further research to allow the respondent to randomly arrange the scales, in order to detect or suspend such an effect.

Limitations of the research

This research is an empirical approach to the field of immigration research that reflects specific aspects of social analysis relating to influences on the judgement of criminal behaviour. As in all empirical research, some limitations are observable that should be considered through a critical reflection on the research.

A limitation which can be detected in the elaboration of the research design, is that the 12 chosen scenarios are partially very extreme (e.g., 'molesting a young woman', 'killing another person' or 'assaulting a young woman'), which can be seen by the fact that on this scenarios, the judgement scores of both groups (criminal in-group and comparable criminal out-group people) are the highest possible or nearly the highest possible regarding all these scenarios, both values lie between 4.98 and 5.00). Thus, it can be assumed that such criminal actions are generally seen as very

bad, so that it does not matter what the perpetrator looks like. In order to obtain better results relating to declarative differences in the judgement scores, it is possible to reformulate the scenarios by extenuating the criminal actions. Another approach could be, to change the choice options, which are formulated very abstractly and do not leave much space for the respondents to concretise their answers. In our case, the respondents have the choice between 'less severe', to 'very severe', but because probably no one would score 'less severe' on a strong criminal action, the differences in the answers are very small. The analysis of the results shows that most of the respondents' answers are between 'severe' and 'very severe', which implies that the answer choices are not chosen very well.

A question which arises from the results is how the judgement scores for Muslim refugee and Germans would look and possibly differ if the scenario's presented included not only criminal actions, but also everyday life actions. Such a question might be: 'What would you say if your daughter introduced her boyfriend to you, and he is a Muslim refugee?' Through this approach, it would be possible to discover if Germans only judge Muslim refugee more negatively if they do something criminal or if it is a general attitude from them. In this way, it might be possible to draw a general conclusion or to restrict the results only to criminal actions.

Another question which emerges from the elaboration of the results is whether there are differences in the judgement scores by a population which does not have many refugee in comparison to a country in which more refugee arrive every year. Research by Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow and Ryan (2005) stated that Australian people, who are confronted with a huge intake of new refugee every year, have developed an increasingly realistic and symbolic sense of threat by the refugee, which has resulted in a more negative attitude. Thus it can be assumed, that a population that takes in a huge number of refugee every year shows more prejudices and a more negative attitude towards the refugee which results in more negative cognition of them.

Added value and new (contrary) findings

In social psychology, much research is done relating to the social identity approach. Aspects such as intergroup relationships and social identity,[2] the 'Black

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[2] Hogg & Terry, 2000; Dovidio & Saguy, 2008; Marques, et al., 1988; Barlow et al. 2012

Sheep Effect'[3], integration and contact,[4] in-group identification,[5] intergroup theory and in-group projection model[6] are investigated very diversely. For this reason, it can be questioned, what value the current research adds. To answer this question, it can be asserted that the current research very efficiently demonstrates a new manner of investigating the 'Black Sheep Effect'.

Most of the existing literature[7] measures the 'Black Sheep Effect' on the basis of a manipulated variable or by comparing a control and an experimental group. In contrast, the current research demonstrates that it can also be effective to provide respondents successively with 12 nearly equal scenario's; which only differ in the perpetrators (German criminals vs. Muslim refugee criminals), and not to distribute the respondents according to the two groups of perpetrators (so that a group only judges the criminal actions of one group of perpetrators).

Furthermore, as described previously, the current research shows contrary results related to existing literature regarding in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude. In most research,[8] it is shown that people see their own in-group as more prototypical, such that in-group people are evaluated more positively compared to out-group people. In the current research, no influence is observable between in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude, nor is there a difference in judgement by criminal in-group and out-group people.

Suggestions for further research and implications

Based on the limitations presented above and on an examination of the research design and the results, it is possible to make suggestions for further research.

