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정치학석사학위논문

Understanding Others: How Experiencing Discrimination Expands Empathy

사회적 차별 경험과 공감 범위 확장:
소수자에 대한 태도를 중심으로

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Abstract

Understanding Others: How Experiencing Discrimination Expands Empathy

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This study examines how perceived societal discrimination against individuals expands the scope of empathy. Scholars have offered empirical evidence that experiences of discrimination toward oneself are associated with positive attitudes on other minority groups, but little is known whether this effect is applicable to ordinary people whose

group-identity is not salient. Using an online survey experiment data, this study finds that the respondents who have recalled their experience of discrimination are more likely to empathize with minorities and the disadvantaged. Also, this study discovered that respondents who high on the group empathy index (GEI) towards minorities tend to support policies benefiting non-standard workers, whereas the high GEI is not necessarily associated with favorable perceptions of non-standard workers. Taken together, this study provides evidence that highlighting one's experience of discrimination can improve the empathy on minorities across the group boundary. This study contributes to our understanding of the antecedents of group empathy, by shedding light on the universality and the ubiquity of discrimination.

Keywords: Empathy, Discrimination, Minority Group, Non-standard workers, Group Empathy Index, Survey Experiment

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Empathy is the ability to perceive and comprehend what other persons are thinking or feeling. This psychological response embraces 1) the cognitive dimension of deliberating on the thoughts and situations of others, and 2) the emotional dimension of sensing other's emotion and trying to help them (Baston & Ahmand, 2009). Empathy is distinguished from sympathy or compassion, which is about pitying those who are in need. Sympathy and compassion both intend to comfort others, but such intentions do not always stem from the full understanding of others. Sometimes they are nothing but pure speculation grounded upon an outsider's point of view. Empathy, on the other hand, commences when someone wholly grasps the situation of counterparts and resonates with the emotions of them. Hence, "putting oneself into other's shoes" is at the core of empathic reaction.

Today, empathy has become more critical than ever. Since empathy consists of perspective-taking and empathic concerns (Mathur et al., 2010), it can play a significant role where social conflicts runs acute. Considering the prevalent discourses reflecting the reckless exclusion of outgroup, our society seems to be moving towards fragmentation. Currently, economic growth has slowed down, overall expectations for the future has become obscure, and several economic indicators—including inequality, unemployment, and household debt—are worsening. These grim prospects make people feel anxious and afraid. In the midst of this ambience, people project their fear against unfamiliar opponents. As one way to alleviate this antipathy to each other, we can focus on the empathic process of being in someone else's shoes.

At the same time, given that discriminations are aimed at members of minority groups who are marginalized, powerless and discriminated, the necessity for empathy for society is even higher. As minorities are regarded unjustly and unwarrantedly as potential enemies who take away limited resources and privileges, groundless slanders against them have been continued. In addition, hate speech got more leverage by taking advantage of people's vulnerable status, perpetuating the distorted prejudices.

The empathic process of considering the distress faced by minorities can help reduce the hatred expression. This is because the process of reflecting difficulties of others *per se* can help silence the blind offensive feelings. In short, empathy not only contributes to reducing social conflicts, but also helps to promote sympathy towards the underprivileged.

Indeed, previous researches focus on these positive functions of empathy. For instance, Batson (2018), by experiments, clarified that the perspective-taking is connected to the altruistic motivation to help someone in need. Feldman and his colleagues (Feldman et al., 2015) exposited that empathy is related to the overall support for social welfare policies. Also, Lucas and Kteily (2018) elucidated that empathy can lead to policy preference for marginalized class, mentioning the correlated relationship between egalitarianism and the attitude on minorities group. Based on these positive aspects, there are growing social demands for the cultivation of empathic ability.

However, there is a definite limitation in empathy. Simply developing empathic ability does not solve any problem. The enhancement of empathy is important, but it should be followed by the expansion of its boundary. Generally speaking, empathy is more likely

to be directed at whom people frequently contact with, socialize with, and share interests and values with, such as family and friends. It is hard to empathize with unfamiliar, unknown, and strange out-group members. Since the processes of recognizing other's perspective and belief requires considerable cognitive effort (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005), empathy is likely to be confined to those who people are familiar with. Unless one's opponents belong to a familiar or imaginable boundary, it is tricky to empathize with them.

Such in-group specific empathy may even strengthen the prejudice on out-group's members. If someone tries to understand the thoughts and feelings of members of one's own group only, it could lead to indifference towards other groups. This is a paradox of empathy: the higher someone's empathic ability, the more likely it is to indicate indifference or hostility to members of the out-group. Therefore, merely underlining the importance of empathy without expanding the range of it would not only be restrictive to solve the problems, but may also exacerbate existing conflicts. Indeed, previous studies (Bloom 2017; Cikara, Bruneau, and Saxe 2014; Zaki and Cikara 2015; Gleichgerrcht and Decety 2014) have pointed out these limitations of empathy. In order to promote the positive functions of empathy, loosening the boundary should be proceeded.

The importance of expanding the scope of empathy heightens especially when it comes to social minorities. Since people are less likely to define themselves as minorities, those who belong to the minority groups are frequently regarded as the existence entirely outside. Also, social discourses distinguish minorities from ordinary people and strengthen prejudice on minorities under excessive generalization. As long as society considers the minorities as outsiders who are wholly dissimilar from average persons, empathy reaching beyond boundaries becomes more difficult. In order to expand the scope of empathy enough to cover minorities, altering the existing exclusionary viewpoint that separates inside and outside is required.

Previous studies have explored the context where prejudice reduction occurs and have dealt with the mechanism associated with the expansion of empathy. Those studies have illuminated, for instance, the direct/indirect intergroup contacts, the process of establishing a superordinate social identity, and the personalization-based strategies. Also, some scholars recently suggested that members of oppressed groups are more likely to perceive other minorities who are discriminated against, as referring to theories that sharing a memory of relevant experiences helps to take the perspective of another person. However,

prior studies have considered only specific minority cases whose identity is secure such as ethnicity group or LGBT. Hence, this study addresses the expansion of empathy in general form, attempting to fill in the blank of existing researches.

This study focuses on the fact that all of us can be minorities in some aspects. Even those who belong to a dominant group in society can be categorized as a minority due to several characteristics consisting of them. The keyword of this discussion is the experience of discrimination. Not only disadvantaged group members but also those who are in the ordinary mainstream group can be unjustly discriminated due to their gender, age, ethnicity, social status, political orientation, appearance. In fact, anyone can be discriminated against and become subjects of prejudice by socio-structural stigmatization. Thus, people would have an opportunity to realize that they can be a minority anytime and anywhere if certain situations that evoke them to recall unfairly treated experiences. We can establish a hypothesis regarding how to expand the scope of empathy. This work is to weaken the solid boundaries that have distinguished minorities from ordinary people based on the universality and ubiquity of discrimination.

This study established the hypothesis; those who acknowledge that they can belong to minority groups in some cases are more likely to empathize with out-group minorities than those who do not. In order to test the hypothesis, the study designed a survey experiment. The outline of the experiment is as follows. Answering the given questions, half of the respondents choose what kind of discrimination they have experienced so far. Next, the respondents in the treatment group read fictional vignette depicting those who are discriminated against. The content of the vignette depends on how the respondent answered before. After this work, the survey inquires the respondents that, if they face the same situation with vignette, which emotions they feel and how they would respond. All of these procedures lead the respondents to recall and ruminate the discrimination they have experienced. This study presumes that these experimental conditions would help the respondents recognize the universality and ubiquity of discrimination and then would expand the range of empathy enough to cover minorities.

In order to examine whether this experimental condition led to the expansion of empathy, this study borrows the group empathy theory established by Sirin and her colleagues (Sirin, Valentino and Villalobos 2016; 2017). This theory contains the group empathy index (GEI) that

measures the level of empathy for other groups, which is useful for verifying the hypothesis. This study modified the subject of group empathy to minority group and confirmed the effect of discrimination experience in expanding the scope of empathy by examining the GEI difference between experimental group and control group.

Meanwhile, this study also sheds light on the practical effects of the expanded empathy. This study focuses on non-standard workers, a representative minority group in South Korea. In the Korean labor market where massive restructuring has been enforced due to the aftermath of the 1998 bailout, non-standard workers have been continuously discriminated against in wages, personnel, and work environment. Public opinion and social ambience perceive the workers with prejudice, while stigmatizing them as a loser in competition. Under the meritocracy derived from the pervasion of neoliberalism, even discrimination and inequality surrounding them are justified. Therefore, this study estimates how well respondents take the perspective of non-standard workers and empathize with them by gauging perception and policy attitudes related to those workers. This is a hypothesis that those who harbor high group empathy level towards minorities are more likely to have a favorable position.

In summary, this study focuses on one's discriminatory experience as a factor that expands the scope of empathy and that increases the level of empathy for minorities. Using an internet-based survey data, this study scrutinized and examined the hypotheses. Here, the group empathy index (GEI) were used to confirm the effect of experience, and the perception-dimensional and policy-dimensional attitude toward non-standard workers were used in order to clarify the practical meaning of expanded empathy. This study also examines whether GEI can function as a mediator between experimental conditions and attitudes. All these analyses were conducted under controlling demographic variables, including dispositional traits such as Social Dominance Orientation, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, humanitarianism, and symbolic ideology.

Next chapter reviews previous studies which deal with the reduction of prejudices and the expansion of empathy, and the main hypotheses of this study are introduced. In Chapter 3, the experimental design and the brief traits of variables are described in detail. In chapter 4 and 5, this study verifies whether the experimental conditions lead to a change of GEI and confirms whether the altered GEI brings about the change of attitude towards non-standard workers. The implication of the finding will be discussed in the conclusion chapter.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Reviews

As mentioned above, the empathic process is less likely to work beyond the boundary that separates in-group and out-group. What is worse, the paradox, that those with a higher level of empathy rather do not perceive the outside world inclusively, exists. Even if they can easily recognize situations of relatively familiar group members through their high empathy ability, they often have trouble understanding the strangers. Rejection or exclusion of the outsiders occur, while regarding an external group as a threat. Therefore, previous studies have pointed out the limitation of empathy, warning blind faith in empathy itself.

Bloom (2017) indicated the risks that excessive empathy can be a source of short-sighted judgement and violence against others, criticizing the current movement of considering empathy *per se* as a criterion for judging one's morality. Cikara, Bruneau, and Saxe (2011; 2014) noted

that the empathic tendency to reduce the pain of others is crucial to maintain societies, but when the objects of empathy are members of another group, it is hard to be activated. Furthermore, the authors were wary that the feeling of satisfaction of enjoying others' pain (Schadenfreude) could arise if there is fierce competition among groups. In a similar discussion, Zaki and Cikara (2015) commented on the existing practice that prioritizes the formation of empathy only in resolving social conflicts among groups with different status and power, claiming it is necessary to set appropriate goals and norms beyond empathy. Gleichgerrcht and Decety (2014) adduced neuroscientific evidence that perspective-taking and empathic concerns are somewhat challenging to reach the entire society beyond group boundaries.

This ambivalent traits of empathy implies that the actions which loosen the boundary between in-group and out-group should be preceded in order to maximize the positive function of empathy and to minimize the negative effect. However, when we face the disadvantaged persons or minorities who are socially discriminated against, empathy with them becomes more difficult since the minority groups are usually regarded as completely external out-groups within social structures.

Generally speaking, ordinary people are less likely to define themselves as a minority. Even though people frequently hear and use the term of minorities in media or political discourse, people tend to leave those who belong to a minority group in complete outside. This is because, when it comes to minorities, people tend to think of the subjects as those who are excluded from a socially dominant group. People only associate minorities with some representative groups of underprivileged as if the term "minority" should be socially salient and be subject to political debates for a long time.

