

PREDICTING PREJUDICE FROM EMPATHY:  
A MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

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## ABSTRACT

Past research has demonstrated that empathy can reduce prejudicial attitudes as it leads people to share a sense of common identity with other cultural groups (Stephan & Finlay, 1999) or by arousing feelings of injustice (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). However, the current volume of research largely centers around administering *empathy-inducing* scenarios to participants and then assessing levels of prejudicial attitudes as opposed to examining initial levels of empathy. In addition, there is a lack of research regarding modern prejudicial attitudes towards individuals of Aboriginal descent. The present study examines the predictive value of ethnocultural empathy, age, gender, and social desirability on the levels of those prejudicial attitudes. One hundred and sixty eight undergraduate students from the University of Saskatchewan completed a questionnaire, including the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, & Bleier, 2003), the Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale (Morrison, 2007), and Form C of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Reynolds, 1982).

The multiple regression analysis revealed that ethnocultural empathy and age were predictive of modern prejudicial attitudes toward Aboriginals. Participants with higher levels of ethnocultural empathy reported reduced levels of modern prejudicial attitudes. However, contrary to expectation, gender was not a significant predictor variable. Practical applications and limitations of these findings are discussed as well as directions for future research.

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The world today is often dictated by the actions and inactions of its inhabitants which, in turn, are often controlled by what is felt, what is believed, or a combination of the two. Empathy, a term that is often equivocated with words like sympathy, altruism, and morality, is a complex phenomenon that is believed to play a large part in the actions that happen (or do not happen) in social relationships. However, the concept of empathy is still a mystery to those who study it. Why is it such a large part in examining social relations? And what kind of relationship does empathy have with prejudice, a construct that may affect intergroup relations?

### *1.1 Background*

The relationship between empathy and prejudice is not a completely new topic of interest, although research has only recently begun to flourish again in the area of social relations (Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Hoffman, 2001; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Much of the research surrounding this relationship appears to have begun as research into sources of bullying behaviour and aggression. Within the last decade or so, research has looked at empathy as an inhibitor of aggressive feelings (Davis, 1996) and an inhibitor of bullying behaviour (Endresen & Oweus, 2001). This research was based on previous findings that empathic role-playing may lead to greater understanding of another person's point of view and the likelihood that aggressive feelings are not acted upon (Feshbach, 1978).

Research examining empathy and intergroup diversity has found that empathy can result in altruism (Batson, 1991), have beneficial effects on attitudes and behaviour, as well as reduce feelings of prejudice by allowing one person to truly understand the perspective of another (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). However, these studies have all taken a

role-playing approach – which involves the participant to actively take a role in a given scenario - and have not examined if levels of empathy have a relationship with prejudicial attitudes. If evoking empathy can help to reduce those feelings of aggression and negative judgment of another, perhaps there is a direct connection between initial levels of empathy and prejudicial attitudes.

In addition, much of the research that looks at the relationships between prejudice and empathy has not focused on the North American Aboriginal cultures, but on African American groups or other stigmatized or disadvantaged out-groups (e.g. AIDS victims; Finlay & Stephan, 2000). Research must be conducted to gain a better understanding of the relationship between empathy and prejudicial attitudes in a Canadian context.

### *1.2 Purpose of Study*

Although research examining the relationship between empathy and prejudicial attitudes has garnered much interest over the past few decades (Adreman, Brehm, & Katz, 1974; Batson, 1991; Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Stephan & Finlay, 1999), little (if any) research has been published examining an individual's sense of empathy and the prejudicial attitudes they may hold. In addition, little research has been done to examine the prejudicial attitudes that are held against Aboriginal men and women using a quantitative scale designed specifically for that measure (Morrison, 2007).

The purpose of the present study was to acquire quantitative information as to the relationship between an individual's level of ethnocultural empathy and any prejudicial attitudes held towards Aboriginal persons. This study's findings will add to the volume of research that has developed in the area of intergroup diversity by looking at this little-researched area.

### *1.3 Definitions*

#### *1.3.1 Empathy*

Empathy is defined as “an emotional response that stems from another’s emotional state or condition and that is congruent with the other’s emotional state or situation.” (Eisenberg & Strayer, 1987; p.5). Two basic types of empathy are included within that definition:

*1.3.1.1 Cognitive empathy.* This type of empathy refers to taking the perspective of another person.

*1.3.1.2 Affective empathy.* Affective empathy can either take the form of *parallel* empathy: experiencing similar responses as another person, or *reactive* empathy: which is the reaction to the emotional experiences of another person (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). For example, if you sympathize with a person’s pain, you are experiencing reactive empathy, but if you react with feelings of resentment towards the person who instigated the victim’s pain, you are experiencing parallel empathy.

#### *1.3.2 Prejudice*

Prejudice can be defined a number of ways, all of which can lead to debate whether the definition is appropriate or not. The Canadian Oxford Dictionary (2001) defines prejudice as: “a preconceived opinion...a dislike or distrust of a person, group, etc...harm or injury that results or may result from some action or judgment...to be bigoted” (p. 1142).

However, there is so much more to prejudice that a simple five or six word definition. The straightforward definitions provided by the dictionary mask the various facets of prejudice and do not allow for an in-depth understanding of who prejudice

affects or what causes it. It also neglects to acknowledge what may arise out of those negative attitudes. Therefore, for the purpose of this research, prejudice will be defined as “the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards members of a group on account of their membership of that group” (Brown, 1995, p.8).

By using this definition, prejudice can be synonymous with terms like sexism, racism, homophobia, etc. While the proposed research focused on one specific type of prejudice (i.e., race) this definition is appropriate when looking at the relationship between prejudicial attitudes and empathy in general. It is important to keep in mind that prejudice is not simply a cognitive or attitudinal phenomenon, but can also engage our emotions as well as manifest in behaviour (Brown, 1995).

This chapter described the purpose and significance of the present study. A definition of empathy and prejudice was included, as these two constructs were the area of study. Literature relating to the development of prejudice and empathy constructs is reviewed in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 also reviews literature surrounding how empathy and aggression (an offshoot of prejudicial attitudes) relate to one another as well as, and most importantly, how empathy and prejudicial attitudes influence each other. Chapter 3 moves on to discuss methodology such as participant selection, method, scale selection, and the data analysis chosen for this study. Results and discussion are covered in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Before reviewing how the relationship between empathy and prejudice has evolved, one must first look at the research behind each topic separately. After all, the research surrounding each topic individually has been so extensive, it is almost impossible not to refer back to it when looking at the interactions between empathy and prejudice. Topics to be covered in this chapter include the origin of prejudice-related research, and the types of prejudice evident in the world. Moving into the subject of empathy, topics include the confusion surrounding the constructs and nature of empathy, as well as the history of empathy related research. Finally, this chapter will review the evolution of research examining the relationship between empathy and prejudice, focusing in on research addressing intergroup research.

### *2.1 Prejudice*

This section reviews the history of how prejudice has been researched as well as exploring the different forms of prejudice that have been identified.

#### *2.1.1 History of Prejudice-based Research*

Based on American and European theories in the 1920's attempting to prove the superiority of the White race, prejudice emerged in psychological research as a natural response to races viewed as inferior (Duckitt, 1992). In the 1930's and 1940's, the development of civil rights, resistance to colonialism, the rise of anti-Semitism, and subsequently the Holocaust, led to researchers to change their research focus (Plous, 2003). Researchers were now looking at the types of personality that would be associated with different types of racism and discrimination. A key theorist of this time was Theodor Adorno, who developed the idea that the key to prejudice was the *authoritarian*

*personality*. The authoritarian personality types were seen to be more likely than others to harbour prejudicial attitudes. These personalities were seen as rigid thinkers, followers of authority, enforcers of social rules and hierarchies, and those that saw the world in the strictest black and white (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950).

While Adorno's theories were criticized as lacking empirical evidence, Plous (2003) contended that the theory of authoritarianism had it right on three accounts. First, right-wing (conservative) authoritarianism does correlate with prejudice. Secondly, those that view the world as a hierarchy are more likely to hold prejudicial attitudes towards those that are perceived to be *low-status* members. Finally, authoritarian personalities are categorical thinkers and categorical thinking is a large factor in prejudice (Plous, 2003).

The link between prejudice and categorical thinking was largely explored by Gordon Allport (1954), who theorized that the human mind works while aided by categories to ease the mental workload. For example, similar things are often grouped together like *vegetables* and *fruit*. However when coming across an ambiguous item, in this case a tomato, a person will assimilate that item into the category he or she feels it most represents. In a social context, races are often categorized into broad types: Black, White, Aboriginal, Hispanic, Asian, etc (Brown, 1995). A fundamental aspect of human cognition is the need to categorize the world in order to make sense of the enormous amount and complexity of the information that needs to be dealt with. Unfortunately, with this need for categorization come the biases and stereotypes which are important concepts for understanding prejudice (Brown, 1995).

Allport (1954) also proposed that there were six approaches to understanding prejudice: (a) Historical, where prejudice has roots in slavery; (b) Sociocultural, where

the emphasis is on the total social and cultural context in which prejudicial attitudes develop, are supported, and then are transmitted; (c) Situational, where immediate social forces are the source of prejudicial attitudes. History was only relevant in how it shaped the current context, and intergroup contact is the main source upon which prejudice draws from; (d) Personality structure/dynamics, where child-rearing practices play a large part in the prejudicial attitudes that are held by the child. These personality dispositions are continuous into adulthood; (e) Phenomenological, where historical, cultural, social, personality, and immediate contextual forces combine to influence a person's experience as a whole. Together, they shape that person's attitudes and behaviours; and (f) Stimulus-object, where the *actual* differences between groups are the basis for prejudice.