A first suggestion is to choose not only more actions than the 12 presented criminal scenarios' but also other criminal actions. Such a selection would provide the opportunity to compare the results with the current research in order to draw general conclusions about the judgement of criminal behaviour by two different groups.

Another approach for further research could be, to not concentrate solely on Muslim refugee. With the concretion of 'Muslim refugee', the respondents could not specify their meaning as a whole. The respondents were asked to narrowly state their

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[3] Abrams et al. 2014; Marques et al., 1988; Pinto et al. 2010

[4] Cheung & Phillimore, 2017; Sigelman & Welsh, 1993, Barlow et al. 2012, etc.

[5] Raffield et al. 2016, etc.

[6] Ratliff & Nosek, 2011; Wenzel, et al., 2008; Ufkes et al. 2012, etc.

[7] Abrams et al. 2014; Marques, et al., 1988; Pinto et al. 2010

[8] Ufkes et al. 2012; Wenzel et al., 2008

meaning relating to Muslim perpetrators, although they might think differently about other groups of people. Thus, it might be possible, to replace 'Muslim refugee' with 'refugee' in general. With this adjustment, it might be possible to gain a broader overview of the judgement of a larger sample. This implies that the judgement scores would be more representative, because they are related to a broader sample (refugee in general) and not relating to a specified sample (Muslim refugee).

Regarding the questions, developed after the research, it might be interesting to choose people from different cultures and countries (e.g., one population from which no large intake of refugee and one population from which a large intake of refugee is observable) in order to investigate if there are significant differences.

Based on the contrary results, related to in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude, this study should be repeated (e.g., with other groups of perpetrators, or in another population). Alternatively, more research in this field could be conducted in order to investigate whether this results are an exception and are based possibly on a faulty methodological approach or in order to show similar contrary results, so that it can be concluded that the results can be seen as representative and not random.

Furthermore, it is possible for further research to create some strategies and interventions by including the results of the current research, which state that in-group identification and contact are predictors for the different judgement of criminal in-group and out-group people. By creating interventions, based on these facts, it might be possible to reduce prejudice, racism and discrimination and to bring both groups closer together so that Muslim refugee are seen as a full part of the German society.

Conclusion

Based on the elaboration of this study, with the aim of investigating whether the judgement scores of in-group and out-group criminals are influenced by variables such as in-group identification, out-group attitude, in-group prototypicality and contact, it can be concluded that in-group identification and contact affect the judgement scores of criminal in-group and out-group people; meanwhile, in-group prototypicality and out-group attitude cannot be seen as predictors. Furthermore, it can be stated that criminal in-group people are judged more negatively than comparable out-group people.

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Appendix

Attachment 1:

Table 9

Overview of the mean scores of the in-group identification with other Germans related to the different categories of identification (N = 125)

Categories of identification	M	SD
Solidarity	3.95	0.63
Satisfaction	3.98	0.62
Centrality	2.80	0.90
Individual Self-Stereotyping	3.88	0.60
In-Group Homogeneity	3.98	0.64

Note: M = Mean score, SD = Standard deviation. The different categories are assumed of the 'In-Group Identity scale' of Leach, et al. (2008). Range of the scale: 5-point Likert scale, which was ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Attachment 2:

Table 10

Overview of the mean scores, standard deviations of the measurement of in-group prototpyicality (N = 127)

Question	M	SD
Native Germans are representative for Germany.	1.76	0.95
A typical German resident has no migration background.	1.72	0.89

Note: M = Mean score, SD = Standard deviation. Range of the In-group prototypicality scales: 5-point Likert scale, which was ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

Attachment 3:

Table 11

Overview of the mean scores, standard deviations of the measurement of outgroup attitude (N = 127)

Question	M	SD
Muslim refugee are an important and valuable part of our society.	3.48	0.98
Muslim refugee are a disturbing and threatening part of our society.	3.70	0.99
How positive / negative is your image of Muslim refugee in Germany?	3.31	0.93
In general, how competent do you think Muslim refugee in Germany are?	3.35	0.81
In general, how friendly do you think Muslim refugee in Germany are?	3.38	0.82

Note: M = Mean score, SD = Standard deviation. Range of the Outgroup attitude scale: 5-point Likert scale; The first question is judged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), the second question is rated from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree), the third question is rated from 1 (Very negative) to 5 (Very positive), the fourth from 1 (Very incompetent) to 5 (Very competent) and the last from 1 (Very unfriendly) to 5 (Very friendly).