Of course, most minorities share different attributes and practices, and these traits are sometimes connected to excessive generalization or unfounded prejudices (Banaji et al. 2013) However, in the background of this phenomenon where the specificity of minorities is highlighted, there might have been a social discourse that consistently distinguishes ordinary people from minorities. Under this context, social minorities are simply reduced by social discourse to the specific group members rather than being treated as discrete individuals As long as we consider the minorities as outsiders who are wholly dissimilar from us, empathy working beyond boundaries becomes difficult. Then, how can we solve the problems and extend our empathy towards minorities?

In the next section, this study reviews existing studies that have examined several ways to reduce prejudices against external groups, especially minority groups. Even though the members of minority groups often become a target of prejudice and stereotypes depending on the general attributes of the group which they belong to (Healey & O'Brien, 2014), a bunch of research have been looking for ways to reduce prejudice. Also, many scholars have tried to establish a theory to overcome the drawbacks of social discourse and our belief system which simplify members of external groups as monotonous and homogeneous existence (Jones at al., 2014) and lead to discrimination and exclusions. These former works support this study, which examines ways to expand the scope of empathy enough to cover even minorities.

2.1 Prejudice Reduction on Social Minorities and The Expanding of Empathy

In order to empathize with the socially weak who are outside the field of view for most people, reducing prejudice against external groups is necessary above all things. This means that reinforcing the centrifugal force of empathy; deviating from the centripetal force which cares only for those who are not distant from oneself. (Graham et al., 2017) The prior researchers have sought several ways to reduce prejudice for out-groups. The contact theory (Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Paluck et al., 2018), arguing that frequent encounters with external groups contribute to reducing prejudice, is representative.

For example, using panel data regarding TFA (Teach for America) program participants, Mo and Conn (2018) elucidate that intergroup contacts can conduce to changing recognition on discriminated groups and reduce prejudice against those who are disadvantaged, which lead to the agreement upon affirmative actions. Miles and Crisp (2014) found that indirect contacts, including the imagination process, also can help us

shift attitudes and feelings on members of out-group in unbiased ways and to foster a willingness to reduce enmity and discrimination between groups.

On the other hand, the scholars who assert that a sense of belonging has a significant role in the perception of oneself as well as others have proposed alternative options for reducing prejudices, emphasizing the role of surrounding groups. The studies which take over social identity theory and self-categorization theory are representative. These studies have focused on the social category and the term representativeness that underpins the categorization, emphasizing the social structure and context surrounding each individual. (Molina et al., 2016) The studies say that not only social categories that distinguish the whole members into each group but also the symbolic meaning of those categories play significant roles when people ponder on what group defines themselves.

Hence, several papers have concluded that personalization (Miller, 2002) - a strategy which builds people-to-people relationships deviated from the existing taxonomy that considers someone as a fraction of a group - is vital in reducing prejudice against others, including social minorities. For example, Ensari and her colleague (2012) examined the role of personalization strategies (self-disclosure, decategorization,

individuation) on prejudice reduction by a series of experiments inducing each strategy. They adduced empirical evidence that personalization strategies have an effect on reducing prejudice by confirming those who undertake each strategy are more likely to develop a more favorable attitude towards out-group members and tend to discover similarities between the self and the others. Meanwhile, Becker and Barreto (2019) revalidated the personalization strategy by showing that group-distancing motives represent a separate dimension in confronting prejudice process.

As we have seen so far, prejudices can be reduced if someone tries to find similarities between individuals rather than projecting stereotypes, while coming up with a specific group in the process of recognizing others and the outside world. The “All That We Share” campaign, which was aired on Denmark TV2 broadcasting channel, delineates this mechanism. The video begins with a scene where people who do not seem to harmonize due to their different identities gather in the same place. Under the instruction of the moderator, the people in the video spread and gather again around the commonalities that can be found in daily life, such as common hobbies or personal experiences. In this process, they forget their identities that have been coming to mind. They

notice the commonalities that compose the word “we”. This procedure is similar to the personalization strategy mentioned earlier, but there is a difference in that the people do not remain as independent individuals but are put together into the new groups. Even if they do not provide particular identities continuously, various groups are formed that bind people together.

Generally, it is hard for human beings – social animals – to stay and exist only as separate individuals without belonging to groups. Groups play an essential role in maintaining our society and providing a sense of stability. This is why we exploit personalization strategy to reduce prejudice against other group’s members, while at the same time ought consider belonging to groups. Even if we do not think of the identities which are prevalent in society tentatively, we need a concrete group that can create a new sense of belonging. Thus, scholars have thought about potential factors that can help people regroup and feel new types of sense of belonging and quasi-identity again. For instance, Gaertner and his colleague. (Gaertner et al., 2016) noted that when people discover themselves and others share similar attitudes, belief systems, and values, they can not only understand each other well based on the similarity but also create favorable feelings which are helpful to alleviate vague fears.

In this manner, we can devise a way of finding commonality as part of strategies to minimize prejudices when we face those who are socially underprivileged. Indeed, Kunst and his colleagues (Kunst et al., 2015), while analyzing the general views on a large number of immigrants, revealed that discovering common identity can foster an effort to live with immigrants, promote altruistic behaviors such as donations and social services, and induce open-mind to multiculturalism. The study focused on the positive functions expected in the process of acculturation which discovers commonness among groups. This argument implies that, even though it is not easy considering the likelihood of social minorities sharing different traits from dominant groups, we can reduce prejudices towards them and embrace them in the scope of our empathy when we find commonality with minorities.

Accordingly, scholars have noted the process of retrieving the similar experiences of discrimination inherent in each other's memories as one of the ways to discover commonalities from the socially disadvantaged. These studies assert that, if someone recalls one's discrimination experience of the past, the likelihood of empathizing with members of out-group who have encountered similar discrimination becomes higher. As dealing with the way media reports on groups suffering from chronic

problems, Cao (2010) remarked that photographs inducing emotional responses could bring a friendly attitude towards them no matter how the victimized groups are physically close. This research suggests a neuroscientific foundation that people could overcome reasonless prejudices; when people feel the pain of the others vividly like a mirror, they are able to ruminate on their own suffering experiences, to reaffirm that they are not so much different from others, and to empathize with others.

Meanwhile, Vescio and his colleagues (Vescio et al., 2003) found that past experience of each person plays a significant role in imagining and accepting others' perspectives. They pay attention to the similarity of experiences as one of the factors which reduce prejudice against racial minority groups and lead to favorable attitudes on them. These discussions imply that discrimination, disadvantage, victimization, and adversity that someone has encountered can be a stepping stone to empathize with other minorities who have been underprivileged. So to speak, sharing experiences among groups can act as the background for establishing a new superordinate identity.

In the same vein, Rosette and Tost (2013) uncovered that recognizing one's own subordinate position on one dimension of social hierarchy

could enhance perceptions of the privilege on a different dimension of hierarchy and support for social policies lessening inequality. Also, Warner and his colleagues (2014) claimed that the salience of in-group historical victimization encourages a sense of moral obligation to help other victimized groups. In analyzing Jews and women, the author confirmed that those who historically persecuted groups indicate a more favorable attitude on minorities unless those minorities are in an adversary relationship. Besides, Vollhardt (2015) asserted that perceived similarities across victim groups (inclusive victim consciousness) might be associated with more positive outcomes; stigmatized individuals may perceive commonalities among types of discrimination and supports coalitions with other oppressed groups.

More specifically, Craig and Richeson (2012; 2016) examined whether the stimulation of making salient a specific group's experiences as a target of prejudice and discrimination invokes a superordinate identity with other stigmatized groups. They found that the perceived discrimination heightens perceptions of intergroup similarity and influence on engendering positive interminority relationship and related attitudes. These theories suggest that sharing disadvantaged status - such as facing similar stereotype, prejudiced attitude, and discriminatory

behaviors - may be a basis for perceiving similarity and increase the likelihood of empathy, as long as those groups are in the similar identity dimension.

Developing the discussions, Cortland and her colleagues (Cortland et al. 2017) conducted the experiments which highlight blatantly or subtlety analogous experiences of discrimination among disadvantaged participants. Moreover, they suggested that shared experiences of discrimination between groups that even do not share an identity dimension can function as a way to facilitate positive interminority intragroup relations.

Successive to the above discussion, Sirin, Valentino and Villalobos (2016; 2017) noted once again the importance of shared experiences of discrimination, setting up so-called group empathy theory. They premised that memories of experience shared among historically discriminated racial groups draw a kind of sympathetic responses, which can increase empathy for each other. In the studies' experiment that supposes a situation of becoming an officer of the immigration bureau who determines whether to accept refugees, relatively high levels of empathy and tolerance were confirmed between black and Hispanic participants. They analyzed that even though these two ethnic groups

compete for limited resources, the experience of discrimination from dominant races stimulates group-dimensional empathy and then links to friendly attitudes on each other.

On the other hand, other studies indicated that shedding lights on discriminated experiences could ironically induce the exclusion of other groups. Craig and her colleagues (Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014) pointed out that if social identity threat operates greater than a sense of common disadvantage, it can be led to the derogation of other groups. For example, when information about the sexism is provided to white female participants, it may result in the expression of a higher anti-racial minority or biased prejudices. These works suggest that exposure to discrimination does not always activate a common superordinate identity. So to speak, even though perceived discrimination may result in more positive attitudes within an identity dimension, it can be associated with conflicts or more negative interminority intragroup relations across dimensions of identity when there are threats to one's own identity group. Empathy across groups can still be difficult if the distinction among groups is evident.

2.2 The Effect of Discrimination Experiences in Expanding the Range of Empathy

The studies reviewed so far are meaningful in that they present prejudice reduction as the way of expanding empathy. Among them, the research of Sirin and her colleague (2016; 2017) is especially notable, given that they verified the link between sharing discrimination experiences and expanding the scope of empathy. Also, the argument of Craig and Richeson (2012; 2016) is remarkable since they proposed the possibility that sharing experiences of discrimination facilitates positive intergroup relations even if the members do not share a common identity.

The previous discussions, however, have a limitation that they only dealt with specific groups whose members have an apparent identity such as race or gender. Of course, these groups are historically salient enough to be the subjects of academic discussions, but it is hard to say that all of the persons who are discriminated against in our society have formed such an evident identity. Considering the mood of modern society which empathizes individuals rather than groups, the ordinary marginalized

groups may not be sharing such an explicit identity. Particularly, in the case of socio-economic minorities whose resources for political mobilization are not sufficient, it is difficult for them to keep persistent group-dimensional identity requiring the recollection of politically meaningful memory. These are why we need to go over the premise of existing studies again.

In order to enrich the discussion surrounding the expansion of empathy scope, therefore, it is necessary to reconsider the premise of previous studies. The discussion being able to cover even the general people who do not belong to the politically salient groups (those who do not share a specific group-identity) is needed. So, this study aimed to find a new way to reduce the exclusion of others (including minorities). As exploiting the experiences of each individual, this study devised a theory of expanding the range of empathy, which can be applied to entire members of our society.

This research focuses on the fact that most people can belong to minorities in at least one or two aspects, indeed (Laurie & Khan 2017). The key point here is discrimination. In the realm of political discourses, the term “discrimination” presupposes the presence of groups which are disregarded, denigrated, and deprived by the rest of the dominants of

society. If an individual is mistreated or excluded on account of their affiliation to the specific group, we can define those unjust practices as discrimination. Furthermore, even those who do not want to be classified as separate groups can be discriminated against if the rest of society imposes any patterns of behaviors on them or acts on in ways that bring about unfair results. (Scanlon 2008) For instance, someone who does not eat meat cuisine can be discriminated against by other people, even if he or she does not desire to be defined as a specific vegetarian group.