### *2.1.2 Forms of Prejudice*

Prior to identifying the different types of prejudice evident in previous research, it may be important to point out that the researcher of this study supports the idea that prejudice originates as a group process. Brown (1995) puts forth three reasons that support this argument: (a) there is an orientation towards whole categories of people rather than towards isolated individuals; (b) prejudice is most frequently a socially shared orientation; and (c) there is almost always a relationship between the group that is prejudiced against and the prejudiced group itself.

*2.1.2.1 Stereotyping.* This is a product of the categorization process. Stereotyping is the assumption that most members of a category group share some attribute (Brown, 1995). It can arise from the culture in which people are socialized, from real differences between groups (i.e. cultural or socio-economic differences), and also from cognitive bias which allows for an illusory correlation between a group and some rarely occurring



phenomenon. Stereotyping is often used more if people are distracted emotionally or cognitively in order to save cognitive effort (Brown, 1995). Although stereotypes can change in response to disconfirming information, the extent of that change is dependant on the patterning of that information and the strength of the stereotype that is challenged.

*2.1.2.2 Old-fashioned prejudice.* This type of prejudice encompasses the traditional, stereotypic beliefs about ethnic intelligence, industry, and honesty, support for segregation, etc. (McConahay, 1986). These individuals are also called dominative racists. This type of prejudice has become less-evident with the passage of time, but can still be seen in group factions of the Klu Klux Klan or those groups labelled as *skinheads* and *neo-nazi* (McConahay, 1986).

*2.1.2.3 Modern prejudice.* Surveys of ethnic and gender attitudes have revealed a decline in overtly expressed prejudice over the past 30 years (Brown, 1995). However, this decline is attributable to changing social desirability norms rather than to non-prejudiced beliefs. Therefore, theories of modern prejudice have been proposed to explain this phenomenon. According to these theories, instead of the intergroup hostility that defined old-fashioned prejudice, indirect symbolic forms are being used. Those that hold this type of prejudice embrace the idea that racism is bad and discrimination is a thing of the past. Therefore, minorities are making unfair demands and are currently receiving more attention and resources than they deserve (McConahay, 1986).

*2.1.2.4 Aversive prejudice.* This is a type of modern prejudice in which the conflict is between feelings and beliefs associated with a democratic value system and unacknowledged negative feelings and beliefs regarding another group (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Those who are aversively prejudiced are very concerned in upholding

their non-prejudiced self-images. Therefore they are motivated to avoid acting in recognizably inappropriate ways. These individuals will discriminate, but in a way that does not make them look bad or reflect upon themselves in a negative way.

*2.1.2.5 Colour-blind attitudes.* Colour-blind prejudicial attitudes are somewhat similar to modern prejudice. To put it simply, these attitudes center on idea that race should not and does not matter (Schofield, 1986). Schofield also identified three aspects of the colour-blind attitude: (a) Race is viewed as an invisible characteristic; (b) Race is viewed as a topic to be avoided for fear of appearing prejudiced; and (c) Social life is a series of individual relations, not intergroup relations. This attitude, while striving to promote equality, strips a group of its social identity which can be seen as a type of prejudice.

The word *prejudice* is a powerful one that causes one to think of conflict within one's own community as well as on a global level. The negative connotation that surrounds the word prejudice makes it difficult to associate it with a word like *empathy*, a word which brings to mind more peaceful and understanding images. Although the differences between prejudice and empathy appear vast, there is still a link between the two, which the following sections will address. Following a brief overview of empathy and its origins, research regarding the relationship between prejudice and empathy will be reviewed.

## *2.2 Empathy*

The confusion surrounding this topic is that there is no unanimous definition of empathy. While this is also true with prejudice, empathy is so closely tied with the

concepts such as sympathy and altruism that it is often difficult to draw the line between these constructs.

For the purposes of this paper, empathy will be defined as “an emotional response that stems from another’s emotional state or condition and that is congruent with the other’s emotional state or situation” (Eisenberg & Strayer, 1987, p. 5). Within that general definition there are two basic types of empathy: cognitive empathy and affective empathy (Duan & Hill, 1996). Cognitive empathy refers to taking the perspective of another person, whereas affective empathy can be either experiencing similar responses as another person (parallel empathy) or reacting to the emotional experiences of another person (reactive empathy; Stephan & Finlay, 1999).

Closely tied to empathy is the concept of sympathy, which is “‘feeling for’ someone, and refers to feelings of sorrow, or feeling sorry, for another” (Eisenberg & Strayer, 1987, p. 6). Sympathy may be a consequence of empathy, but whether or not empathy always mediates sympathy is still an open debate. However, the present study is not about examining the differences and similarities between the two concepts, therefore further discussion is unnecessary.

Further adding to the confusion around empathy, it is closely tied to the idea of altruism and prosocial behaviour. Eisenberg and Miller (1987) believed that while empathy is an *other* oriented emotional response, prosocial behaviour is voluntary, intentional behaviour that results in benefits for another but the motives are unspecified. Altruism is a subtype of prosocial behaviour that is performed without the expectation of receiving a reward or avoiding a punishment with the goal of increasing another’s

welfare (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Although sounding similar, altruism is a motivation, not a behaviour or emotion (Batson et al, 2004).

That does not mean that altruism and empathy are disconnected from each other. Altruistic motivation has been thought to have two root sources: empathy that generates sympathy and prosocial value orientation (Staub, 2004). The former includes both feeling with and concern about persons in distress (Batson, 1991) while the latter is the positive evaluation of human beings combined with the feeling of personal responsibility for others' welfare (Staub, 2004). To explain how altruistic motivation can be brought on by empathy, Batson (1991) devised the empathy-altruism hypothesis. This hypothesis states that empathic emotion produces altruistic motivation to benefit the person for whom the empathy is felt.

It is important to note that the present study is not examining altruistic motivation as it is a product of empathic emotion, and not the other way around. However, it is important to keep altruistic motivation in mind when considering prejudice and empathic feeling. This is especially true in situations where one may be faced with making a decision to help another. In order to gain a deeper understanding of empathy, it is important to review the literature surrounding the history of empathy.

### *2.2.1 History of Empathy*

Empathy first arose in the history books in the late nineteenth-century in the field of German aesthetics (Wiske, 1987). The original term *Einfühlung* was translated as empathy in the early twentieth century and was extensively utilized in the 1930's by personality theorists, revitalized in the 1950's by Rogerian psychotherapists, and has

most recently been used by social and developmental psychologists to understand altruistic behaviour (Wiske, 1987).

The term *Einfuhlung* was first described in English by the novelist Vernon Lee as a type of sympathy: “the word *sympathy*, with-feeling – (*einfehlen*, ‘feeling into,’ the Germans happily put it) – as the word *sympathy* is intended to suggest, this enlivening ...is exercised only when our feelings enter, and are absorbed into, the form we perceive” (Wellek, 1970, p. 170). However, Theodor Lipps is credited as one of the first to bring empathy into psychology. For him, *Einfuhlung* meant that observers project themselves into the objects of their perception. This was how one could grasp the meaning of objects and the consciousness of other persons (Lipps, 1903).

The actual term *empathy* was coined by Titchener in 1909 as the method to which one understands the consciousness of another person by engaging in *inner imitation* (Wiske, 1987). Theories of empathy in psychology were largely influenced by this view as it adopted an emphasis on the awareness of another person’s affect of sharing feelings (Duan & Hill, 1996). Later, the idea of an ability to understand – a cognitive component - was added to the initial theories of empathy.

The idea of empathy found new life in the works of Freud (1949), Allport (1937), and Murphy (1947). Freud established the theory that empathy provided a way of understanding a concept that was something he believed to be foreign to the ego (Freud, 1949). This approach to empathy centered on the idea that we force ourselves to learn empathy by putting ourselves in the place of another’s mental life. In this way empathy is learned by imitation.

Allport (1937) began to examine how the imitation of facial features and postures of other people played a larger role in understanding others than originally thought. It was theorized that empathy is the halfway point between intuition and inference (Wiske, 1987). Murphy (1947) further developed the idea of empathy being the placing of oneself in the place of another.

Rogersian therapy posited that only through conditions of congruence, positive regard, and empathy could an atmosphere of acceptance and openness be achieved (Wiske, 1987). Rogers and his students were among the first to develop measures of clinical empathy – which consisted of imaginative role taking - and emotional empathy – where self-reported items were created to assess respondents' reactions to the emotions of others.

Empathy reappeared as a point of interest in the late 1960's when helping, giving, and intervening were all variables being assessed in regards to prosocial behaviour (Wiske, 1987). In particular, empathy became studied as a determinant of altruism, attribution, and social judgement (Duan & Hill, 1996).

However, simply reviewing the history of how empathy has been researched is not enough to gain a thorough understanding of the complexity that makes up this subject matter. Within empathy there are several constructs that need to be considered, as well as the nature of empathy itself.

### *2.2.2 The Nature and Constructs of Empathy*

Within the constructs of empathy, there has been a debate of whether it is an affective phenomenon or a cognitive construct (Duan & Hill, 1996). From an affective point of view, empathy is the immediate experience of the emotions of another person,

while the cognitive construct is the intellectual understanding of another person's experience.

Duan and Hill (1996) argue that the terms cognitive and affective empathy may represent a false dichotomy since the two frameworks often overlap and influence each other. To avoid confusion, they propose that the term *intellectual empathy* refers to the cognitive process and *empathic emotions* refer to the affective aspect. By doing this, researchers may have more freedom to explore phenomenon individually and how they coexist.