Attachment 4:

Table 12

Overview of the mean scores of the measurement of contact relating to the Muslim refugee (N = 127)

Questions	M	SD
Did you ever have contact with Muslim refugee?	1.19	0.40
On average, how frequently do you have positive / good contact with Muslim refugee?	3.20	1.13
On average, how frequently do you have negative / bad contact with Muslim refugee?	2.50	1.06
Can you estimate how much contact (in percent) of all your contact you have had with Muslim refugee in the last month?	11.92 %	7.73
To which degree was this contact positive?	3.17	1.14
To which degree was this contact negative?	2.62	1.10

Note: M = Mean score, SD = Standard deviation. The first question is rated with 1 = No and 2 = Yes. Range of second and third question: 5-point Likert scale from   1 = Never to 5 = Always. Range of fourth question: Slider from 1 to 100 %. Range of last two questions: 5-point Likert scale from 1 = Less to 5 = Very much.

Attachment 5:

Table 13

Overview of the mean scores of the judgements to each different scenario of all

respondents (N = 127)

	Judgment criminals			
	Germans		Muslim refugee	
Criminal acts	M	SD	M	SD
Spraying your house wall.	3.87	0.63	3.79	0.75
Breaking into your house.	4.12	0.57	4.04	0.68
Stealing 50 € from an older woman.	4.86	0.35	4.70	0.58
Possessing an illegal weapon.	4.57	0.56	4.50	0.56
Threatening a young woman.	4.97	0.18	4.96	0.20
Beating another person.	4.92	0.27	4.88	0.33
Trying to pay with your credit card.	3.95	0.70	3.91	0.73
Dealing with drugs.	4.52	0.69	4.36	0,73
Molesting a young woman.	4.98	0.13	5.00	0.00
Using violence against police officers.	4.59	0.70	4.45	0.73
Killing another person.	4.99	0.09	5.00	0.00
Assaulting a young woman.	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00
	4.62	0.24	4.54	0.31

Note: M = Mean scores, SD = Standard deviation. Range of the scale: 5-point Likert

scale, which was ranged from 1 = Not severe to 5 = Very severe.

Attachment 6: Questionnaire

Masterthese Lisa Hengemühle

Q6 Herzlich Willkommen!

 Im Rahmen meiner Masterthese an der Universität Enschede untersuche ich die **Beurteilung von kriminellem Verhalten** bei Deutschen und muslimischen Flüchtlingen.

 Das Ausfüllen des Fragebogens dauert ungefähr **10 bis 15 Minuten**. Die Teilnahme an dieser Studie ist absolut **freiwillig** und kann **zu jedem Zeitpunkt** abgebrochen werden. Nach Beendigung des Fragebogens werden Sie gebeten, Ihre **formelle Zustimmung** zu geben, dass Ihre Daten zu **wissenschaftlichen Zwecken** analysiert und ausgewertet werden dürfen. Die Aufnahme und Verwaltung der Daten erfolgt selbstverständlich **anonym** und kann **nicht** mit Ihnen als Person in Verbindung gebracht werden. Ihre Daten werden ausschließlich für diese Untersuchung verwendet.

 Bitte versuchen Sie, alle Fragen möglichst **wahrheitsgemäß** zu beantworten. Es gibt keine "richtigen" oder "falschen" Antworten.

 Bei Fragen oder Anmerkungen können Sie sich gerne an mich wenden. Meine E-Mail-Adresse lautet: l.m.hengemuhle@student.utwente.nl.