In other words, discrimination is based on specific groups, therefore associated with group identity in many cases. However, not all persons who are discriminated against are sharing a definite identity. Looking back through our daily lives, we can easily find that most people experience several types of discriminations. There are various categories in the world which classify people, and sometimes those classifications function as means of social exclusion. If a person is treated unjustly from the majorities due to her idiosyncrasy (which is commonly interpreted as a collective attribute), we can say thar it is a discrimination. For example, if society imposes particular characteristic - which is not associated with individual traits – on somebody based on the place they live, this can be a discrimination which ignores individual's attributes.

In this context, anyone living in modern society can be considered at least once as a minority. When the dominant majorities perceive the specific members of the another group differently and treats them unjustly, the subjects of such treatment become *de facto* minorities at that moment. This is because the term "minority" can be defined as those who hold a vulnerable status in the allocation of resources or opportunities and are easily exposed to social bias and prejudices. Under this definition, most social categorizations assigning group dimensional characteristics to each individual and generating discriminations are related to minorities.

Like this, the meaning of minorities is universal and is not confined to salient groups. The minority group can exist anywhere in which the rest of society single out some people and denigrate, demean, and exclude them. Even those who belong to a dominant group can be categorized as a minority due to characteristics that consists of them. Even a educated, white, male doctor living in a city, for example, can be discriminated against and classified to a minority group when he gets promoted owing to his marital status. This universality and ubiquity of discriminations and minorities are the aspects which this study pays attention to. This study argues that even if those who do not have a group

identity can expand their empathy scope based on their experience of discrimination.

Under this interpretation of minority, this study hypothesized that if someone recalls his or her experiences of discrimination and goes through a process of identifying the ones who had faced similar types of discrimination, he or she would perceive the discriminatory social injustice and thus would be more likely to empathize with other minorities or the socially disadvantaged. Furthermore, this study established a hypothesis that this expanded empathy scope would lead to more favorable attitudes toward members of a certain minority group.

In order to test these hypotheses, this study contrived a survey experiment that induces half of the respondents to recollect their experience of discrimination and to identify with a fictional person who has experienced similar discrimination. The experimental section begins with a question asking the respondents what kinds of discriminations they have encountered in their lives. Next, the respondents of the experimental group are provided with a specific vignette according to their former response. The scenario describes the unfair situation closely related to discrimination that each respondent chooses. After reading a vignette, the respondents of the experimental group answers two

questions that evoke emotional and cognitive response each. The details of the experiment will be explained in the next chapter.

This study presumed that the experimental section would help respondents to remind that “discrimination is not limited to just unusual cases”. This is a premise that even those who have considered themselves as a majority could figure out the universality of discrimination if they contemplate which types of discrimination are troublesome for themselves. Besides, this study presupposed that those who performed the experimental process might be able to figure out a commonality (Ekland et al. 2009) which binds each separated individual into one group sharing a similar discriminatory experience.

The effects of this experiment are expected as follows. Reading a short passage dealing with people who are analogous but not wholly identical to themselves, the respondents would rethink about the amorphous group, called minorities. Furthermore, they can realize that those minorities are only persons who are unfairly discriminated against, not very distinct from themselves. So to speak, respondents might be able to find that they are no exception of discrimination at least and grasp the point that all of us can be classified as minorities in some respects. In other words, deviating from the existing standards that sort out in- and

out-group, they can better empathize with the minority group and socially disadvantaged persons.

In order to examine the improvement and expansion of empathy for minorities, this study uses a concept called the GEI (group empathy index). As we seen before, minorities signify those who are exposed to social prejudice and discrimination or those who are in a vulnerable position when dominant society allocates resources and opportunity. In this definition, minorities are close to indefinite groups rather than independent individuals. Hence, when talking about empathy towards minorities, we need to modify the general index that measures the level of empathy for another individual. This is why we exploit the group empathy index indicating the level of empathy for a particular group.

In sum, the first hypothesis of this study is that "Those who have recalled their experiences of discriminations and have identified with another one who had experienced similar discrimination would indicate higher GEI for a minority group." This hypothesis was set on the following two premises. 1) Those who contemplated on the universality of the term "minorities" are more likely to agree with a statement; all of us can be classified as minorities. 2) Looking back on the entire lives of them and others with paying attention to discrimination, would help for

people to regard all of the discrimination on account of individuals' characteristics, affiliation, status, orientation as unfair.

In addition to the central hypothesis, this study furthermore attempts to examine practical effects of expanded empathy. This study assumed that the general attitude towards minorities would also change favorably if the group empathy towards minorities increases. The study focuses on non-standard workers as a representative minority group in order to grasp the effects of the improved group empathy more realistically. The reason for setting up non-standard workers as an example of minorities will be described in the another chapter. The purpose of the testing is to examine whether the increased GEI, which is an effect of the experiment, relates to substantial changes in the perception or policy preferences which benefits non-standard workers.

This study hypothesized that those with a higher group empathy level for overall minorities would be more favorable to policies for non-standard workers. This study also hypothesized that people with high GEI are less likely to perceive non-standard workers hostilely. These hypotheses encompass an assumption that those who share broadened empathy would accept and recognize non-standard workers as equal members of our society, rather than considering the ones as separated

from normality. By testing this hypothesis, we can confirm that the empathy has practical effects on correcting discriminations.

Finally, this study tests whether the group empathy index mediates the effect of the experiment on attitudes towards non-standard workers. This last task illuminates that group empathy plays a significant role between the enhanced level of empathy for minorities and the improved attitudes on non-standard workers. If this hypothesis turns out to be accurate, it would suggest that we should come up with several ways to raise the level of group empathy in order to have a substantial effect on the improvement of our perspective on minorities. Like as this study focuses on the method that induces people to appreciate the commonality and ubiquity of the term minorities, various ways of enhancing group empathy for minorities can be embodied in the future.

All together, we generate the following hypotheses:

H1 *(Group empathy for minority group): The respondents who belong to the treatment group of experiment - those who recall their experiences of discrimination and identify themselves with the person who had experienced similar types of discrimination- are more likely to empathize with general minority group.*

H2 *(Attitudes towards non-standard workers): Those who harbor higher group empathy for minorities are more likely to indicate favorable attitudes on non-standard workers in the dimension of perception and policy each.*

H3 *(Mediation effects): Group empathy index mediates the effect of the experiment on favorable attitudes on non-standard workers.*

Chapter 3

Experimental Design and Data

In order to examine the effect of perceived societal discrimination on expanding empathy, this study designed the online survey experiment which randomly divides the respondents into the experimental and the control group. As providing a series of questionnaires evoking one's experience of discrimination to the treatment group, this study examined whether one's memories of past discrimination lead to significant differences in group dimensional empathy (GEI) for minorities. Furthermore, this study checked whether expanded empathy has an effect on several attitudes on minority groups and their members in practical manners, focusing on one of the representative minority groups in South Korea; the non-standard workers. Demographic traits and political psychological antecedents which can be associated with empathy were also considered in the analysis.

Data came from the survey experiment conducted during the autumn of 2019. This study requested panels of online-based private polling company to fill out the survey format, and 4279 responded to the invitation. Among them, only 1408 respondents completed the survey. (The data collection was automatically stopped if the district and gender quotas based on the census were full) Also, 302 who answered insincerely were excluded from the analysis. This study randomly allocated the rest 1106 respondents into two groups; 555 were in the experimental group, and 551 were in the control group.

The sequence of the questionnaires can be found in **<Table 1>**. Psychological predispositions were firstly inquired to prevent measurement errors from the experimental conditions. The stimuli given to the treatment group consisted of three steps, and the GEI and attitudes on non-standard workers were surveyed after the experimental stage. Specific descriptions of each variable will be discussed.

< Table 1 > The order of the experimental survey questionnaires

	Psychological Traits	The Experimental Conditions (X)	Other Variables
Experimental Group (N= 555)	SDO RWA Humanitarianism	- Selecting the type of discrimination - Reading a short vignette - Answering two questions evoking emotional and cognitive response each	**GEI (Y)** **Attitudes on non-standard workers (Y')** Political & demographic variables
Control Group (N= 551)		NULL	

3.1 The Survey Experiment: Recalling One's Experience of Discrimination

The experimental section began with a question asking the respondents about their experience of discrimination. By inquiring the members of the treatment group which type of discrimination they have experienced most recently, the question aims to encourage respondents to recall their memories of being denigrated, demeaned, and excluded. In this question, the participants chose one of five items signifying representative discrimination reasons of Korean society.

The five types of discrimination and each example are as follows: **(1) Gender:** female, male, pregnancy, patriarchy, sexual orientation **(2) Age:** Ageism **(3) Social status:** income, property, residence, hometown, occupation, marital/ parental status, criminal record **(4) Physical features:** disability, appearance, disease, eating habit **(5) Level of education:** final education, academic background. We can say that most people have been discriminated against for one of those reasons. As reviewing various discriminatory factors and selecting one of the options,

respondents in the experimental group might look back their daily life and think about which attributes consisting of themselves can be factors of unfair discrimination.

After selecting the main reason for discrimination, each respondent was provided with a short anecdote of a person who has been discriminated against similarly to themselves. The detailed content of the vignette was different depending on how the respondents had previously responded. For example, if the respondent said they had experienced discrimination by gender, the anecdote was as follow.

S. Jeong (35), who has worked at a finance company for 11 years, has been in great trouble since her second pregnancy. Because she took maternity leave a few years ago, it is hard to consider additional leave easily. One of the troublesome changes with which she encountered after reinstatement was discrimination on performance evaluation critical to wage. Another long-period holiday may hinder her from getting the salary increased. For her husband, also, it is hard to get a parental leave due ot thte warning from his colleagues such as "If you want to take leave, just give up next promotion". The couple said, "it seems like a sin to have a child in Korea society" with a sigh.

The rest vignettes depicting the discriminatory situation derived from the other four reasons (discrimination by age, social status, physical features, and level of education) can be found in the appendix A. All of these anecdotes contain verisimilar situations so that the respondents can better understand the characters' thoughts and emotions. This study presumed that the respondents who had grasped the universality and ubiquity of social discrimination could confirm its unfairness again as reading the specific story of the marginalized. So to speak, each story works as a reminder that discriminatory contexts can be applied to ordinary people as well as a particular group.

After reading the vignette, the members of the experimental group answered two questions that evoke emotional and cognitive response each. Emotions and cognition are not only crucial in understanding others but also major subcomponents of empathic response (Baston & Ahmand, 2009). These two questionnaires also help the respondent to remind again that anyone can be discriminated against by making them read the given anecdote more carefully. In other words, this study exploited two questions as a stimulus which reminds the respondents of the fact that "anyone can belong to minority groups in some contexts", rather than paying attention to the specific answers *per se*.

The first question inquired the respondents which emotions they would have felt among sadness, anger, anxiety, frustration, and disgust if they conceived that they were in the same situation as the person in the story. This question was followed by a subsequent question asking the respondents to express the size of their selected emotion from 1 to 9. By leading participants to consider the feeling of the person who had encountered similar discrimination to theirs, the first question might evoke empathic concerns about those who had been marginalized from discriminatory situations.

On the other hand, the second question asked what countermeasures the respondents would work out in the above context. Five items of this question contained actions to cope with experiences of discrimination, such as reporting the experience of discrimination to the press, telling colleagues about the situation and asking for help, and enduring discrimination without any further action. The respondent was able to choose multiple answers among these five options, but the response itself was paid little attention to as in the previous question, which means the question was contrived to make participants cognitively understand the situation that the person of the story had encountered. This cognitive response corresponds with the perspective-taking.

As being mentioned so far, this study used the following procedures as experimental treatment: asking the types of discrimination that was experienced by individuals, providing a virtual story that matches the response, and inducing emotional and cognitive reaction towards the main character in the story based on two questions. Under this experimental condition, this study expected the following effects.