*2.2.2.1 Duan and Hill.* Duan and Hill (1996) reviewed the three different constructs (which may or may not overlap) of empathy that have developed through research so far. First, some theorists have referred to empathy as a personality trait where empathy is the inner ability to know another person and their inner experience. Other research has looked at empathy as a stable ability where some individuals are more empathic than others. Finally, the third construct looks at empathy as a situation-specific cognitive-affective state. Empathy is seen as a vicarious response to a stimulus which varies by the situation. This construct of empathy often conceptualizes empathy as a multiphased process (Duan & Hill, 1996). A specific theorist who has looked at empathy through this multiphased way is Hoffman (2001).

*2.2.2.2 Theory of Empathy-based Moral Development.* Empathy, according to Hoffman's theory, is a predisposition towards prosocial behaviour through three factors: biological, cognitive development, and socialization (Gibbs, 2003).

There are five ways in which empathic distress can be aroused (Hoffman, 2001) with the first three (mimicry, classical conditioning, and direct association) being automatic/involuntary with the latter two involving higher cognitive effort.

*Mimicry* involves the observer imitating the victim's facial, vocal, or postural expressions of feeling. These changes trigger the brain to produce feelings that resemble the victim's. *Classical conditioning* occurs when empathic distress is acquired as a response by witnessing someone in distress while having their own independent experience of distress at the same time. *Direct association* is when the victim's situation reminds the observer of a similar past experience. This evokes feelings similar to the victim's (Hoffman, 2001).

*Mediated association* is a mode that occurs through communication, where language communicates a victim's emotional state and therefore connects the victim's situation to personal past experiences. Finally, *role-taking* is where the observer imagines how he or she would feel in the same situations (self-focus) or imagining how the victim feels based on knowledge about the victim (sex, age, culture). This mode is most often deliberately brought on, but still can be spontaneous in certain situations (Hoffman, 2001).

Each of these modes allows for the observer to respond based on whatever cues are available (Hoffman, 2001). For example, cues from the victim's face or posture can be picked up through mimicry, while what is expressed verbally or in writing can be picked up by mediated association or role-taking.

Although empathy is apparent from birth (Hoffman, 2001), it has been a question of when the higher cognitive effort modes of empathic arousal develop. Hoffman (2001)



outlined five developmental levels of empathic distress: (1) *global empathic distress* where infants may experience empathic distress long before they discover that they are a separate entity from others (Hoffman, 1987). This often occurs as a reactive cry in newborns. When one newborn cries, another newborn will join in. This is not direct imitation, but simply an intense, identical cry to that of the infant in actual distress. By 6 months infants only cry in response to prolonged cries; (2) *egocentric empathic distress* occurs as early as 11 or 12 months and consists of two parts: an egocentric motive (to reduce one's distress) but also prosocial (contingent on another's distress). An example of this is where a toddler may see a friend fall and cry, and in reaction to that begin to cry herself and react as if it had been her to fall; (3) *quasi-egocentric empathic distress* is a developmental phase that takes place when the imitation ends and is replaced by helpful advances such as patting, hugging, reassuring, and getting help. However, there is still confusion between the observer's and the other's desires. Using the earlier example, the toddler might take her crying friend to her own mother, even though the victim's mother is present; (4) *veridical empathy for another's feeling* usually happens around the second year of life, where toddlers are aware that others have thoughts and feelings that are different than their own. Again returning to the above example, if the toddler brought her crying friend her own teddy bear and the crying did not stop, she would most likely be able to see that her friend's bear is the one she needs and would then retrieve it to help alleviate the distress; (5) *empathic distress beyond the situation* is evident around 9 years of age, where children realize that others have individual identities that affect how they react to a situation (Hoffman, 2001).

Of note are the limitations that the above-mentioned constructs of empathy contain. The following section outlines several pitfalls that may occur during empathy development.

### *2.2.3 Limitations of Empathy Constructs*

Empathy is dependent on intensity, relevance of distress cues, and the relationship between observer and victim (Hoffman, 2001). If the distress cues cause the observer to become as equally distressed as the victim, they will move out of the empathic mode and become focused upon themselves. This overarousal can also occur when the observer feels unable to help the victim. Therefore, empathic avoidance occurs.

According to this idea, if one knows that empathic feeling can lead to altruistic motives, one may avoid feeling empathy (Batson et al., 2004). An example of this would be walking down a street, seeing a homeless person, and then turning our head or crossing the street to avoid the situation. Shaw, Batson, and Todd (1994) predicted that empathy avoidance occurs when a person knows that they will be asked to help, and that the helping will be costly. Within the subject of empathic bias, there are two different types: familiarity-similarity bias and here-and-now bias (Gibbs, 2003). The familiarity bias occurs when there is a preference for a stimulus to which one is repeatedly exposed. The here-and-now bias refers to distressed persons who are immediately present. These are most likely members of one's in-group (Gibbs, 2003).

It would be interesting to observe whether a person's empathy was repressed in order to avoid any conflict with one's ingroup. For example, if a person had a choice to help another who was a member of a minority group, and knew that by helping they

would risk a falling out with the ingroup...would that cause empathy avoidance?

Furthermore, are any of these limitations gender based?

#### *2.2.4 Gender Differences in Empathy*

Sociologists have often attributed gender differences in empathy to the traditional social roles adopted by males and females (Lennon & Eisenberg, 1987). Nurturance and empathy are viewed as largely female characteristics because of the traditional *family* role that females are assumed to adopt. On the other hand males, who traditionally adopt the work roles, typically were seen to have little use for those characteristics (Lennon & Eisenberg, 1987).

However, as traditions have a tendency to change, the view of empathy must as well. Recent studies on gender differences have arrived at inconsistent conclusions. Hoffman (1977) found that females scored higher on empathy than did males while other researchers (Block, 1979; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) found no significant difference between the genders.

Eisenberg and Lennon (1983) found that gender differences in empathy appear to depend on how empathy is operationalized. In picture/story techniques to measure empathy, the evidence of a gender difference was weak. With self-report questionnaires there was a difference where females generally scored higher than males on empathy. However, Eisenberg and Lennon point out that the participants may be responding in a way that coincides with the traditional roles expected of them by society. Therefore, due to demand characteristics, the results may have been invalid. While the present study did look for gender differences in particular, it is important to keep in mind what previous researchers have already found when interpreting the results.

It is interesting to note the similarities and differences between the topics of prejudice and empathy. Prejudice is a word that evokes images of conflict, discrimination, and other negative connotations. Empathy, on the other hand, may cause one to visualize caring individuals, understanding friends, and a more peaceful setting than one filled with prejudice. However, both topics involve how people view and feel about others.

### *2.3 The Link between Empathy and Aggression*

Miller and Eisenberg (1988) conducted a meta-analysis of previous studies conducted to examine the relationship between empathy and aggression. Specifically, they examined the different techniques used to assess the relationship: picture/story, questionnaire, facial/gestural reactions, and experimental inductions. They found that empathy is negatively related to aggression and other antisocial behaviours, but the estimates of the common correlation were in the low to moderate range. Also, the strength of the correlations was influenced by the method of assessing empathy. The only significant correlations between empathy and aggression were found in the studies using questionnaires to measure empathy. Miller and Eisenberg (1988) reported that the negative relation between empathy and aggression is modest at best, indicating that empathy may not be an inhibitor of aggression. The lower aggression may have occurred from the desire to be nice.

More current research has examined how empathy might influence aggressive activity, and what types of empathy are more likely to be an inhibitor to aggressive behaviour. It has been proposed that there are two ways in which empathy can inhibit aggressive activity: cognitive and affective (Davis, 1996). By making a cognitive effort to

role-take the perspective of others, one may gain a greater understanding and tolerance for that other person, which would make aggression towards that person less likely (Feshbach, 1978). The affective explanation for the empathic inhibition of aggression centers around vicarious distress. The observation of the pain and distress of a victim of one's aggression may lead to the sharing of those negative feelings. In order to halt this shared pain, the aggressor may stop or reduce the aggression (Feshbach, 1978).

Davis (1996) provided a sequence that may provide a useful way of conceptualizing the role empathy has in affecting aggression (Appendix A):

Early in the sequence, when the potential aggressor is being provoked, role-taking processes may play the primary role. Active role taking during the appraisal process is likely to influence how the provocation is interpreted, producing appraisals which lead to less anger, and perhaps more sympathy, and thus diminish the probability of aggression. In contrast, affective responding to victim distress cues is not especially relevant at this point, since no aggression has taken place and thus no distress is being experienced by the victim. (p. 175)

Endresen and Oweus (2001) found that there was a negative relationship between empathic responsiveness and bullying behaviour. Participants who scored high on empathic concern were likely to have a more negative attitude towards bullying.

A study conducted by Ramirez, Lagerspetz, Fraczek, Fujihara, Theron, Musazadeh, and Andrew (2001) looked at how 1595 students from seven different countries rated eight categories of aggression by moral approval. The categories included hitting, killing, shouting angrily, being ironic, using torture, having a fit of rage, threatening or obstructing someone from doing something. Within each of these categories it was found

that mildly aggressive acts were seen as more acceptable than more drastic acts. For example, the act of obstructing another person was an acceptable act by the largest number of respondents. Also, verbal aggression was also considered to be more acceptable than physically aggressive acts. The act of threatening was seen as more acceptable than physical aggression, but less than verbal aggression and was most highly justified in Poland and Finland. Acts of physical aggression were the least justified in all samples (Ramirez et al., 2001). If there was extensive provocation, retaliation received a higher approval rating than when there was an absence of provocation. Defensive acts received more moral approval than retaliation (Ramirez et al., 2001).