 Wenn Sie den obigen Text gelesen und verstanden haben, bestätigen Sie dieses bitte am Ende des Textes (unter meinem Namen). Anschließend drücken Sie auf den Button --> um zu dem Fragebogen zu gelangen.

 Für die Teilnahme an meiner Untersuchung bedanke ich mich recht herzlich!

 Lisa Hengemühle

◯ Hiermit bestätige ich, dass ich den obigen Text gelesen und verstanden habe. (1)

Q7 Was ist Ihr Geschlecht?

○ Männlich (1)

○ Weiblich (2)

Q9 Wie alt sind Sie?

_____

Q11 Sind Sie deutscher Staatsbürger?

○ Ja (1)

○ Nein (2)

Q13 Haben Sie einen Migrationshintergrund?

○ Ja (1)

○ Nein (2)

Q15 Haben Ihre Eltern einen Migrationshintergrund?

○ Ja (1)

○ Nein (2)

Q17 Was ist Ihre Religion?

_____

Q19 Wo wohnen Sie?

○ Auf dem Land. (1)

○ In einem Dorf. (2)

○ In der Stadt. (3)

Q21 Welche Tätigkeit üben Sie aus?

☐ Ich gehe zur Schule. (1)

☐ Ich mache eine Ausbildung. (2)

☐ Ich studiere. (3)

☐ Ich arbeite. (4)

☐ Ich bin Rentner. (5)

☐ Andere Beschäftigung: (6)
_____

Q23 Die folgenden Aussagen beschäftigen sich mit Ihrer Beziehung zu Ihren deutschen Mitmenschen.

Bitte geben Sie bei jeder Aussage an, wie Sie darüber denken.

	Starke Ablehnung (1)	Ablehnung (2)	Weder Ablehnung noch Zustimmung (3)	Zustimmung (4)	Starke Zustimmung (5)
Ich fühle mich verbunden mit meinen deutschen Mitmenschen. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Ich fühle mich solidarisch mit meinen deutschen Mitmenschen. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Ich fühle mich verpflichtet gegenüber meinen deutschen Mitmenschen. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Ich bin froh, Deutscher zu sein. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Ich bin stolz darauf, Deutscher zu sein. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Es ist sehr schön, Deutscher zu sein. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Deutscher zu sein, gibt mir ein gutes Gefühl. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Ich denke viel darüber nach, Deutscher zu sein. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Deutscher zu sein, ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil meiner Persönlichkeit / Identität. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Deutscher zu sein, macht einen großen Teil (davon) aus, wie ich mich selber	○	○	○	○	○

	Starke Ablehnung (1)	Ablehnung (2)	Weder Ablehnung noch Zustimmung (3)	Zustimmung (4)	Starke Zustimmung (5)
sehe. (10)					
Ich habe viele Gemeinsamkeiten mit meinen deutschen Mitmenschen. (11)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Ich bin meinen deutschen Mitmenschen sehr ähnlich. (12)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Meine deutschen Mitmenschen teilen viele Gemeinsamkeiten. (13)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Meine deutschen Mitmenschen ähneln sich sehr stark. (14)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

End of Block: Block 3

Start of Block: Block 4

Q25 Die folgenden Aussagen beschäftigen sich mit Ihrer Meinung zu Ihren deutschen Mitmenschen.

Bitte geben Sie bei jeder Aussage an, wie Sie darüber denken.

	Starke Ablehnung (1)	Ablehnung (2)	Weder Ablehnung noch Zustimmung (3)	Zustimmung (4)	Starke Zustimmung (5)
Gebürtige Deutsche sind repräsentativ / charakteristisch für Deutschland. (1)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Ein typischer Deutscher hat keinen Migrationshintergrund. (2)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Q27 Die folgenden Aussagen beschäftigen sich mit Ihrer Meinung zu muslimischen Flüchtlingen.

Bitte geben Sie bei jeder Aussage an, wie Sie darüber denken.