First, the respondents were supposed to be able to understand the universality and ubiquity of discrimination to some extent as selecting one among the list of types of discrimination. In addition, this study expected that the respondents would find the fact that no one can be an exception to unfair treatment by grasping the thoughts, emotions, and situations of those who had experienced similar discrimination. Finally, this study presumed that the last two psychological responses related to empathic process could work as a stepping stone to empathize with the general minority group; It was assumed that, although it is not easy to put ourselves into others' shoes, we could expand our scope of empathy if we understood the thoughts and feelings from those who seem to be relatively closer owing to shared experiences of discrimination.

3.2 The Group Empathy Index

In order to compare the levels of empathy between treatment and control groups, this study adopted the concept of group empathy that was theorized by Sirin, Valentino and Villalobos (2016; 2017). Sirin and her colleagues modified the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI), the measurement of dispositional empathy proposed by Davis (1980), and generated the Group Empathy Index (GEI). This Index demonstrates how much the respondents empathize with members of other groups. Unlike IRI, which describes the extent of empathy at the individual level, the GEI denotes the degree of empathy in group dimension. Since one of the main themes of this study was minorities which is closer to the group than the discrete individuals, it was appropriate to examine empathy in group dimension.

This study used the 14 items that were arranged in the previous study. Unlike the study of Sirin and her colleague which examined the level of empathy for other racial or ethnic groups, however, this study altered the target of empathy into minorities or the socially disadvantaged groups. The basic frame of questions was similar to the original GEI, but the

objects were different; Respondents rated how well each of the 14 statements describes themselves on a five-point scale, from "Not at all (1)" to "Extremely well (5)". Then this study synthesized each response and calculated the Group Empathy Index as the average.

The questionnaires for the GEI consist of two parts. First, this study surveyed to what extent the respondents agreed with seven descriptions related to the perspective-taking in order to illuminate the cognitive aspects of empathy. The examples of the descriptions were as follows; “I try to look at everybody’s side of disagreement (including those of other minorities or disadvantaged groups) before I make a decision.” and “Before criticizing somebody from another minority group or disadvantaged group, I try to imagine how I feel if I were in their place.”

On the other hand, the last seven questionnaires examined how well the respondents understood the emotional state of the minority group and its members. The survey explained the emotional aspect of empathy based on the level of agreement for the following explanations; “I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person towards people of another minority group or disadvantaged group.” and “When I see someone being taken advantage of due to their minority, I feel kind of protective towards them.” All of these are associated with empathic concerns.

In this way, this study estimated the group dimensional empathy of the respondent, using 14 items (see appendix A for the rest items) which cover the attributes of the empathic process, and utilized the index not only as a standard to check the expansion of empathy, but also as an explanatory variable of grasping the practical meaning of the expanded empathy. By aggregating the extent of consent on these 14 items and calculating the average, the Group Empathy Index variable was generated. This GEI variable with a value from 1 to 5 (M=3.48, SD=0.44) indicates that those who high on the index harbor the enhanced empathic ability towards minorities. It is possible to interpret that a person with a high GEI has expanded the scope of empathy enough to embrace other minorities.

3.3 Attitudes towards Minorities: Focused on Non-standard Workers in Korea Society

As we mentioned earlier, one of the hypotheses of this study assumed that the enhanced group empathy could lead to a more favorable attitudes toward minorities. In order to examine these practical implications, this study contrived several questionnaires measuring attitudes on minorities. This study regarded non-standard workers as a representative minority group in Korean society. Based on how respondents had indicated their attitudes on non-standard workers, this study verified the empathic ability - expanded by recalling one's experiences of discrimination - influenced the change of attitudes in policy and perceptional dimensions. In this section, discussions would be held on why non-standard workers in South Korea could be interpreted as representative minorities. As introducing specific measures of attitudes, this study catches the nuanced meanings of non-standard workers, focusing on the relation between discrimination and traits of minorities.

Non-standard work is a form of employment which have been

designed to prevent massive dismissal since the 1997 Asian financial crisis and IMF bailout. The usage of non-standard workers was intended to mitigate problems that stem from labor reconstructing under introducing flexible employment. (Urano & Stewart 2007) These non-standard workers account for 36.4% (7,481,000) of all salaried workers (Korea National Statistical Office, 2019), and they encompass temporarily contracted workers, part-time workers, on-call/ daily workers, and untypical (dispatched, outsourced) workers. Recently, the unique types of employment – which is similar to self-employment but being instructed from particular figures – are highlighted as one of the non-standard labors in the platform industry.

All these forms of workers are distinguished from regular workers to whom a virtually settled working period is guaranteed, and the negotiation of their wages based on rank and seniority in the workplace is possible. Non-standard workers seemingly signify one of the employment forms, but they hold unique meaning in that social conditions and perceptions surrounding them could be discriminative. Of course, the categories of non-standard workers and their specific compositions vary according to the types of workplace, therefore not all non-standard workers share an apparent identity. However, a bunch of

social discourses have defined them as an explicit group sharing unique features.

Meanwhile, considering that non-standard workers are treated differently from regular workers and sometimes becoming a subject of distorted perception, we can say that they are one of the representative minority groups in Korean society. This is because the minority groups mean that any number of entities who have taken a vulnerable status in the allocation of resources or opportunities and easily exposed to social bias and prejudices. Non-standard workers who have been directly or indirectly discriminated against from the labor-market and the overall social structure can be defined as notable minorities. Based on this definition of non-standard workers, this study defines them as a specific minority group and try to proceed with follow-up discussions focusing on both direct and indirect discrimination.

First, the aspect of direct discrimination surrounding non-standard workers is as follows. Direct discrimination signifies that the dominant society and its relevant agents pick out someone explicitly and intentionally for disadvantageous treatment. If certain groups are subject to relative disadvantages from social agents and deprived of their rights, it is direct discrimination. Besides, direct discrimination also involves

prejudice, devaluation and infringement of rights on particular objects. This is why we should examine the working environment of non-standard workers in determining whether they have been directly discriminated against or not.

According to data from the Korea National Statistical Office (2019), a number of non-standard workers are on duty in service sectors, and are mainly in charge of simple tasks rather than office work. The problem is, however, these occupation types are not a simple function of labor conditions, including wage and welfare. Non-standard workers often encounter inferior working conditions merely merely their employment form being non-regular. The table summarizing the specific situation of non-standard workers based on statistical figures can be found in the appendix B. Those situations can be briefly described as follows.

Firstly, as can be seen from the wages of temporary or untypical workers, which are less than 60% of regular worker's wages, non-standard workers have been discriminated against in terms of wage levels. Also, the subcontracted and dispatched workers have been typically paid only half salary of regular workers, even if they do similar works. There are no much differences in working hours, but the wage gap is significant. In addition, non-standard workers do not sufficiently benefit from the

welfare and social insurance provided by each workplace. For example, the percentage of workers receiving a retirement allowance is low compared to regular workers, despite thier unstable engagement.

Secondly, non-standard workers have been gradually marginalized by the labor structure subordinating them. They are sometimes excluded from fundamental rights to labor or deprived of opportunities. Even daily working-conditions separate non-standard workers from regular ones, by using a variety of means (appellation, shapes of ID cards, the authority of using facilities). This systematic discrimination has made workers themselves internalize disproportionate treatment.

Thirdly, non-standard workers are still being marginalized from basic safety rights. This is because several 3D (dirty, difficult, and dangerous) jobs have been filled with precarious workers, under the distorted industrial structure of pursuing efficiency. Since each company is less obliged to provide additional protection actions to workers who are indirectly contracted, employers have reduced their burdens and costs by outsourcing dangerous work. (so-called outsourcing of death) Besides, low union registration rates (3.0%) of non-standard workers make it more challenging to solve problems through collective actions.

In summary, non-standard workers have been directly discriminated

against while losing priority in the resource-allocation process, being consistently distinguished from the regular employees, and being victimized in structural alteration of industry. Supposing these discriminations continue and are justified by legal or normative standards, the ambience of conniving unfair treatment for non-standard workers would be reproduced. Moreover, the moral status of non-standard workers can be degraded where they are systematically perceived as being in the outside world where moral values, rules, and fairness do not apply. (Hellman 2008)

Hence, if we pursue to alleviate unfair discriminations surrounding non-standard workers, policy packages benefiting them should be rearranged. By mitigating the oppression - including marginalization, exploitation, powerlessness (Young 2014) - faced by non-standard workers, we can progressively eliminate the factors which have stigmatized them as minorities. This is why people who are in the position of non-standard workers or who has desire to protect them affirmatively have claimed several policies benefiting them, such as the abolition of non-standard labors.

In this context, this study presupposed that those who high on the GEI would be more interested in reducing the discriminatory situations and be more likely to agree with policies that are favorable to non-standard workers. It is assumed that the process of understanding the situation of a minority and accepting the emotion would help mitigate actual discrimination on non-standard workers.

Accordingly, this study designed the questionnaires examining the policy-dimensional attitudes on non-standard workers. As inquiring the respondents how much (from 1 to 5) they agreed with each statement and calculating the average of the responses, this study evaluated each respondent's preferences for policies benefiting non-standard workers. (M= 3.4, SD= 0.74) The specific content of each statement as follows.

1) "Since discrimination on non-standard workers is derived from a distorted labor structure rather than the capacity of individuals, we should follow the 'same work, same payment' principle." 2) "Translating non-standard workers of the public sector into regular ones should follow the way of direct employment, not establishing an affiliated company or converting to non-fixed term employment." and 3) "The issue of non-standard workers should be left up to individual companies for ensuring freedom of business activities."

On the other hand, there are indirect discriminations that restrict non-standard workers behind several types of direct discrimination. Indirect discrimination refers to the social structure that justifies the existing practice of impairing or nullifying the rights and freedoms of minorities. Even if the main social agents have no deliberate intention of excluding the member of a particular group directly, we can find implicit discrimination in the society where its order and direction function works inappropriately for someone. In this context, even after direct marginalization of irregular workers is eased, the discrimination itself does not disappear as long as there is a social structural background to sustain pervasive injustice and unfairness.

In terms of indirect discrimination on non-standard workers, meritocracy - the belief that rulers of society should be chosen for their superior abilities - has nuanced meaning. In the case of Korean society that had rapidly broken away from traditional society, it was easy to accept meritocracy that emphasizes not wealth or birth but individual efforts or abilities. As excessive competition for decent jobs has been intensified recently, meritocracy becomes more prevalent. In addition, the discourse saying "anyone is able to succeed if they do their best" has changed people's perception and perspective on labor market.

Under this meritocracy, one's low social status is often perceived as an outcome attributed to individuals who have not made a sufficient effort, rather than being considered as inequality for which society should take responsibility. Also, social inequality is described as a result of difference in individual talent or effort and various discriminatory treatments are taken for granted (Mccoy & Major 2007).

In this vein, many discriminatory situations imposed on non-standard workers are perceived as things that losers of recruitment should accept. Moreover, this social ambience - which emphasizes individual abilities solely - may be associated with a distorted view of considering non-standard workers as trivial existence not entitled to respect, which often leads to a devaluation of their ability or deprivation of chance. Such indifference toward the interests and rights of non-standard workers also can be discrimination (Lippert-Rasmussen, 2014)

What makes the situation even more problematic is the fact that stigmatized workers being more likely to have difficulty in finding decent jobs, therefore remaining as permanent losers (Boyce et al. 2007) under the rigidity of a labor market where a small number of winners of the competition are never falling back to the world of competition again. Also, the recognition (Honneth 2004) on those who deprived of their

opportunities can be blurred gradually since economic injustice and cultural injustice are usually intertwined and reinforce each other dialectically. In other words, meritocracy can function as a mechanism of indirect discrimination since it justifies the existing privilege of winners holding capacity, while depriving the potential benefits of defeated ones. In order to rectify absurdity and unjust discrimination surrounding non-standard workers, therefore, it is necessary to improve the general perceptions penetrating those workers.