Unfortunately, there was no measure as to the ethnicity of the “victim” and if that had any bearing on what the responses were in regards to acceptable aggression. If bullying and aggression tie in with prejudice, it is possible that those who are high on empathic concern may hold lesser prejudicial attitudes. Batson (1998) theorized that inducing someone to adopt the perspective of a stigmatized person will increase empathy for that person. This will lead to an increased valuing of his or her welfare. Ultimately, valuing this person’s welfare will extend to valuing the stigmatized group. Thus, more positive beliefs about, feeling toward, and concern for the group will develop (Batson, 1998). The next section reviews research examining this link between empathy and prejudicial attitudes.

#### *2.4 The Link between Empathy and Prejudice*

Research examining empathy and intergroup diversity has found that empathy can have beneficial effects on attitudes and behaviour (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Research has found that empathy can result in altruism (Batson, 1991) as well as reduce feelings of prejudice (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). These studies typically involve having the participant read about the difficulties of another person and then are given the opportunity to help the person in need. Those who engage in emotional empathy are more likely to offer help than those who do not engage in emotional empathy (Batson, 1991).

Cognitive empathy may reduce prejudicial attitudes as it leads people to share a sense of common identity with other cultural groups. “The feelings of threat engendered by concerns over differences in values, beliefs, and norms, misperceptions of realistic conflict, and anxiety over interacting with members of the outgroup may all be dissolved by learning to view the world from the perspective of outgroup members” (Stephan & Finlay, 1999, p. 735).

A common problem in issues of prejudicial conflict is the idea of blaming the victim, where we react to victims of unjust discrimination by unconsciously blaming them (Ryan, 1971). In this way, we can retain our belief in a just world as well as the belief that people get what they deserve. Empathy may be effective in counteracting this phenomenon. In fact, Adreman, Brehm, and Katz (1974) found that by engaging in perspective-taking activities designed to evoke empathy, participants were less likely to derogate an innocent victim. If evoking higher levels of empathy can help to reduce those feelings, perhaps there is a direct connection between initial levels of empathy and prejudicial attitudes.

Affective empathy can lead to this type of attitude change by arousing feelings of injustice (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). This occurs when a person's belief that the world is just is challenged by learning about suffering and discrimination while empathizing with an outgroup. That person may begin to believe that a victim may not deserve the mistreatment that they are subjected to. Thus, any negative feelings initially directed at the victim's outgroup may not be upheld.

Finlay and Stephan (2000) conducted a study to examine whether empathy-inducing instructions could reduce negative views against African Americans. At the time of this study's inception, there had been no research examining the effects of empathy on attitudes towards racial and minority groups, only other stigmatized or disadvantaged outgroups (i.e. AIDS victims). They believed that the empathic processes involved when considering racial groups differed from those involved when considering other stigmatized groups. For example, when empathizing with the suffering of an AIDS victim, the participants were not responsible for causing the suffering. However, when a participant from a majority group is asked to empathize with an individual in a racial minority group who is a victim of racial injustice, they are likely to realize that their in-group is possibly to blame for that injustice. Empathic responses may look different in that the participant may experience negative reactions such as anger and resentment toward his/her own in-group (Finlay & Stephan, 2000).

They also found that among Anglo-Americans, reading about racial injustice against African Americans or instructing students to take an empathic perspective resulted in reduced differences in attitudes toward the in-group and the out-group (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). It was also found that after reading racial injustice scenarios, those



Anglo-Americans who experienced affective empathy by feeling anger and resentment towards their in-group evaluated African Americans more favourably than those students who did not feel those negative feelings towards their in-group.

In that study, it was found that cognitive empathy was not affected to a significant level. A possible explanation for this was that by empathizing with the victim's negative emotions, the participant was unable to experience the more positive emotions of empathy such as compassion and understanding (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). However, the authors also acknowledged that the participants may have been responding to demand characteristics. That is, they may have felt as if they were expected to report more favourable attitudes toward African Americans.

If empathy can reduce prejudicial attitudes as it leads people to share a sense of common identity with other cultural groups (Stephan & Finlay, 1999) or by arousing feelings of injustice (Finlay & Stephan, 2000), one wonders if there is a basic relationship between empathy and prejudice before any *empathy-inducing* scenarios are presented.

### *2.5 The Present Study*

This study did not propose to alter prejudicial views using empathy-inducing measures. This was an exploratory study, centering around the idea that there was an initial level of ethnocultural empathy that a person held. Ethnocultural empathy refers to empathy towards a person of another culture or ethnicity. This sense of empathy was thought to regulate the level of prejudice that an individual held towards a minority group – specifically, those with an Aboriginal background. With that in mind, measures of ethnocultural empathy and prejudice were administered and it was observed whether one

could predict the other. Other variables taken into consideration were age, gender, and social desirability.

Several research questions were addressed in this study based on the analysis of the data gathered from the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE; Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, & Bleier, 2003), the Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale (PATAS; Morrison, 2007), and Form C of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C Form C; Reynolds, 1982). These questions included the following: 1) Was there a relationship between empathy and prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals? 2) What was the influence of gender and age on the levels of empathy? The levels of prejudice? 3) What were the predictive value of the measures of empathy, gender, age, and social desirability in regards to modern prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals?

## CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used in the present study. Areas to be addressed include the research sample, the instrumentation employed, and the procedures used for the collection of the data.

### *3.1 Sample*

Approximately 170 undergraduate students enrolled were recruited from the recruited from the University of Saskatchewan. Students were enrolled in first-year educational courses although it is unknown whether the students were in their first year of the education program or merely taking a first year course in a different year of study. Approval to conduct research involving human subjects was gained from the Behavioural Research Ethics Board through the University of Saskatchewan.

Participation was voluntary, and participants were granted confidentiality and the right to know the results of their responses. In order to maintain confidentiality for the participants, all questionnaires distributed were marked numerically, and participants were asked to make no identifying marks on the questionnaire. These were then be stored in a locked facility accessible only to the primary researcher and supervisor of this study. The participants kept a letter of information that contained details regarding the study, the researcher's contact information, and the contact number for the Behavioural Research Ethics Board.

It was decided that there had to be a large enough sample size for a medium sized effect for two separate multiple regression analyses. The first analysis examined the predictive ability of four independent variables selected for this study (age, gender, the measure included to assess the social desirability level of each participant, and the score

on the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy). The second multiple regression analysis was conducted to observe the effects of the four factors comprising the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (discussed further on in Chapter 3) which would bring the number of predictor variables up to seven (including the score on Form C of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale, age and gender).

Green (1991) stated that there several simple rules to follow when calculating a sample size required for a particular power. When testing a multiple correlation one should use the equation  $N \geq 50 + 8m$  (where  $m$  is the number of independent variables) and when testing individual predictors one should use the equation  $N > 104 + m$ . These formulas assume a medium size relationship between the predictor variables and the criterion variable (the measure of prejudicial attitudes),  $\alpha = .05$  and  $\beta = .20$ .

Following the above-mentioned formula, it was determined that the number of participants needed to be 114. One hundred and fifty was chosen as the number of participants needed as a minimum as it was expected some may have declined to complete the questionnaire, or else would leave certain data missing (rendering some scores incalculable).

### *3.2 Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy*

#### *3.2.1 Instrumentation*

*3.2.1.1 Introduction.* The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE, 2003; Appendix B) was developed in the United States by Yu-Wei Wang, M. Meghan Davidson, Oksana Yakushko, Holly Savoy, Jeffrey Tan, and Joseph Bleier to measure empathy towards people of racial and ethnic backgrounds different from one's own (Wang et al., 2003). Ethnocultural empathy is defined as a learned ability and a personal trait which is

composed of intellectual empathy, empathic emotions, and the communication of those two (Ridley & Lingle, 1996). Intellectual empathy is the ability to understand a different person's thinking and feeling while empathic emotions are when one is able to feel another's "emotional condition from the point of view of that person's racial or ethnic culture" (Wang et al., 2003, p. 222). The communication between the two previously mentioned components is the "expression of ethnocultural empathic thoughts (intellectual empathy) and feelings (empathic emotions) towards member of racial and ethnic groups different from one's own." (Wang et al., 2003, p. 222).

*3.2.1.2 Instrument Development.* The SEE (Wang et al., 2003) was developed as a quantitative tool for measuring empathy directed toward members of racial and ethnic groups that are different than one's own. At the time of its development, the researchers observed no other measures of cultural or ethnographic empathy. Since the topic of ethnocultural empathy is so closely tied to research on intergroup diversity and multiculturalism, Wang et al. (2003) decided that a standardized measure was needed. The following section discusses how this standardized measure was achieved.

*3.2.1.3 Nature of the Instrument.* Five existing scales were referenced to begin the generation of items for the SEE (Wang et al., 2003): the Multicultural Awareness-Knowledge-Skills Survey (D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991), the Multicultural Counseling Awareness Scale (Ponterotto, Rieger, Sparks, Sanchez, & Magids, 1996), the Multicultural Counseling Inventory (Sodowsky, Taffe, Gutkin, & Wise, 1994), the Cross Cultural Counseling Inventory – Revised (LaFramboise, Coleman, & Hernandez, 1991), and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1983). Intellectual empathy, empathic emotions, and communicative empathy acted as the reference points for item generation

even though they were not conceptualized on their own. An original pool of 71 items was developed before an initial validity/reliability procedure (described below) that resulted in 9 items being deleted and 6 being revised, leaving 62 items. After further revision, the number of items was reduced to 31.

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to determine the construct of the SEE (Wang et al., 2003). This scale has four factors: Empathic Feeling and Expression (EFE), Empathic Perspective Taking (EP), Acceptance of Cultural Differences (AC), and Empathic Awareness (EA). EFE items evaluate concern about communication of discriminatory or prejudiced attitudes or beliefs. There are also items that focus on emotional or affective responses to the emotion of people from different ethnic groups than from one's own. EP items indicate an effort to understand the emotions of people from different ethnic backgrounds by taking their perspective. AC items center on the understanding, acceptance, and valuing of cultural traditions and customs of individuals from different ethnic groups. Finally, EA includes items that focus on the awareness that one has about the experiences of people from ethnic groups differing from one's own.