	Starke Ablehnung (1)	Ablehnung (2)	Weder Ablehnung noch Zustimmung (3)	Zustimmung (4)	Starke Zustimmung (5)
Muslimische Flüchtlinge sind wichtig und wertvoll für unsere Gesellschaft. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Muslimische Flüchtlinge sind störend und bedrohlich für unsere Gesellschaft. (2)	○	○	○	○	○

Q29 Wie denken Sie über folgende Frage?

	Sehr negativ (1)	Negativ (2)	Weder negativ noch positiv (3)	Positiv (4)	Sehr positiv (5)
Wie positiv / negativ ist Ihr Bild von muslimischen Flüchtlingen in Deutschland? (1)	○	○	○	○	○

Q31 Wie denken Sie über folgende Frage?

	Sehr inkompetent (1)	Inkompetent (2)	Weder inkompetent noch kompetent (3)	Kompetent (4)	Sehr kompetent (5)
Wie kompetent / inkompetent empfinden Sie muslimische Flüchtlinge in Deutschland? (1)	○	○	○	○	○

Q33 Wie denken Sie über folgende Frage?

	Sehr unfreundlich (1)	Unfreundlich (2)	Weder unfreundlich noch freundlich (3)	Freundlich (4)	Sehr freundlich (5)
Wie freundlich / unfreundlich empfinden Sie muslimische Flüchtlinge in Deutschland? (1)	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Block 5

Start of Block: Block 6

Q35 Hatten Sie schon einmal persönlichen Kontakt (Gespräche, Begegnungen, etc.) mit muslimischen Flüchtlingen?

○ Ja (1)

○ Nein (2)

Q37 Bitte beurteilen Sie die folgenden Fragen.

	Nie (1)	Manchmal (2)	Ungefähr die Hälfte der Zeit (3)	Meistens (4)	Immer (5)
Wie oft hatten Sie durchschnittlich, positiven / guten Kontakt mit muslimischen Flüchtlingen? (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Wie oft hatten Sie durchschnittlich, negativen / schlechten Kontakt mit muslimischen Flüchtlingen? (2)	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Block 6

Start of Block: Block 10

Q39 Bitte beurteilen Sie folgende Frage.

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

| Was schätzen Sie, wie viel Prozent des Kontaktes, den Sie mit anderen Menschen im letzten Monat insgesamt hatten, war mit muslimischen Flüchtlingen? () | |

Q41 Bitte beurteilen Sie folgende Fragen.

	Überhaupt nicht (1)	Ein wenig (2)	Weder negativ noch positiv (3)	Sehr (4)	Extrem (5)
In welchem Maße war dieser Kontakt / waren diese Kontakte positiv? (1)	○	○	○	○	○
In welchem Maße war dieser Kontakt / waren diese Kontakte negativ? (2)	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Block 10

Start of Block: Block 7

Q43 Die folgenden Aussagen beschäftigen sich mit Ihrer Meinung zu verschiedenen kriminellen Handlungen.

Bitte geben Sie an, wie Sie die jeweilige kriminelle Handlung empfinden.

	Überhaupt nicht schlimm (1)	Nicht schlimm (2)	Weder schlimm noch nicht schlimm (3)	Schlimm (4)	Sehr schlimm (5)
Ein Deutscher besprüht Ihre Hauswand. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein Deutscher bricht in Ihr Haus ein. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein deutscher Mann stiehlt 50 € von einer alten Dame. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein Deutscher ist in Besitz einer illegalen Waffe. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein deutscher Mann bedroht eine junge Frau. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Eine Gruppe von deutschen Männern schlägt einen muslimischen Flüchtling. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein Deutscher versucht mit Ihrer Kreditkarte zu bezahlen. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein Deutscher verkauft / handelt mit Drogen. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein deutscher Mann belästigt eine junge Frau sexuell.	○	○	○	○	○

(9)

Ein deutscher Mann wird gewalttätig gegenüber der Polizei. (10)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Ein Deutscher ermordet einen muslimischen Flüchlting. (11)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Ein deutscher Mann vergewaltigt eine junge Frau. (12)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

End of Block: Block 7

Start of Block: Block 8

Q45 Die folgenden Aussagen beschäftigen sich mit Ihrer Meinung zu verschiedenen
kriminellen Handlungen.