This is the second point this study focused on when examining the practical effects of the expanded group-dimensional empathy. This notion has come from the presumption that those who high on GEI are more likely to perceive non-standard workers as not much different from ordinary people even in the meritocracy, and would indicate more favorable attitudes on them. The variables covering perception of non-standard workers were collected by how much respondents consent with the following arguments; 1) "The thing which regular workers work in better conditions is a reward for their endeavor to recruitment." and 2) "It is undesirable to convert even dispatched workers who take simple tasks to regular workers, which leads to substantial social costs." The mean was 2.82, and the standard deviation was 0.82.

3.4 Psychological Predispositions and Demographics

The survey of this study began with questions which measured psychological predispositions, such as social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and humanitarianism. These are psychological orientations determined by the interaction of genetic factors and the surrounding environment. Since these orientations are associated with the main variables of this study, such as the group empathy index, correct measuring is essential for testing hypotheses and checking precise effects with controls. To minimize the bias of measurement, this study collected the psychological variables before dividing the sample into the control and treatment group. A brief introduction to the three variables as follows.

SDO is based on the questions asking the respondents how much (all in a seven-point scales, recoded as 0-1) they favor or oppose each following statement; for instance, 'An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom' or 'We should work to give

all groups an equal chance to succeed' (reversed coded). This study used a short-version of 8-items (Ho et al. 2012) and generated a composite index of SDO (M=0.39, SD=0.13). The other six items are presented in the appendix A.

While SDO implies a view of social hierarchical order and egalitarianism, right-wing authoritarianism connotes idea for a strained relationship between obedience to authority and civic liberties. In general, those who indicate high RWA tend to defend the existing social framework. This study measured RWA by asking how much the respondents agree with following statements (all in a seven-point scales, recoded as 0-1), for instance, 'The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest method would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.', or 'Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn.', which had been arranged by Rattazzi and his colleagues (Rattazzi et al. 2007) with seven items. The mean of RWA was 0.47, and the standard deviation was 0.17.

Finally, this study paid attention to the humanitarianism orientation that is distinguished from two previous predispositions, as antecedents of group empathy and control variables. The egalitarianism indicates a

scale of a tendency to help socially vulnerable or marginalized people, and it is a different concept from egalitarianism. In the main point of this study; “empathy for minorities”, SDO is related to the minorities whereas humanitarianism is associated with empathy. Humanitarianism was measured on seven-point scales according to the degree of agreement on the following statements; ‘One should always find ways to help others less fortunate than oneself.’ or ‘The dignity and well-being of all should be the most important concerns in any society.’ All six items (Steenbergen 1996) are presented in the appendix A. The mean of humanitarianism was 0.61, and the standard deviation was 0.10.

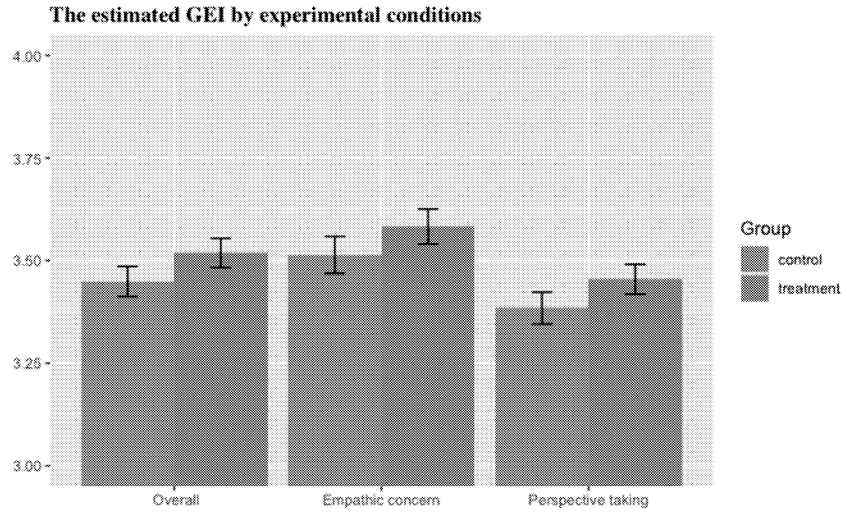
In addition, this study measured gender (female: 48.9%), age (M= 44.2, SD=12.9), a place of residence (Metropolitan: 30.7%, PK: 8.3%, TK: 27.5%, HN: 10.5%, CC: 15.6%, others: 7.41%), religion (No religion: 50.6%, Buddhism: 15.7%, Protestant: 21.6%, Catholic: 11.4%, others: 0.6%), employment status (Standard: 49.9%, Non-standard: 12.9%, Self-employed: 11.2%, Unemployed: 7.1%, Economic inactivity: 18.9%), political ideology (M=2.9, SD=1.0; 1 liberal to 5), and party identification (Indifferenrt: 43.1% , TheMinJoo: 33.4%, Liberty Korea: 9.0%, Bareun Mirae: 5.5%, Justice:7.7%, others: 1.3%) for statistical processing and controlling the antecedents of the main variables.

Chapter 4

The Effect of Perceived Discrimination on the Group Empathy Index

This study assumed that respondents of the experimental group are more likely to empathize with minority groups than the control group. The hypothesis was that higher GEI (Group Empathy Index) would be found in those who had looked back their own experience of discrimination and had concerned another person who had experienced analogous discrimination. Supposing that reading a vignette depicting a similar situation each respondent had experienced, and then pondering over emotions and thoughts of the figure in the story would influence group empathy, this study compared GEI of the experimental and control group. **<Figure 1>** on the following page shows the result.

<Figure 1> The Estimated GEI by Experimental Conditions



As can be seen in <Figure 1>, the average GEI of the treatment group was 3.52, which was 0.07 higher than the GEI of the control group. However, when we performed student t-test for checking the statistical significance, the evidence that the variances of the two groups are not different was needed. From the result of the Bartlett test analyzing homoscedasticity, this study could find that the p-value of 0.507 was not less than the significance level of 0.05. This result indicates that we could not reject the null hypothesis that each variance is identical for all groups. So, we could confirm that the GEI of the experimental group is higher ($t= 2.67$; $p < 0.01$) than that of the control group from the outcome of two-sample t-test with equal variances.

Meanwhile, the Group Empathy Index consists of cognitive and emotional subcomponent, which are related to perspective-taking and empathic concern each. For checking the effect of the experiment on each GEI sub-dimension, this study focused on the statistical significance of the differences using the separate t-test again. The average index difference between treatment and control group in both subset was 0.07 ($t= 2.59$; $p < 0.01$ for perspective-taking and $t=2.19$; $p < 0.05$ for empathic concern), which was equivalent to the overall GEI difference. Although the emotion-dimensional group empathy toward minorities was higher than that of cognitive-dimension, it can be said that the experimental effects themselves were identical.

In order to test the first hypothesis more precisely based on causal inference, additional verification was required. The net effect of the experiment could be confirmed with the presumption that the treatment and control group should be virtually identical. This assumption was that the distribution of variables that can affect the GEI should be almost the same, including demographic variables, political-psychological variables or any confounding variables. For checking this assumption, this study executed a balanced (randomization) check. **< Table 2 >** demonstrates the outcome of the balanced check using logistic regression.

< Table 2 > Balance of observable variables across experimental conditions

	Coef.	*SE*		Coef.	*SE*
Male	0.02	0.12	Party[c]		
Age	0.01	0.04	The Minjoo	0.26	0.15
District[a]			Liberty Korea	-0.13	0.23
PK	0.06	0.24	Bareun Mirae	0.12	0.28
TK	-0.09	0.16	Justice	0.32	0.25
HN	0.02	0.22	Others	1.01	0.61
CC	0.01	0.19	Political Ideology	0.15*	0.07
Others	-0.06	0.25	SDO	-0.72	0.56
House Income	0.01	0.03	RWA	0.31	0.39
Education	-0.01	0.11	Humanitarianism	-1.02	0.69
Religion[b]			Constant	-0.11	-0.94
Buddhism	-0.02	0.18			
Protestant	-0.17	0.16	LR chi2(23)		16.65
Catholic	0.09	0.20	Prob > chi2		0.8262
Others	0.91	0.86	Pseud R2		0.0109
			N		1106

Note: Coefficient and standard errors come from logistic regression. (* < 0.05)
[a] "Metropolitan" as a reference [b] "No religion" as a reference [c] "Independent" as a reference

Results of **< Table 2 >** where the dependent variable is experimental conditions indicated that the randomization was well-performed. If none of the independent variables – several sociodemographic characteristics and psychological traits which can affect group empathy of respondents - in the logistic regression model turns out to be statistically significant, it suggests that there are little differences between the treatment and control group. According to the result of the analysis, most of the p-

values associated with the regression coefficient was smaller than the conventionally used significance level (0.05), which means that the randomization was adequate. Although the coefficient of the ideology variable indicated that there was a condition-specific difference between the two groups, the outcome of t-test run without any controls did not reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference on political ideology ($t= 1.42$; $p= 0.156$). In other words, there was no difference in exogenous variables that could affect GEI between the two groups.

Hence, this study interpreted the GEI difference between the two groups as a causal effect of the experiment. Having said that, a series of process recalling one's experiences of discrimination and empathizing with other people who had experienced similar discrimination have brought about changes in the Group Empathy Index. Then, how significant was the effect of experimental stimuli? To answer this question, this study compared the size of the experimental effect with other variables' net effects. In this case, the regression of the GEI on group condition and several other variables is helpful.

Before the analysis, this study will briefly discuss several assumptions of the linear regression model. First, each explanatory variable (X) and the target variable (Y) should be linearly connected.

This linearity is a fundamental assumption in the structure of the regression model and is essential for accurate estimates. Second, the variance around the regression line should be identical for all values of the explanatory variables. If this homoscedasticity assumption is violated, it will undermine the effectiveness of prediction on account of its jagged distribution. Third, the residuals for each predictor variable should follow a normal distribution with a mean of zero. If the assumption of normality is not satisfied, it is hard to find a significant prediction interval. Forth, the residual errors should not be dependent on each other. The presence of correlation in error terms, which referred to as an auto-correlation, weaken the accuracy of the model.

Based on tests for examining each assumption; (1) Fitted values vs Residual plot for linearity (2) Breuch-Pagan test for homoscedasticity (3) Shapiro-Wilk test for normality (4) Dublin-Watson test for auto-correlation, this study found that residuals of the linear regression model of the GEI did not follow the assumption of homoscedasticity and normality. However, given the feature of the normal distribution that premises infinite ends, the violation of the normality assumption was not a problem, especially in the large sample. Also, the density plot of the model's residuals illustrated a nearly normal distribution shape. This

study conducted, therefore, a robust regression analysis which adjusts the standard error just considering the problem of heteroscedasticity. **<Table 3>** in the next page specifies the result. The table presents the OLS regression results for antecedents of the group empathy with coefficients and standard errors.

First, the results suggested the experiment condition could boost levels of the group empathy toward minority groups. The experimental condition positively predicted the GEI even after other confounding variables are fixed, which is supportive of the first hypothesis. The size of the effect was about 0.07 or 0.08, which was almost the same as the previous t-test result. More specifically, the first column of the **<Table 3>** shows the impact of sociodemographic factors on group empathy. The data reaffirmed the gender gap in terms of group empathy. Men have generally been reported to have lower empathy for others than women and are less likely to be motivated by the feeling. (Willer et al. 2015) Willer and his colleague interpreted that men are less concerned about others than women who had historically played the role of caregiver. The result of the regression analysis seemed to reflect this general trend.