The discovery of the four factors led Wang et al. (2003) to the conclusion that ethnocultural empathy might be more complicated than they once thought. For example, instead of developing a scale that measured intellectual empathy, empathic emotions, and communicative empathy, the present scale has four different components making up the whole measure of ethnocultural empathy.

Throughout the reliability and validity testing of the SEE (Wang et al., 2003), it was discovered that there were a few significant correlations between demographic variable and levels of ethnocultural empathy (Wang et al., 2003). Women were found to

be significantly more ethnoculturally empathic than men in terms of EFE, EA, and AC, but not EP. Also, non-White individuals were found to have higher levels of general and specific ethnocultural empathy than White individuals.

### *3.2.2 Psychometric properties of the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy.*

Three studies were conducted by Wang et al. (2003) to observe the reliability and the validity of the SEE (Wang et al., 2003).

*3.2.2.1 Reliability.* In the first study, estimates of internal consistency for the SEE (Wang et al., 2003) total and each of the factors were measured by alpha coefficients. Cronbach's alpha internal consistency estimates for the final 31-item SEE total scale and the four factors (EFE, EP, AC, and EA) were .91, .90, .79, .71, and .74, respectively.

In the second study, alphas for the scale and the four factors are as follows: SEE = .91, EFE = .89, EP = .75, AC = .73, and EA = .76. These alphas are similar to the ones found in the first study, indicating that there was an acceptable level of internal consistency (Wang et al., 2003).

The third study conducted by Wang et al. (2003) was designed specifically to provide additional reliability estimates. In particular, test-retest reliability of the SEE was being examined. Participants completed the retest administration of the SEE 2 weeks after the first administration of the scale. The test-retest reliability estimated for the SEE and the subscales were as follows: SEE total ( $r = .76$ ), EFE ( $r = .76$ ), EP ( $r = .75$ ), AC ( $r = .86$ ), and EA ( $r = .64$ ). These results indicate that the scale total and the subscales are acceptably stable over time.

*3.2.2.2 Validity.* In the first study, correlation analyses were performed on the four scale factors as well as the total scale score with the BIDR Impression Management

subscale scores. There was only one significant correlation found between the BIDR and the AC subscale ( $r = .17, p < .01$ ; less than 4% of the total variance). This indicates that there is discriminant validity for the SEE scale and its four factors (Wang et al., 2003).

To further examine discriminant validity, correlation analyses were again performed (on a new sample of participants) with each of the four scale factors as well as the total SEE scale score with the BIDR Impression Management subscale scores. There were several statistically significant correlations, but they only accounted for a minimal amount of variance, indicating discriminant validity. This, along with the results of the first study, provided evidence that the SEE was not strongly associated with social desirability.

Concurrent validity was established by Wang et al. (2003) performing correlation analyses on the four scale factors and the total SEE scale with two other empathy measures (the IRI, and the M-GUDS). There were significant correlations between all subscales as well as the total scores for the measures (the range of significant correlations being from  $r = .18$  to  $r = .93, p < .01$ ), providing evidence for convergent validity of the SEE as a distinct measure of empathy.

### *3.3 Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale*

#### *3.3.1 Instrumentation*

*3.3.1.1 Introduction.* It is suggested by social psychologists that discrimination is often fuelled by prejudiced attitudes. In order to understand the discrimination experienced by Aboriginal men and women, the attitudes directed at them by non-Aboriginal men and women need to be documented and assessed (Morrison, 2007). The Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale (PATAS, 2007; Appendix C) was



developed in Canada by Dr. Melanie A. Morrison to measure the contemporary prejudices attitudes that are held by non-Aboriginal men and women (Morrison, 2007). The construction of a scale in this area of research was necessary as there has not yet been any development and validation of a quantitative scale designed specifically to measure modern prejudicial attitudes held by non-Aboriginal men and women.

*3.3.1.2 Instrument Development.* The PATAS (Morrison, 2007) was developed as a quantitative tool for the contemporary prejudices attitudes held by non-Aboriginal men and women (Morrison, 2007). At the time of its development, the researcher observed no other measures of prejudiced attitudes towards Aboriginal men and women held by non-Aboriginal individuals. Since this topic is so closely tied to research on intergroup diversity and multiculturalism in Canada, Morrison (2007) decided that a standardized measure was needed.

*3.2.1.3 Nature of the Instrument.* The initial purpose item generation was to develop two measures: one designed to capture non-Aboriginals' *old-fashioned* objections to Aboriginal men and women (otherwise called overt prejudice; McConahay, 1986), and one designed to capture their *modern* objections (otherwise known as covert prejudice; McConahay, 1986). Approximately 15 individuals (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) participated in either informal focus groups or individual interviews. Within these focus group or interview settings, the individuals were asked to report the obvious and subtle attitudes that could be directed at Aboriginal men and women. This process resulted in the generation of 144 items demonstrating both overt and covert prejudice towards Aboriginal persons (Morrison, 2007).

Four hundred ninety-two persons were then recruited to complete a questionnaire containing the following measures: Modern and old-fashioned measures of prejudice toward Aboriginal persons (Morrison, 2007), the Modern Homonegativity Scale – Gay version (Morrison & Morrison, 2002), the Attitudes toward Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988), and Form C of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Reynolds, 1982). This was done with the intention of reducing the number of items to be used in the final version of the PATAS (Morrison, 2007).

Items were initially eliminated if they had inter-item correlations that were greater than .6 or less than .4, bimodal response distributions, or “don’t know” responses in excess of 30% (Morrison, 2007). A Principal Axis factor analysis was performed for the old-fashioned items as well as the modern items. Results from this analysis indicated that a 1-factor solution should be retained for the old-fashioned items as well as the modern items. This resulted in 14 items being retained for the old-fashioned measure and 22 items being retained for the modern measure. Reliability testing led to 3 further items being deleted from the old-fashioned measure and 8 modern items being deleted. Thus, the final version of the old-fashioned measure contained 11 items while the modern measure contained 14 items.

### *3.3.2 Psychometric Properties of the Prejudice Measure*

*3.3.2.1 Reliability.* In this study, estimates of internal consistency for the PATAS (Morrison, 2007) were measured by alpha coefficients. The alpha coefficients were .91 and .92 for the old-fashioned and modern versions.

*3.3.2.2 Validity.* Preliminary construct validity was supported by correlations found between the different measures within the questionnaire. Firstly, significant

positive correlations were found between old-fashioned prejudice toward Aboriginals and old-fashioned and modern attitudes toward gay men ( $r_s = .28$  and  $.37$ ,  $p_s < .001$ , respectively). Secondly, significant positive correlations were found between modern prejudice toward Aboriginals and old-fashioned and modern prejudice towards gay men ( $r_s = .28$  and  $.50$ ,  $p_s < .001$ , respectively).

Furthermore, both the old-fashioned and modern measures of prejudice toward Aboriginal persons were not contaminated by social desirability bias ( $r_s = .00$  and  $-.05$ ,  $p_s > .05$ , respectively).

### *3.4 Form C of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale*

#### *3.4.1 Instrumentation*

*3.4.1.1 Introduction.* The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Appendix D) is a 33 item construct that is the primary social desirability measure in use at this time. It follows a true-false response format and items were originally chosen on the basis that they described culturally approved behaviours that have a low incidence of occurrence. These items were also chosen to have minimal or no implication of psychopathology, regardless on which way the items were answered.

*3.4.1.2 Instrument Development.* The primary use of the Marlowe-Crowne scale has been to assess the impact of social desirability bias on self-report measures that are specific to the research at hand (Reynolds, 1982). However, as the instrument itself is as long or longer than many self-report measures being used in research, shorter forms of the Marlowe-Crowne were desired. Therefore, Reynolds (1982) sought to construct reliable and valid short forms of the Marlowe-Crowne scale alternative to those suggested by previous researchers (Strahn & Gerbasi, 1972) that could be utilized in research.

*3.4.1.3 Nature of the Instrument.* The intent of the investigation led by Reynolds (1982) was the development of Marlowe-Crowne short forms that were reliable and valid for usage in research. Six hundred eight undergraduate students completed the original Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale as well as several other self-report measures.

The initial short form of the Marlowe-Crowne was based on the results of the factor analyses of the original Marlowe-Crowne scale which indicated a 1-factor solution. The minimum level for item inclusion on the initial short form was a criterion factor-variable correlation of .40. Based on this criterion, 11 items were selected as the initial Marlowe-Crowne short form (M-C Form A). The results from item analyses led to two additional forms of 12 and 13 items, designated M-C Form B and M-C Form C. The short forms suggested by Strahan and Gerbasi (1972) were designated as M-C Form XX (20 items), M-C Form X1 (10 items) and M-C Form X2 (10 items; Reynolds, 1982).

### *3.4.2 Psychometric Properties of the Social Desirability Measure*

*3.4.2.1 Reliability.* After forming the initial short form, other forms of the scale were developed by adding homogeneous items, which were selected on the basis of the correlation between the item and the total scale (Reynolds, 1982). This was done to increase the internal consistency reliability.

Of the three short forms developed in that study, M-C Form C demonstrated an acceptable level of reliability ( $r = .76$ ) as compared to the original Marlowe-Crowne scale ( $r = .82$ ) and the 20 item scale (M-C XX) formulated by Strahan and Gerbasi ( $r = .79$ ). The two 10-item forms developed by Strahan and Gerbasi (1972; M-C X1 and M-C X2) were less reliable than all three forms developed by Reynolds (1982).