Bitte geben Sie an, wie Sie die jeweilige kriminelle Handlung empfinden.

	Überhaupt nicht schlimm (1)	Nicht schlimm (2)	Weder schlimm noch nicht schlimm (3)	Schlimm (4)	Sehr schlimm (5)
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling besprüht Ihre Hauswand. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling bricht in Ihr Haus ein. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling stiehlt 50 € von einer alten Dame. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling ist in Besitz einer illegalen Waffe. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling bedroht eine junge Frau. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Eine Gruppe muslimischer Flüchtlinge schlägt einen deutschen Mann. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling versucht mit Ihrer	○	○	○	○	○

Kreditkarte zu bezahlen. (7)					
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling verkauft / handelt mit Drogen. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling belästigt eine junge Frau sexuell. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling wird gewalttätig gegenüber der Polizei. (10)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling ermordet einen deutschen Mann. (11)	○	○	○	○	○
Ein muslimischer Flüchtling vergewaltigt eine junge Frau. (12)	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Block 8

Start of Block: Block 8

Q47 Zum Schluss gibt es noch einige Fragen zu dem Fragebogen.

	Ja (1)	Nein (2)	Weder noch (3)
Haben Sie alle Fragen verstanden? (1)	○	○	○
Haben Sie alle Fragen ehrlich beantwortet? (2)	○	○	○
Haben Sie den Fragebogen ernsthaft ausgefüllt? (3)	○	○	○
Vertrauen Sie darauf, dass Ihre Daten anonym bleiben und vertraulich behandelt werden? (4)	○	○	○

End of Block: Block 8

Start of Block: Block 9

Q49 Vielen Dank für die Teilnahme an meiner Untersuchung.

Ziel meiner Untersuchung ist es, zu erforschen ob es Unterschiede in der Beurteilung von kriminellem Verhalten bei Deutschen und muslimischen Flüchtlingen gibt. Hierzu werden verschiedene Aspekte, sowie das Ausmaß des Kontaktes (negativer und positiver Kontakt / Häufigkeit des Kontaktes), Eigengruppenidentifikation (Identifikation mit deutschen Mitmenschen), Eigengruppenprototypisierung (typische Merkmale, die deutsche Mitmenschen charakterisieren) und Fremdgruppenprototypisierung (Vorurteile gegenüber muslimischen Flüchtlingen) untersucht.

Es wird erwartet, dass:

- Kriminelle Handlungen von Deutschen generell negativer eingeschätzt werden als von muslimischen Flüchtlingen.
- Negativer Kontakt mit muslimischen Flüchtlingen zur Folge hat, dass kriminelle Handlungen dieser Gruppe negativer beurteilt werden.
- Eine hohe Identifikation mit deutschen Mitmenschen zu einer negativen Beurteilung von kriminellem Verhalten dieser Gruppe führt.

- Der Unterschied in der Beurteilung von kriminellen Deutschen und muslimischen Flüchtlingen geringer ist, wenn nur wenige Prototypen gegenüber Deutschen (typische Merkmale die deutsche Mitmenschen charakterisieren) und mehr Vorurteile gegenüber muslimischen Flüchtlingen bestehen.

Falls Sie noch Fragen oder Anmerkungen haben, können Sie mich gerne kontaktieren. Meine E-Mail Adresse lautet: l.m.hengemuhle@student.utwente.nl.

Q51 Hiermit bestätige ich, dass meine Daten für diese Untersuchung verwendet werden dürfen.

○ Ja (1)

○ Nein (2)

End of Block: Block 9