< Table 3 > Antecedents of the group empathy for minorities

	Model 1 Socio-demographic		Model2 Psychological Traits		Model3 Full Model	
	Coef.	**SE**	**Coef.**	**SE**	**Coef.**	**SE**
Experimental Group	0.07**	0.03	0.08***	0.02	0.08 ***	0.02
Male	-0.08***	0.03			-0.06**	0.02
Age	0.00	0.01			-0.01*	0.01
Age^2	0.00	0.00			0.00*	0.00
District[a]						
PK	0.04	0.04			0.04	0.04
TK	0.05	0.03			0.03	0.03
HN	0.06	0.05			0.05	0.04
CC	-0.01	0.04			-0.01	0.03
Others	0.06	0.05			0.01	0.05
House Income	0.02***	0.01			0.01***	0.00
Education	0.02	0.02			0.00	0.02
Religion[b]						
Buddhism	0.00	0.04			0.03	0.03
Protestant	0.03	0.04			0.01	0.03
Catholic	0.14***	0.04			0.09*	0.04
Others	-0.13	0.16			-0.09	0.14
Party[c]						
The Minjoo			-0.01	0.03	0.00	0.03
LibertyKorea			-0.01	0.05	-0.02	0.05
BareunMirae			0.05	0.05	0.07	0.05
Justice			0.01	0.04	0.01	0.04
Others			0.08	0.09	0.08	0.09
Political Ideology			-0.02	0.01	-0.02	0.01
SDO			-0.84***	0.11	-0.82***	0.11
RWA			-0.09	0.07	-0.10	0.07
Humanitarianism			1.59***	0.12	1.49***	0.13
Constant	3.17***	0.17	2.91***	0.11	3.09***	0.17
N	1106		1106		1106	
R-squared	0.08		0.33		0.36	

Note: Coefficient and standard errors come from linear regression.
(* < 0.05 **<0.01 ***< 0.001) [a] "Metropolitan" as a reference
[b] "No religion" as a reference [c] "Indifferent" as a reference

Next, this study have found that household income was positively associated with GEI. Contrary to the previous study (Piff et al. 2012) which had reported that the compassionate feelings towards others decline as the social status of people heighten, the coefficient of the house income variable turned out positive. This paradoxical result could be explained by the characteristic of this study which measured the level of empathy towards minority groups; those who belong to high-income groups where competition over social status is relatively not fierce are more likely to empathize with other underprivileged. Plus, Catholic variable in the religion category was positively related to the GEI. Compared to those who do not have a religion, Catholics were more likely to empathize with the minority group, which seemed to reflect the doctrine that emphasizes concerns for underdogs of society.

The second column of <Table3> indicates the results of regression model which encompasses political and psychological variables, such as party identification, political ideology, social dominance orientation (SDO), right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), and humanitarianism. As we can find from significant coefficients (< .001), SDO was negatively related to the GEI while humanitarianism was negatively concerned with group empathy. Given that the dependent variable of this study deals

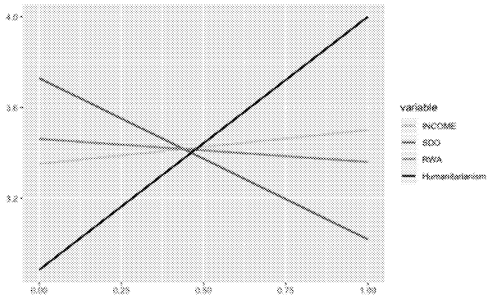
with the feeling toward social minority groups, individual political opinions (from conservative to liberal) had also been expected to be correlated with the GEI. However, there was no correlation between the GEI and political ideology after controlling other psychological predispositions.

The results of the second column also alluded to the difference between SDO and humanitarianism. Even though SDO can be interpreted as contrary to egalitarianism, it seemed to have a separate effect on the GEI from humanitarianism. Also, the extent of the effect was more considerable in humanitarianism than SDO. This can be interpreted that the tendency to concern about the well-being of others had more directly influenced empathy than the orientation that pursues the ambiguous value, social equality. On the other hand, RWA, which signifies the extent of obedience to strong authority, did not have any significant relationship with the GEI.

Finally, this study conducted a full-model regression which incorporates variables mentioned so far to compare the size of each significance more closely. In model 3 showing the significance of all variables, this study could affirm that all of the socio-demographic, political, and psychological variables noted earlier were still meaningful

even after controlling other confounding variables. In addition, the significance of the age variable was noticeable; it draws a U-shaped prediction line where the GEI declines until approximately 42 years old and then rises again.

< Figure 2> The GEI Estimates for the Main Variables Change



	SDO	HUM	INC
Min	3.73	2.89	3.35
25%	3.54	3.16	3.39
Median	3.37	3.43	3.43
75%	3.20	3.73	3.46
Max	3.01	4.00	3.50

Gender 3.41 → 3.35
Female → Male

Religion 3.41 → 3.50
No religion → Catholic

Coefficient of Experiment: 0.08

Based on the full model, the left side of **<Figure 2>** predicts how GEI changes as the percentile of each significant variable changes. The X-axis indicates the percentile of each variable and Y-axis signifies the predicted values of the Group Empathy Index. The graph presents the strong negative relationship between SDO and GEI and stronger positive association between humanitarianism and GEI. In the case of household income and RWA, the relation with GEI is relatively weak, and the latter is even statistically insignificant.

The information on the right side is the result of converting the left graph into numeric, which helps us check the size of the experimental effect (0.08) compared with the size of other variables. The effect of the experimental condition was similar to the effect in which household income changes from the bottom 25% to the top 25%, and similar to that of females (0.07) and Catholics (0.09) after controlling confounding variables. On the other hand, the effect of SDO or humanitarianism was more considerable than the experimental effects, suggesting the level of empathy toward minority group is mainly influenced by psychological predisposition such as social dominance orientation and the willingness to help others in need.

To sum up, this study confirmed that the GEI was higher in those who recalled their experiences of discrimination and empathized with those with similar experiences. Since randomization in experimental design controlled the effects of other confounding factors, it was possible to interpret GEI changes as a causal effect of experimental conditions. Although it does not cause dramatic changes such as psychological predispositions, the effect of the experimental condition - which is found statistically significant - substantiates that the first hypothesis is not false.

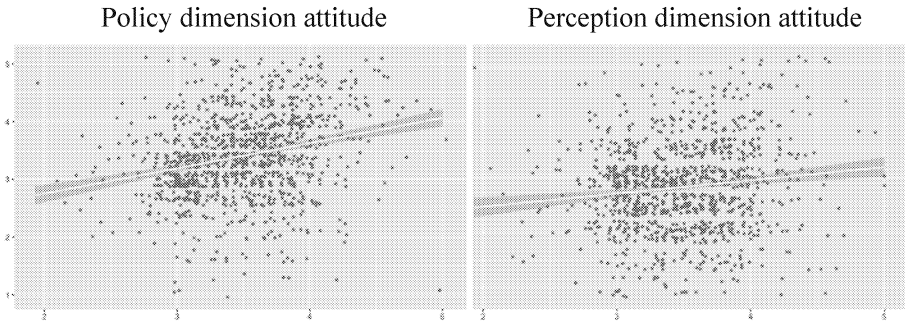
Chapter 5

How Expanded Empathy Influences Practical Attitudes towards the Minority Group

This study hypothesized that those who hold a higher level of group empathy towards minority groups are more likely to agree with policies that benefit minorities and to have a positive perception of specific social minorities. To be specific, this study considered non-standard workers as a representative minority group of South Korea. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this study tested the hypothesis using three items that measure how respondents agree to pro-labor (particularly for non-standard worker) policies, and two items that gauge general perceptions of non-standard workers. In the following, this study called the former outcome as the policy-dimension variable and the latter as the perception-dimension variable.

As the first step of testing the hypothesis that high GEI is connected to favorable views upon the non-standard workers, **<Figure 3>** depicts the linear relationship between GEI and two types of attitude on non-standard workers along with scatter plots. First, this study found the attitude on policies that is favorable to non-standard workers was positively associated with the group empathy toward minority groups. (β=0.43; <.001)

<Figure 3> The Alteration of Attitude on Non-standard Workers According to Changes in the GEI



Notes: The X-axis indicates GEI and the Y-axis specifies the attitude towards non-standard worker (measured from 1 to 5) The points on the scatter plot were jittered for visualizing the relationship among the variables whose scales are continuous but spaced.

Meanwhile, the second graph indicates that the general perception of non-standard workers changed favorably as the GEI increased, but the relationship was relatively weak (β=0.24; <.001). Taking a perspective of minorities and concerning the disadvantaged emotionally might help us not only conceive what would be a benefiting policy for them, but also see them without prejudices. Reflecting the linear outcomes in two types of attitude, the graphs above roughly illustrates these possibilities. However, it is too hasty to conclude that higher group empathy induces the generosity toward minorities.

As an intermediate step prior to diagnosing the causality of GEI, this study performed a robust multiple regression analysis which controls other variables that may affect attitudes and considered heteroscedasticity of residuals. **<Table 4>** shows the results of each regression; model 1 and 2 account for policy dimension attitude, while model 3 and 4 give the detail of general perception toward the non-standard worker. The models included the employment status variable together with a bunch of variables used in analyzing group empathy index. The coefficients of all continuous variables presented in the **< Table 4 >** were standardized in order to facilitate the comparison of variable sizes.

< Table 4 > Antecedents of the attitudes on non-standard worker

	Policy Dimension				Perception Dimension			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Group Empathy Index	0.19***	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.11***	0.03	-0.04	0.03
Male	-0.09*	0.04	-0.07	0.04	-0.01	0.05	0.01	0.05
Age	0.67***	0.15	0.37*	0.14	0.47**	0.18	0.27	0.17
Age^2	-0.66***	0.16	-0.37*	0.15	-0.46*	0.18	-0.26	0.18
District[a]								
PK	-0.06	0.09	-0.10	0.08	-0.05	0.10	-0.06	0.09
TK	0.01	0.06	-0.02	0.05	0.01	0.07	-0.02	0.06
HN	-0.05	0.08	-0.09	0.07	-0.08	0.09	-0.09	0.08
CC	0.00	0.07	-0.02	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.07
Others	0.16	0.09	0.07	0.08	0.14	0.10	0.05	0.09
House Income	-0.07**	0.02	-0.06**	0.02	-0.10***	0.03	-0.10***	0.02
Education	-0.01	0.02	0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.03	-0.01	0.02
Religion[b]								
Buddhism	-0.09	0.06	-0.03	0.05	-0.09	0.07	0.00	0.07
Protestant	-0.12*	0.06	-0.05	0.05	-0.07	0.06	0.01	0.06
Catholic	0.02	0.07	0.06	0.07	-0.03	0.09	0.03	0.08
Others	-0.08	0.29	0.01	0.20	0.00	0.19	0.05	0.10

Employment[c]								
Non-standard	0.19**	0.07	0.19**	0.07	0.12	0.08	0.11	0.08
Self-employed	0.14*	0.07	0.12	0.06	0.19*	0.08	0.15*	0.07
Unemployed	0.12	0.10	0.04	0.09	0.06	0.11	-0.01	0.09
Economic inactivity	0.00	0.06	-0.03	0.06	-0.01	0.07	-0.06	0.07
Party[d]								
The Minjoo			0.04	0.05			-0.02	0.06
Liberty Korea			-0.13	0.07			-0.11	0.09
Bareun Mirae			-0.19*	0.08			-0.10	0.11
Justice			0.21**	0.09			0.17	0.09
Others			-0.15	0.22			-0.26	0.17
Political Ideology			-0.10***	0.02			-0.06*	0.03
SDO			-0.27***	0.03			-0.27***	0.03
RWA			0.00	0.02			-0.10***	0.03
Humanitarianism			0.01	0.03			-0.02	0.03
Constant	3.43***	0.06	3.43***	0.05	2.80***	0.06	2.81***	0.06
R-squared	0.11		0.29		0.05		0.19	

Note: Standardized *Coef.* and *SE* come from robust linear regression. (* < 0.05 **<0.01 ***< 0.001)

[a] "Metropolitan" as a reference [b] "No religion" as a reference [c] "Standard worker" as a reference

[d] "Indifferent" as a reference

Focusing on policy preferences, model 1 and 2 shed light on the relationship between the GEI and the attitude towards non-standard workers. First, this study found that the group empathy was positively associated with a favorable attitude on non-standard workers in model 1. However, there was no statistical significance in the full model. Considering the fact that the GEI is strongly related to psychological predispositions, the effect of it might be blurred in the model which encompasses all variables. Indeed, the strong negative effect of SDO in model 2 (-0.27 < 0.001) might have counteracted the effects of the GEI.