*3.4.2.2 Validity.* Validity of the short forms were assessed by product-moment correlation coefficients between each short form and the original Marlowe-Crown scale as well as the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (Edwards, 1957). MC – Form C and M-C XX correlated most highly with the original Marlowe-Crowne scale, while the other two forms developed by Strahan and Gerbasi (M-C X1 and M-C X2) showed the lowest relationships with the original scale (Reynolds, 1982).

While the correlations between the Marlowe-Crowne short forms and the Edwards Social Desirability Scale were low, they were consistent with the relationship between the original scale and the Edwards scale (.35).

### *3.5 Procedure*

The participants included in this study were all from the College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan. The researcher presented the project at hand to the selected classes of potential participants before class commenced. The instructor of the class introduced the researcher and then left the room. Before distributing the questionnaire, the researcher informed the students of their right to refuse participation or withdraw at any point without repercussion. Participants were told that the questionnaires would be numbered but no identifying marks were to be placed upon them. This was done to protect the participants' confidentiality. They were also told of how the questionnaires would be stored in a locked facility accessible only the researcher and supervisor. Participants in this study received information forms as well as the questionnaire to read through before deciding to take part in the study. Participants choosing not to participate were informed to return the questionnaires unmarked. Participants were given approximately 25 minutes of class time to complete the

questionnaire package and the completed questionnaires were then returned to the research. The researcher then took time to debrief the class on the study being conducted and distributed a debriefing form with additional information and contact information.

### *3.6 Statistical Analysis*

A correlation matrix was used to examine the relationship between each of the factors (age, gender, scores on the PATAS, M-C Form C score, and SEE score). Multiple regression analysis was then used to examine the predictive influence that the significantly correlated independent variables had on modern prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginal persons. A multiple regression analysis allowed for the assessment of the relationship between one dependent variable and several other independent variables.

## CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

*4.1 Preliminary Analysis**4.1.1 Data Cleaning*

All data entry was entered by one researcher. However, these data were rechecked against the raw data at two different points to ensure that all values were entered correctly. By running a frequencies analysis, it was seen that 1.40% of the data were missing from Part C of the questionnaire (which included items from the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy and the Prejudicial Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale). This was not surprising as participants were free to decline completion of particular items or the questionnaire itself at any time without penalty in accordance with the requirements of the appropriate ethical boards. This data was left as missing during the initial analysis to protect the integrity of the items that were completed and included in the analysis.

*4.1.2 Descriptives*

Frequency scores were calculated in order to examine the demographics of the student participants in the study in terms of gender, age, whether they were of Aboriginal descent, and years of study.

Of the 168 students making up the final sample, 46 were male (27.4%), and 121 were female (72.0%). There was one participant who did not identify their gender. The difference in male participants and female participants was expected as enrolment in the education program at the University of Saskatchewan has a higher female to male ratio. The age of the participants ranged from 20 to 46 years with the average age being 24.68 ( $SD = 5.18$ ). One participant did not identify her age.

It was found that of the 168 students that completed the questionnaire, 6 identified as being of Aboriginal descent (3.6%), 159 indicated that they were not of Aboriginal descent (94.6%), and 3 did not answer this question (1.8%). Those who had identified themselves as Aboriginal, as well as those who did not complete this question, were excluded from the analysis. This was done as this study was examining the prejudicial attitudes of *non-Aboriginal* participants towards Aboriginals.

All 168 participants were in the educational field of study. The duration of university education ranged from 1.5 to 12 years, with one participant not disclosing. The average length of university education was 4.1 years ( $SD = 1.47$ ).

#### *4.2 Multiple Regression Analysis*

##### *4.2.1 Correlations*

Table 1 contains the means and standard deviations of the scales measuring components of the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE), the Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale (PATAS), and the Social Desirability Scale (M-C Form C). These results are presented for all of the participants included in the analysis – excluding those who self-identified as Aboriginals and those who did not choose to identify whether they were of Aboriginal descent or not. According to this study's research intent, a person's level of ethnocultural empathy is believed to play a part in determining the modern prejudiced attitudes held. However, this relationship could be affected by that persons desire to be seen as socially aware. Therefore, a preliminary correlational analysis was conducted to examine the relationships between the SEE, M-C Form C, and PATAS scales before conducting a regression analysis. Gender and age were also included. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 2.



Table 1

*Means and Standard Deviations of SEE, M-C Form C, and PATAS Scales*

	All ( <i>N</i> = 159)	Males ( <i>N</i> = 43)	Females ( <i>N</i> = 116)
Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE)	137.46 (16.61)	134.73 (13.61)	139.23 (17.26)
Social Desirability Scale (M-C Form C)	5.01 (2.51)	5.30 (2.76)	4.89 (2.36)
Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale (PATAS)	41.40 (14.89)	42.89 (15.22)	41.06 (15.03)

*Note.* Standard deviations in parentheses. SEE scores range from 1 to 186 with higher scores indicating higher levels of ethnocultural empathy. M-C Form C scores range from 1 to 13 with higher scores indicating a higher degree of social desirability. PATAS scores range from 1 to 84 with higher score indicating a higher degree of modern prejudice to Aboriginals.

Table 2

*Correlations among the Variables*

	SEE	PATAS	M-C Form C	Age	Gender
SEE		-.534**	-.042	.140	.139
PATAS	-.534**		.027	-.219	-.081
SD	-.042	.027		.030	-.061
Gender	.139	-.081	-.061	-.139	
Age	.140	-.219*	.030		-.139

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

While Age and SEE scores were both positively correlated with the PATAS scores, Gender and the M-C Form C scores were not. This possibly disconfirmed that the M-C Form C scores were affecting the responses and PATAS measure in a significant amount. Of note are the correlations between Gender and Age ( $r = -.139$ ) and Gender and SEE score ( $r = .139$ ) as they both were approaching significance ( $p = .056$ ). The positive correlation between Gender and SEE scores indicated that females were scoring higher on the empathy scale than were males. Females also tended to represent a younger demographic as indicated by the negative correlation between Gender and Age. However, it is important to keep in mind that in this sample of participants, there were more females than males, which could have affected the correlations with Gender.

#### *4.2.2 Multiple Regression Analyses*

The next step was to perform the standard multiple regression analysis in which the score on the PATAS served as the dependent criterion variable along with four predictor variables. The predictor variables were the scores on the SEE, Age, Gender, and scores on the M-C Form C.

Overall, the significant results of the regression analysis provided evidence that at least one of the predictor variables were statistically related to the dependent variable [ $F(4, 127) = 14.071, p < 0.001$ ] (See Table 3).

A summary of this multiple regression analysis is presented in Table 4, including the unstandardized regression coefficients ( $B$ ) and standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ). Specifically,  $B$  represents the change in the dependent variable associated with a one-unit change in a predictor variable, all other predictors being held constant while  $\beta$  is the average amount the dependent variable increases when the predictor increases one

standard deviation and other predictors are held constant (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007, p. 133). Also included in Table 4 are the t-scores for each predictor variable.

Table 3

*Summary of the Multiple Regression Analysis*

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	9098.82	4	2274.704	14.071	.000
Residual	20530.91	127	161.661		
Total	29629.73	131			

These t-values indicated that Age ( $sr^2 = -.447$ ) and SEE scores ( $sr^2 = -.465$ ) were statistically related to the PATAS scale. The other variables – gender and score on the social desirability scale - were not statistically significant.

Table 4

*Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Score on the Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aboriginals Scale.*

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
	B	Std. Error	B	t	
SEE	-.465	.069	-.508	-6.711	.000**
M-C Form C	.053	.444	.009	.120	.905
Age	-.447	.222	-.152	-2.016	.046*
Gender	-1.049	2.569	-.031	-.408	.684

Note. \*  $p < .01$ . \*\*  $p < .001$

Associated with multiple regression, as well, is the multiple correlation ( $R^2$ ), defined as the percent of the variance in the dependent variable explained by the predictors. The adjusted multiple correlation (Adjusted  $R^2$ ) also refers to the percent of variance explained by subtracts out the contribution of chance variations. Lastly, the correlation between the dependent variable and the best linear combination of the predictors is included ( $R$ ) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007, p.147) In this analysis, the predictor variables accounted for approximately 31% ( $R^2 = .307$ ; Adjusted  $R^2 = .285$ ) of the variance in the PATAS score.

Since the SEE scale has four different components making up the whole measure of ethnocultural empathy (Wang et al., 2003), it was decided to run a second standard multiple regression analysis to observe the predictive effects of the individual factors (Empathic Feeling and Expression – EFE, Empathic Perspective Taking – EP, Acceptance of Cultural Differences – AC, and Empathic Awareness – EA) as well as Gender, Age, and score on the M-C Form C. Table 5 summarizes the initial correlations among the seven factors.

Table 5

*Correlations among the Variables*

	PATAS	M-C Form C	EFE	EP	AC	EA	Gender	Age
PATAS								
M-C Form C	.027							
EFE	-.488**	-.052						
EP	-.167*	.073	.368**					
AC	-.475**	-.011	.454**	.194*				
EA	-.394**	-.182*	.436**	.024	.264*			
Gender	-.081	-.061	.165*	-.023	-.032	.306**		
Age	-.219*	.030	.081	.200*	.107	-.012	-.139	

Note. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .001$ .

Like Wang et al. (2003), it was observed that there were significant correlations between gender and the individual factors of the SEE. Specifically, women tended to be more ethnoculturally empathic in terms of EFE ( $r = .165, p < .05$ ) and EA ( $r = .306, p < .001$ ). However, unlike the findings of Wang and his colleagues, the results of this study did not reflect a significant correlation for gender in regards to AC.

The regression analysis itself provided evidence that at least one of the predictor variables was significantly related to the criterion variable [ $F(7, 124) = 10.877, p < 0.001$ ] (See Table 6). A summary of this multiple regression analysis is presented in Table 7, including the unstandardized regression coefficients ( $B$ ) and standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ).

Table 6

*Summary of the Multiple Regression Analysis (With Individual SEE Factors)*

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	11272.14	7	1610.306	10.877	.000
Residual	18357.59	124	148.045		
Total	29629.73	131			

Table 7

*Summary of Second Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Score on the Prejudiced Attitudes Towards Aborigines Scale (With Individual SEE Factors)*

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
	B	Std. Error	B	t	
M-C Form C	-.147	.434	-.024	-.340	.735
Age	-.514	.214	-.175	-2.402	.018*
Gender	-.296	2.574	-.009	-.115	.909
EFE	-.398	.139	-.262	-2.852	.005*
EP	.073	.211	.027	.347	.730
AC	-1.128	.316	-.288	-3.568	.001*
EA	-1.056	.426	-.208	-2.477	.015*

Note. \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .001$

The follow-up t-values indicated that Age ( $sr^2 = -.514$ ), EFE ( $sr^2 = -.398$ ), AC ( $sr^2 = -1.128$ ), and EA ( $sr^2 = -1.056$ ) were significantly related to the PATAS scale. The other variables – Gender, scores on the M-C Form C, and EP - were not statistically significant.

Overall, the significant results of this second multiple regression analysis revealed that the seven predictor variables accounted for approximately 38% ( $R^2 = .378$ ; Adjusted  $R^2 = .345$ ) of the variance in the PATAS score. The follow-up t-values indicated that Age ( $sr^2 = -.514$ ), EFE ( $sr^2 = -.398$ ), AC ( $sr^2 = -1.128$ ), and EA ( $sr^2 = -1.056$ ) were statistically related to the PATAS scale. The other variables – gender, score on the social desirability scale, and EP - were not statistically significant.

In regards to the research questions, these results provide support for the idea that higher ethnocultural empathy scores and age may be predictive of modern prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals while social desirability scores and gender were not found to be significant predictor variables.

## CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this study was to examine the predictive value of the SEE scale, gender, M-C Form C, and age in regards to modern prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals as measured by the PATAS. It was found that components of the SEE scale and age were predictive of the PATAS. On the other hand, gender and the M-C Form C were found to be non significant predictor variables. These findings, which demonstrate the complexity of the issues surrounding empathy and prejudice, will be highlighted. Findings will be discussed in relation to their practical application and directions for future research.

The SEE was designed to measure empathy towards people of racial and ethnic backgrounds different from one's own. As such, this study examined whether this type of empathy would have a predictive effect on levels of modern prejudice towards Aboriginals. Also included in this analysis was gender, as it was found by Wang et al. (2003) that women were found to be significantly more ethnoculturally empathic than men on three of the four subcomponents of the SEE (Wang et al., 2003). As such, it was believed that these results would be replicated in this study and gender would be a significant predictor of prejudicial attitudes. The M-C Form C was included in the analyses in order to assess the impact of social desirability bias on the other self-report measures.

The results of this study supported the belief that higher scores on the SEE would indicate lower scores on the PATAS. Further examination of the construct of ethnocultural empathy revealed that EA, AC, and EFE were all significant predictor variables of modern prejudicial attitudes. However, EP was not significant which



indicates that either empathic perspective taking is not predictive of prejudicial attitudes or that the concepts of empathy being measured by EP were also being measured by one or more of the other three components.

In addition to the SEE, the variables of age, gender, and SD were included in the analysis. By examining the results of this study, it appeared as if age was a significant predictor of prejudicial attitudes, with older age indicating lower modern prejudice scores. However, it is unknown whether age indicates more experience and a better understanding of other cultures or if a person's age indicates that their prejudicial attitudes take a different form. Modern prejudice refers to the idea that overtly expressed prejudice is being replaced by a form of prejudice that is dictated by changing *social desirability*. People who engage in modern prejudice are those that embrace the idea that racism and discrimination are things of the past and that minorities are now making unfair demands and are currently receiving more attention and resources than they deserve (McConahay, 1986). The PATAS was developed as a measure of both old-fashioned and modern prejudice towards Aboriginal individuals as there was no such measure available. However, this study was interested in observing how ethnocultural empathy could predict modern prejudicial attitudes. Therefore, only the modern prejudice items for the PATAS were used. Examples of items from the PATAS that reflect these ideas include "Aboriginal Canadians seem to use their cultural traditions to secure special rights denied to non-Aboriginal Canadians," "Many of the requests made by Aboriginal people to the Canadian government are excessive," and "Special places in academic programming should NOT be set aside for Aboriginal students" (Morrison, 2007).

It was found that social desirability (M-C Form C) and gender were not significant predictors of the participants' score on the PATAS. This finding indicated that social desirability did not significantly dictate how participants answered the items on the questionnaire. Thus, while higher empathy levels were indicative of lower prejudicial attitudes, those empathy levels were not the result of participants desiring to be seen as more socially correct.

Despite gender being found as a non-significant predictor variable of prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals (as measured by the PATAS), correlations indicate that women were found to report significantly higher scores on two of the four factors of the SEE – empathic feeling and expression (EFE) and empathic awareness (EA). This finding replicates what was found by Wang et al. (2003) in regards to the gender difference for empathy.

Overall, results of the present study helped to answer the research questions put forth earlier, but also yielded unexpected findings that were contrary to what had been predicted. These unexpected findings, relating both to the theory as well as to the issue of empathy and prejudice, warrant further review.

### *5.1 Practical Application of the Findings*

Until quite recently, the issue of how empathy is related to prejudice has not been adequately addressed. The small body of research that does exist, however, along with the results of the present study, suggests that there is indeed a link between the two variables. Specifically, it was found that a higher level of ethnocultural empathy and greater age in the student sample predicted lower modern prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals.

It can not be assumed that all individuals will automatically experience a reduction in prejudicial attitudes as they grow older. Rather, results of this study suggest that students in the College of Education who are older may have greater experience with Aboriginal individuals. This, paired with a greater knowledge base due to a longer university career, may combine to make an individual more culturally aware towards people of racial and ethnic backgrounds different from her own. Cultural awareness was measured by the SEE, which partially predicted the lower modern prejudicial attitudes.

Researchers must be sensitive to the particular issues that are triggering modern prejudicial attitudes. Examples of items from the PATAS that reflect these concerns include “Aboriginal Canadians seem to use their cultural traditions to secure special rights denied to non-Aboriginal Canadians,” “Many of the requests made by Aboriginal people to the Canadian government are excessive,” and “Special places in academic programming should NOT be set aside for Aboriginal students” (Morrison, 2007). Different groups of individuals may respond to certain *hot button* topics as opposed to others. For example, an individual may feel as if spots in academic programming should not be set aside for Aboriginal students, but may advocate for government agencies to make every effort to meet the needs of Aboriginal people.

These results could be used as support for designing empathy programs for such organizations as schools, universities, and businesses that are dealing with the difficulties that may occur when having culturally diverse populations. In addition to designing programs specifically for individuals in need of an increase in empathic attitude, steps should be taken to increase awareness among the community regarding the issue of modern and aversive prejudice. Knowledge of what old-fashioned prejudice looks like

appears to be wide-spread, but perhaps the public is unaware that certain attitudes could be considered modern or aversive prejudice. As well, it is important that professionals in all fields that are exposed to issues of prejudice become more aware of the different forms as well as increase their empathic awareness so that they can facilitate the reduction of modern attitudes of prejudice within themselves and those they work with.

As it is possible that programming designed to increase ethnocultural empathy may bring about new challenges for individuals struggling with prejudicial attitudes that they have held, individuals should have access to a support system of professionals (i.e., counsellors). These types of professionals should be able to help the individual cope with the conflicting ideas and feelings that they may experience while becoming more culturally aware.

## *5.2 Limitations*

Results of the present study have demonstrated partial support for the applicability of scores on the SEE in predicting prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals as measured by the PATAS. However, limitations of the present study have been recognized that suggest caution in generalizing the findings and point to directions for future research.

*5.2.1 Diversity of sample.* Of the 168 participants making up the sample, 72% were female, while 27.4% were male. This is representative of the enrollment of students in the educational field across Canada, with 71.2% being female and 28.6% being male (Statistics Canada, 2000). However, a sample with a more equal distribution of males and females may be beneficial in examining the predictive value that gender has on prejudicial attitudes. In addition, while there was a significant sample size for this type of

analysis, all participants were students through the College of Education. As such, these results, while representative of the population of students in education programming, may not be generalizable across different fields of study. Also, this research project did not have a representative sample of individuals who chose not to pursue a post-secondary education. Therefore, future research is required to determine if there is a relationship between the type of educational background and the prejudicial attitudes held by an individual.

*5.2.2 Overlap of questionnaire items.* While the SEE is designed to measure a person's level of cultural awareness, there is the possibility that certain items on one factor could be measuring the same concept as items on another factor. Specifically, the only factor of the SEE that was not significantly predictive of the PATAS was EP – empathic perspective taking. The items that make up this factor may be measuring similar concepts as AC – the acceptance of cultural differences – which was found to be a significant variable. A different multiple regression analysis (i.e. stepwise) would have been able to assess how much each of these variables adds to the predictive power of the SEE in regards to scores on the PATAS.