Since the dependent variables covered how much the respondents agree with several policies, the model 2 involved the significance of the political opinion variables, such as party identification and political ideology. The result suggested that the more conservative the respondents are, the more unfavorable they are to pro-labor policies. (-0.10; < 0.001) In the same vein, this study understood the outcome that those who identified with the economically-conservative party, Bareun Mirae Party, are more likely to oppose the policies which assist non-standard workers (-0.19; < 0.05) than indifferent partisans. (contrary to the progressive party, Justice party; 0.21, $p < 0.01$)

In socio-demographic variables, age and income were significant. Age variable showed the inverted U-shape, which means the overall preference on pro-labor policies is low in both twenties and sixties. This outcome seemed to reflect the character of two generations that have been exposed to competition for jobs more than other generation. Also, the household income variable indicated a negative association with the dependent variable (-0.06; < 0.01), which could be interpreted as high-income status tends to prefer the perspective of employers. This result was in contrast to the fact that those who work as non-standard employees are in favor of the policies that benefit themselves (0.19; < 0.01).

Model 3 and 4, on the other hand, presented how each explanatory variable was related to the attitude reflecting general perceptions toward non-standard workers. First, the statistical significance of the GEI appeared only in the first model, like as in the previous analysis covering the policy dimension attitude. This result also could be interpreted as the strong effect of SDO (-0.27 < 0.001) eclipsing the effect between GEI and the dependent variable. The effect of the group empathy which was originally weak in size seemed to vanish in the model that include psychological predispositions.

In this perception dimension, the influence of political opinion variables was relatively small. The coefficient (-0.06; < 0.05) of political ideology was less than that in the policy dimension model. Also, this study could not find any statistical significance of party identification variable. This model indicated the statistical significance of RWA (-0.10; < 0.001), which can be interpreted as the inclination to protect the current legal and normative order was reflected in the perception of lowering non-standard workers. It is noteworthy that this RWA did not have much influence in policy dimension model. Finally, the perception-model informed us that the house income had a negative correlation with amicable perceptions toward non-standard workers (-0.10; <0.001).

In sum, the regression models examining how group empathy affects the attitudes on non-standard workers did not provide sufficient empirical evidence for the second hypothesis. There are two reasons for this. First, even though this study confirmed the positive correlation between them, such positive correlation was not found in the model that fixed the political and psychological variables. Second, simple regression analysis was unable to control all confounding variables which may have affected both dependent and independent variables, making it challenging to identify causality.

To supplement these problems and infer the causality, this study exploited the design of the experiment again. Looking back on the sequence of the survey questionnaires, this study insists that a series of treatments have affected the group empathy index but virtually have not influenced other variables. Plus, the experimental conditions and the attitude toward non-standard workers seem to be logically irrelevant. In this case, this study is able to regard the experimental condition variable as instrumental variable and to examine the causality by conducting two-stage least squares (2SLS) regression. **< Table 5 >** shows the results of 2SLS regression analysis, including variables estimated to affect both the GEI and attitudes.

< Table 5 > The result of 2SLS regression of attitude on group empathy

	Model 1 Policy-dimension		Model2 Perception-dimension	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Group Empathy Index	0.34**	0.12	-0.02	0.15
Male	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.06
Age	0.57***	0.16	0.28	0.18
Age^2	-0.61***	0.17	-0.26	0.19
House Income	-0.11***	0.03	-0.10*	0.03
Party[a]				
The Minjoo	0.03	0.05	-0.02	0.06
Liberty Korea	-0.09	0.07	-0.10	0.09
Bareun Mirae	-0.26**	0.09	-0.09	0.11
Justice	0.18*	0.09	0.16	0.09
Others	-0.27	0.22	-0.24	0.17
Political Ideology	-0.07**	0.02	-0.06	0.03
SDO	-0.14*	0.06	-0.27	0.07
RWA	0.01	0.03	-0.11***	0.03
Humanitarianism	-0.18*	0.08	-0.01***	0.09
Constant	3.39***	0.04	2.82***	0.04
N	1106		1106	
R-squared	0.28		0.18	

Note: Standardized *Coef.* and *SE* come from robust 2SLS regression. (* < 0.05 **<0.01 ***< 0.001)
The experimental condition (treatment vs control) is the instrumental variable.
[a] "No religion" as a reference

< Table 5 > shows the results of the instrumental regression using the fitted value of the regression dealing with the relationship between experimental conditions and group empathy. In model 1, we can check the coefficient of GEI is statistically significant. (0.34 $p<0.01$) Since the instrumental regression model premises that all exogenous confounding variables are virtually controlled, we are able to regard the coefficient and its significance as a causal effect. Also, in the logical sense, it is proper to interpret that higher GEI induces favorable attitude on the policies rather than to explicate as reverse-causality. Finally, this study argues this approach being adequate because the statistics which test the strength of instrument reject the null hypothesis that the instrument is weak (13.97; < 0.001) and the result of Wu-Hausman test rejects the statement that IV model is consistent with OLS model (6.55; <0.001).

As noted above, the analysis signifies that GEI leads to change in policy attitudes. We cannot confirm, however, the effect of GEI on overall recognition. The coefficient is not only insignificant but also has a negative, weak direction. This is because general perception towards non-standard workers is more influenced by other psychological disposition than group empathy for minorities. These findings suggest that even though the cognitive process of perspective-taking would drive

changes in policy preferences, it is hard to change the stereotype and perceptions formed by other orientations and circumstances. Unfortunately, grasping the detailed dynamics within this two-faced results is difficult due to the limitation of the study. Thus, we can partially set forth that those who are more empathize with minorities are more likely to agree on policies mitigating the problems of non-standard workers, a representative socially disadvantaged group in South Korea. This hypothesis also explains to some extent why the average policy preference is higher (diff.= 0.10) in the experimental group. (t=2.27; <0.05)

This study tested Hypothesis 1 to clarify the level of group empathy for minorities increases by the process of recalling one's discriminated experience and empathizing with people who faced similar discrimination. In addition, this study have confirmed that the group empathy index predicts the level of preference for pro-labor policies. This study have verified both relationships based on experimental results and found that each had a direct causal link. From now on, we will check whether GEI mediates the effect of the experimental treatment on the attitude on policies for non-standard workers. Because the previous analyses have been discovered to some extent, the causalities it is

relatively easy to identify the mediation effect. The left side of **< Table 6>** presents the mediation analysis results. Since the mediation effect (ACME) that equals to the total effect minus the direct effect is statistically significant, we can say that hypothesis 3 is not false.

< Table 6 > The analysis of the mediation effect of the group empathy index

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Experiment → GEI → Attitude(Policy)		Experiment → GEI → Attitude(Perception)	
	GEI	Attitude	GEI	Attitude
Treatment	0.07**	0.07	0.07**	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.05)
GEI		0.42***		0.26***
		(0.05)		(0.06)
F	6.83***	9.08***	6.83***	3.57***
N	1106	1106	1106	1106
R-squared	0.08	0.11	0.08	0.05
ACME	0.028***		0.017***	
ADE	0.065		-0.034	
Total effect	0.094***		-0.017	
Prop. Mediated	0.301*		-0.998	

Note: Coef. and *SE* come from regression analysis, which demonstrates the mediating effects of GEI linking experimental conditions with the attitudes toward non-standard workers. Model also include socio-demographic variables. (* < 0.05 **<0.01 ***< 0.00

Chapter 6

Conclusion

By the experiment, we have found that those who carried out a series of processes – 1) recalling the kind of discrimination they had experienced, 2) reading the vignettes of those who had experienced similar discrimination, and 3) deliberating on the situation and feelings of the figure in the anecdote – are more likely to empathize with minorities and the socially disadvantaged. In other words, the group empathy Index (GEI) for the overall minority group was higher in the experimental group, which signifies that the expansion of empathy becomes easier when considering the discrimination of others under reflecting the discrimination oneself has experienced. Of course, it is not easy for us to empathize with the underprivileged who seem to be remote from the "average" person. However, if we recognize discrimination as a universal phenomenon that is common enough to apply to all of us, the possibility of empathy expansion could be higher.

As such, this study embodied a way of reminding people that "all of us can be discriminated against" as a method to make people do not regard out-group members - including social minorities - as disparate groups and embrace them in the boundary of empathy. It is assumed that those who pondered the universality and ubiquity of discrimination and criticized the unfairness of discrimination can consider minorities as a more intimate being, while deviating from the previous practices which had divided, classified and defined surrounding people. Indeed, the result of this study indicates that group empathy for minorities is significantly higher in the treatment group than those who have not gone through any process.

These findings leave implications that can reduce discrimination and exclusion towards minorities nowadays, when social aversion become frequent and conflict between groups are constantly deepening. It seems to be more desirable to let people be informed that they could be classified as a minority at least once in their life or remind them that minority people are not different from ordinary people, rather than merely conveying the fact that minority groups need help or highlighting the difficulties minorities have encountered. The process of finding out the problems of minorities might be helpful to draw emotional responses,

but it has limitations in deriving long-term empathic responses. In this manner, the recent public campaign, which calls for the mitigation of the ageism, saying, "the old man who needs help today is me tomorrow" can contribute to solving the problems of discrimination.

On the other hand, this study examined how the improved empathy index is reflected in actual political reality, reviewing the attitude toward non-standard workers. Considering the unique positions of non-standard workers in the South Korean context, we divided the attitude on them into policy and cognitive dimensions for analysis. The former was measured based on how much the respondents agree to the policies benefiting for non-standard workers. The latter was measured through how much the respondents tolerate discrimination against non-standards under the meritocracy. The results of the analysis showed that increased group empathy contributed to the preference for policies which is favorable to non-standard workers. However, there was no significant change in perception dimension. When it comes to examining the relationship between each experimental condition and attitudes, the policy dimension showed statistical significance but did not in the perception dimension.

This result implies that the deliberation on the meaning of meritocracy in Korean society is necessary. According to the previous hypothesis, it was predicted that the sensitivity to fairness or justice would be relatively high in the respondents harboring increased empathy level for the minority by the experimental stimulus. Besides, we presumed that they would be more likely to express their antipathy toward actions that are unjust on someone discriminated. Since there are several unfair and unjust treatments behind discrimination generally, it could be assumed that those who perceive minority favorably - based on their empathic response on the discriminated - would have a critical view of unfairness. In addition, this study assumed that this aspect would affect the perception of minorities and opinions on policies protecting them.

As we mentioned before, however, the perception of non-standard workers was not much different even if the respondents belonged to the experimental group and whose GEI was high. A sizable number of the people who indicated empathy for the minority still defined non-standard workers as those who lost in their competition, and they thought that a series of differential (actually discriminatory) treatments given to them were reasonable. Based on these outcomes, we may report that group

empathy on minorities does not significantly affect the responsiveness towards justice or fairness. However, we can also say that those results are just reflecting the phenomenon of regarding a consequence of impartial competition *per se* as justice or fairness merely.