### *5.3 Directions for Future Research*

A replication of the present study should strive to change a number of study characteristics. First, a larger sample size (gender, length of education, and age) is desired. Secondly, having participants from a variety of fields (e.g., nursing, engineering, agriculture, law, etc.) and a variety of educational backgrounds (e.g., postsecondary, high school, trades, etc.) would enable the results to be generalized to a wider population. Also, the participants of this study were all taking a first year education course and it was

unknown how extensive their knowledge was in regards to Aboriginal issues in Canada. Future studies may want to examine what educational background each participant has before entering the educational field, as well as the differences that may lie between a student in her first year of educational studies and one who is in her last year. Finally, other factors such as personality type (e.g. authoritarian) should be factored into the study to see if they affect empathy levels, which in turn would affect the levels of prejudice held. In addition, the questionnaire administered to the participants should include the old-fashioned prejudice items of the PATAS in order to observe whether age indicates a change in attitudes.

While replicating the current study would further the understanding of the relationship between empathy and prejudicial attitudes, it is suggested that a more in depth qualitative analysis would also be beneficial. By carrying out a study of this nature, the thoughts and feelings of the participants will be better heard and, in turn, researchers will be able to more adequately understand the conflict that exists between empathic individuals and any prejudicial attitudes they may hold. Also, a qualitative or mixed methods study would be able to examine where prejudicial attitudes may be originating from for those individuals. As discussed earlier, Allport (1954) outlined six origins of prejudice – historical, sociocultural, situational, personality structure/dynamics, phenomenological, and stimulus-object. A study that can assess which of these influences a person's empathy as well as prejudicial attitudes would be a valuable asset to the growing area of research linking these two concepts together.

Also, an area not addressed by this study is *why* some individuals may hold prejudicial attitudes despite holding high levels of empathy. A research study that can

examine the core values that a person holds may give some insight into this area. Also, by examining which items on the PATAS are registering high in empathic individuals, researchers may be able to see what subject areas are causing conflict for empathic individuals. This might be a way to determine where further education regarding individuals of Aboriginal descent is needed.

Finally, there has been minimal research as to prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals within Canada, as well as a gap in the research regarding empathy towards Aboriginals and how empathy levels may play a part in regulating prejudicial attitudes. Future research should concentrate on this population in order to gain a better understanding of the attitudes that are prevalent in Canadian society.

### *5.4 Conclusions*

Typically, research examining empathy and prejudice has involved exposing the participant to empathy-inducing situation and then assessing levels of empathy and prejudicial attitudes (Batson, 1991; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). The present study examined the *initial* levels of a person's ethnocultural empathy and then observed its predictive effect for modern prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals.

Results of the present study demonstrated partial support for the predictive ability of the SEE, age, gender, and social desirability in explaining modern prejudicial attitudes towards Aboriginals in that the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (specifically, the factors of empathic feeling and expression, acceptance of cultural differences, and empathic awareness) and age were predictive of the PATAS. These results were further supported by the finding that the scores on the social desirability scale were not significantly correlated with most other factors (the one exception being the empathic

awareness factor of the SEE). As well, the M-C Form C was found to be a non-significant predictor variable for prejudicial attitudes.

However, gender evidenced no ability to predict prejudice. This highlights the possibility that while there may be a significant relationship between gender and certain factors of the ethnocultural empathy measure, it was not enough to register on this regression analysis. Until the time arrives when all individuals are viewed and held as equals, there will be continued expression of prejudice towards those of Aboriginal descent. Indeed, even when that time comes, there is no guarantee that prejudice will be non-existent. After all, research has shown that as societal attitudes evolve, so does the expression of prejudice. From old-fashioned prejudice came the ideas of modern prejudice (McConahay, 1986), aversive prejudice (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), and colour-blind attitudes (Schofield, 1986). Prejudice has adapted throughout the many changes that have occurred in society throughout time. Therefore, continued research in the areas of empathy and prejudice is essential in order to more fully understand whether the facilitation of empathy can aid in the reduction of prejudicial attitudes. Specifically, it would be valuable to continue research examining the initial levels of a person's empathy and how those levels can be facilitated in order to further reduce prejudicial attitudes.



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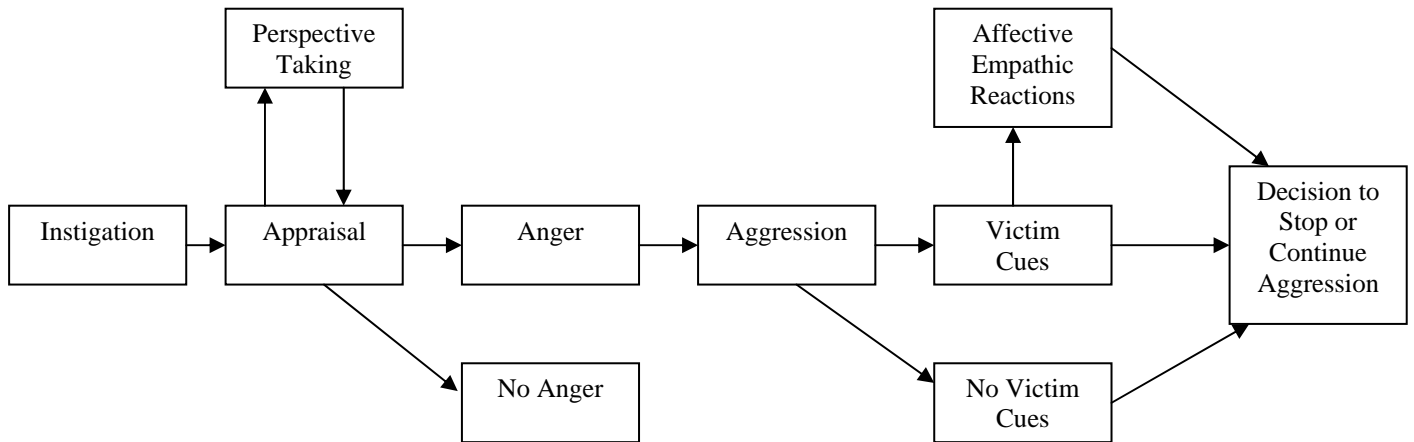
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**Appendix A**

**Empathic Processes and Reactions in the Instigation-Aggression Sequence**

Figure 1 (Davis, 1996)





**Appendix B****Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE; Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, & Bleier, 2003)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Moderately Disagree</b>	<b>Slightly Disagree</b>	<b>Slightly Agree</b>	<b>Moderately Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>

1. I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English \_\_\_\_\_
2. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own \_\_\_\_\_
3. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own \_\_\_\_\_
4. I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people \_\_\_\_\_
5. I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak English \_\_\_\_\_
6. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds \_\_\_\_\_
7. I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own \_\_\_\_\_
8. I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing \_\_\_\_\_
9. I seek opportunities to speak with individuals of other racial or ethnic backgrounds about their experiences \_\_\_\_\_
10. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic background speak their language around me \_\_\_\_\_
11. When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them \_\_\_\_\_
12. I share the anger of those who face injustice because of their racial and ethnic backgrounds \_\_\_\_\_

13. When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms \_\_\_\_\_
14. I feel supportive of people of other racial and ethnic groups, if I think they are being taken advantage of \_\_\_\_\_
15. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic background \_\_\_\_\_
16. I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted \_\_\_\_\_
17. I am not likely to participate in events that promote equal rights for people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds \_\_\_\_\_
18. I express my concern about discrimination to people from other racial or ethnic groups \_\_\_\_\_
19. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own \_\_\_\_\_
20. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society \_\_\_\_\_
21. I don't care if people make racist statements against other racial or ethnic groups \_\_\_\_\_
22. When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride \_\_\_\_\_
23. When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration \_\_\_\_\_
24. I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes \_\_\_\_\_
25. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own \_\_\_\_\_
26. I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity) \_\_\_\_\_
27. I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream \_\_\_\_\_

28. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different than me \_\_\_\_\_

29. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me \_\_\_\_\_

30. When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group \_\_\_\_\_

31. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C

### **Prejudicial Attitudes Toward Aboriginals Scale (PATAS; Morrison, 2007)**

#### Old-fashioned Prejudice Items

1. Most Aboriginal people can NOT take care of their children.
2. Most Aboriginal people sound intoxicated (drunk).
3. Most Aboriginal people are on welfare.
4. Most Aboriginal people need classes on how to be better parents.
5. Aboriginal people have way too many children.
6. Aboriginal people have no sense of time.
7. High standards of hygiene are NOT valued in Aboriginal culture.
8. Diseases that affect Aboriginal people are simply due to the lifestyle they lead.
9. Drug abuse is a key problem among Aboriginal People.
10. Poverty on reserves is a direct result of Aboriginal people abusing drugs.
11. Few Aboriginal people seem to take much pride in their personal appearance.

#### Modern Prejudice Items

1. Canada needs to stop apologizing for events that happened to Aboriginal people many years ago.
2. Aboriginal people still need to protest for equal rights.
3. Aboriginal people should stop complaining about the way they are treated and simply get on with their lives.
4. Aboriginal people should simply get over past generations' experiences at residential schools.
5. Aboriginal Canadians seem to use their cultural traditions to secure special rights denied to non-Aboriginal Canadians.
6. Many of the requests made by Aboriginal people to the Canadian government are excessive.
7. Special places in academic programming should NOT be set aside for Aboriginal students.
8. Aboriginal people should be satisfied with what the government has given them.
9. It is now unnecessary to honour treaties established with Aboriginal people.
10. Aboriginal people should NOT have reserved placements in universities unless they are qualified.
11. Aboriginal people should pay taxes just like everyone else.
12. The government should support programmes designed to place Aboriginal people in positions of power.
13. Non-Aboriginal people need to become sensitive to the needs of Aboriginal people.
14. Government agencies should make every effort to meet the needs of Aboriginal people.

## Appendix D

### **Marlowe-Crowne Form C (M-C Form C; Reynolds, 1982)**

1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.