This ambivalent result implies that the deliberation on the meaning of meritocracy in Korean society is necessary afterwards. Under strong meritocracy, the perception of non-standard workers may be irrelevant to the degree of empathy for minority. Considering the social atmosphere which emphasizes effort and ability solely - without deliberation over 1) whether competition proceeds after providing equal opportunities to all, 2) whether the process of competition is not biased, and 3) whether the outcome of competition does not result in the exclusion of someone - discrimination against non-standard workers may not be regarded as unfair or unjust.

As mentioned above, this study provides implications associated with minority groups and non-standard workers in Korean society. The discussion of this study focusing on empathy towards the minority somewhat corresponds with the current trend, given that the demands to alleviate discrimination and reduce hate speeches on the disadvantaged gradually become increased. This study is also meaningful in that we

enunciated the importance of expanding the scope of empathy and suggests a strategy illuminating one's experience of discrimination as the way to that expanding, criticizing the claim blindly emphasizing empathy. Like the figurative meaning of empathy, we hope this study will become the basis of a long journey to walk together with a minority group by putting on the same shoes.

In the meantime, this study can also contribute to the research field covering empathy and discrimination. Along with the increased demand of empathy towards minorities in Korean society, various normative and ethical discussions have gone through, and considerable progress has been made in the domain of political science. Many scholars have suggested the specific kinds of values our society should aim for and the measurements that should be taken in order to realize its ideal. Furthermore, policy alternatives, including anti-discrimination laws, have been suggested based on each argument.

However, psychological discussions concerning how ordinary people like us perceive, comprehend and respond to the human rights of minorities have not been sufficiently developed. The political psychology research has tracked the macroscopic flow of public opinion mainly, but microscopic dynamics supporting the flow has not been

thoroughly discussed in South Korea. Thus, this study is meaningful as the starting step of political psychology research on minorities, discrimination, and empathy.

It is also noteworthy that this study conducted an analysis focusing on causal inference. The study tried to describe the logic of experiences of discrimination and the new appreciation of minorities being related to the improvement of empathy and the change of policy attitude, while keeping the causality in mind. Using randomized experiments and instrumental variable regression, this study strived to approach causality, which has become essential in a political psychology field recently. The conclusion drawn with this robustness in mind is helpful in working out practical plans as well as in establishing discussions that is to be covered in the future. Furthermore, this study reaffirms the availability of an internet-based survey experiment again, which is meaningful in the step closer to causal inference that is going to be gradually crucial in the political science field.

Despite these implications, however, there are limitations to this research. First, the stimulus given to the experimental group should have been more rigorous and precise. In this study, the experimental stimulus consists of three parts (recollection of discrimination experience, reading

of the vignette, contemplating the situation and emotion of the characters in the anecdote). All of these steps are similar in that they encourage respondents to recognize discrimination anew and facilitates empathy for minorities, but this step-by-step design entails a disadvantage that it can make the experimental condition vague. So to speak, it is hard to verify whether the increased GEI is a result of renewed appreciation of discrimination or only a response induced by the vignette provided for each treatment group members. In order to derive more clear results, it is necessary to grasp the net effect, after complementing these disadvantages.

Second, the analysis of this study has not been carried out in various ways. This study designed the experiment in a way that did not provide any stimulus with the control group. If the research were conducted in such a way of providing the control group members with a story containing contents different from the discrimination experience that they had selected or presenting newsletter that is not related to discrimination, it is considered that a more detailed analysis on expanding the scope of empathy could be possible. Besides, had we analyzed the attitudes on non-standard workers from various angles, it would have been possible to confirm the direct and indirect effect of

stimulation on each attitude sector. Also, checking the moderation effect in the description of the results can help get abundant implications according to each scenario.

Finally, it is regrettable that we paid attention only to non-standard workers as the representative minority group. Although non-standard workers can be regarded as a group that is discriminated against and has a unique meaning in Korean society, there are numerous socially disadvantaged minorities around us. Had this study covered the groups experiencing blatant or subtle social discrimination, such as immigrants or sexual minorities, the discussion and implications would have become more abundant. We wish that future studies will be carried out under complementing the drawbacks mentioned so far and hope that people can recognize minorities of our society as "those who are living together in the public spheres" without just dismissing it as "those who differ from us."

Appendix A

Survey Questions (in Korean)

1. 선생님의 성별은 어떻게 되십니까?

① 남성 ② 여성

2. 선생님의 연령은 어떻게 되십니까?

① 만 19 세 ② 20 대 ③ 30 대
④ 40 대 ⑤ 50 대 ⑥ 60 대
⑦ 70 대 이상

3. 다음 중 선생님의 거주지 (주민등록주소지 기준)는 어디입니까?

① 서울② 경기 ③ 인천 ④ 강원 ⑤ 부산⑥ 경남
⑦ 울산⑧ 대구 ⑨ 경북 ⑩ 광주 ⑪ 전남 ⑫ 전북
⑬ 대전⑭ 충남 ⑮ 충북 ⑯ 제주⑰ 세종

4. 이제 사회와 정치에 대한 선생님의 견해에 대해 몇 가지 여쭈어 보겠습니다.

4-1) 먼저, 다음의 각 의견에 대해서 어느 정도 찬성 또는 반대하시는지 말씀해주시기 바랍니다.

(Humanitarianism)

		전적으로 반대	상당히 반대	약간 반대	반대도 찬성도 아님	약간 찬성	상당히 찬성	전적으로 찬성
1	나보다 불행한 사람을 도울 수 있는 방법을 항상 모색해야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

2	구성원의 존엄과 안녕은 어느 사회를 막론하고 가장 중요한 관심사이다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3	도움이 필요한 사람을 돌보는 과정에 지나치게 관여하지 않는 편이 좋다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4	사람은 모름지기 타인의 안녕에 관심을 가져야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5	오늘날 사회 문제 중 하나는 서로에게 관용을 베풀지 않는 사람들의 모습이다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6	사람들은 필요 이상으로 다른 사람들의 행복에 관심을 기울이는 경향이 있다 .	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
※ 1 (전적으로 반대) 부터 7 (전적으로 찬성) 까지 숫자 중 하나를 골라주십시오 첫 느낌을 바탕으로 빠르게 선택하는 편이 좋습니다.								

4-2) 사람들은 집단과 집단 사이 관계가 어떠해야 하는지에 대해 다른 생각을 가지고 있습니다.

다음의 각 의견에 대해서 어느 정도 찬성 또는 반대하시는지 말씀해주시기 바랍니다. (SDO)

		전적으로 반대	상당히 반대	약간 반대	반대도 찬성도 아님	약간 찬성	상당히 찬성	전적으로 찬성
1	이상적인 사회를 이루기 위해서는 집단과 집단 사이 위계 질서가 필요하다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2	우리의 최종 목적이 모든 집단의 평등이 되어서는 안 된다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3	하위 계층에 해당되는 집단도 상위 계층 집단과 동등한 대우를 받아야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4	사회내 어떤 집단도 독점적 지위를 점해서는 안 된다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

5	모든 집단을 평등하게 만드려는 노력은 부당하다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6	특정 사람들로 구성된 집단은 단순히 다른 집단보다 열등할 수 있다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
7	우리는 모든 집단에게 평등한 기회가 주어질 수 있도록 힘써야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
8	우리는 서로 다른 집단에게 주어진 조건들이 평등할 수 있도록 할 수 있는 조치를 취해야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
※ 1 (전적으로 반대) 부터 7 (전적으로 찬성) 까지 숫자 중 하나를 골라주십시오. 첫 느낌을 바탕으로 빠르게 선택하는 편이 좋습니다.								

4-3) 사람들은 사회 질서에 대해 다른 생각을 가지고 있습니다.

다음의 각 의견에 대해서 어느 정도 찬성 또는 반대하시는지 말씀해주시기 바랍니다. (RWA)

		전적으로 반대	상당히 반대	약간 반대	반대도 찬성도 아님	약간 찬성	상당히 찬성	전적으로 찬성
1	우리나라를 망쳐놓고 있는 극단주의를 제압할 수 있는 강력한 지도자가 필요하다	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2	정부 권력에 비판적인 사람들은 국민들을 쓸데없이 혼란스럽게 만들 뿐이다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3	사회 혼란을 일으키는 사람들과 싸워 우리나라를 옳은 길로 되돌려 놓기 위해서라면 무력을 사용하는 것도 정당화될 수 있다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4	우리나라에 진정으로 필요한 것은 폭넓은 인권 보장이 아니라 좀더 강력한 법질서이다	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5	권위에 대한 순종과 존경은 우리 아이들이 배워야 할 가장 중요한 덕목이다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

6	우리의 가치관과 법질서를 보존하기 위해서는 우리 사회의 문제 집단들을 강력히 척결해야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
7	우리나라에 가장 필요한 것은 국가 지도층의 인도에 잘 따르는 질서정연한 국민들이다.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

※ 1 (전적으로 반대) 부터 7 (전적으로 찬성) 까지 숫자 중 하나를 골라주십시오. 첫 느낌을 바탕으로 빠르게 선택하는 편이 좋습니다.

다음 5 번 문항은 응답자 샘플을 랜덤하게 A 그룹과 B 그룹으로 나누어 진행합니다. A 그룹에 해당하는 응답자만 5 번 문항에 응답합니다. B 그룹에 해당하는 응답자는 곧바로 6 번 문항으로 넘어갑니다.

5 번 문항에서 응답자가 차별 사유 하나를 골랐다면, 그에 해당하는 이야기 하나를 각 사유에 맞추어 제공합니다. 예컨대 응답자가 2 번 연령에 의한 차별을 골랐다면 (2)번 최상철 씨의 일화가 주어지는 방식입니다. 문항을 읽은 응답자는 질문 5-1 과 5-2 를 잇따라 응답합니다. 6 번 문항부터는 랜덤 분할 없이 모든 응답자가 같은 문항을 응답합니다.

5. 다음은 한국 사회에서 대부분의 사람들이 경험할 수 있는 차별 사유입니다. "차별"은 부당한 대우, 멸시와 조롱, 선입견, 맹목적 기피와 비난 등을 일컫는데요. 그렇다면 선생님게서는 아래 사유 중, 최근 무엇으로 인한 차별을 가장 빈번하게 경험하셨습니까?
(해당되는 경험이 없다면, 가족을 비롯한 가까운 분들이 경험한 차별을 골라주십시오)

① 성별에 의한 차별 (여성, 임신/출산, 남성, 성정체성, 성적 지향 등)
② 연령에 의한 차별 (노인, 어린이, 나이의 많고 적음 등)
③ 사회적 지위에 의한 차별 (소득, 재산, 주거형태, 출신/거주지, 가족형태, 범죄경력 등)
④ 신체적 특징에 의한 차별 (장애, 외모, 질병, 식이습관 등)
⑤ 교육 수준에 의한 차별 (검정고시, 초졸, 중졸, 고졸, 지방대졸, 전문대졸 등)

다음은 OOO (전 문항에서 응답자가 고른 선택지) **에 의한 차별을 경험한 사람의 이야기입니다. 글을 읽고 이어지는 물음에 응답해 주시기 바랍니다.**

① 성별에 의한 차별

11 년 동안 S 사 재무직으로 근무해 온 정슬기(35) 씨는 둘째 임신 이후 큰 고민에 빠졌다. 몇 해 전 사용했던 육아휴직을 또 다시 신청할 엄두가 나지 않아서다. 첫째 아이를 출산했을 당시, 2 년간 육아휴직을 쓰고 복직한 그가 처음 마주한 건 성과급 차별이었다. 휴직이 인사고과 불이익으로 반영된 탓에 임금 인상 역시 포기할 수밖에 없었다. 중소기업에 다니는 남편 역시, "남자가 육아 휴직을 쓰려거든 승진은 단념하라"는 주변 눈총을 받은 바 있어 휴직계를 내기 어려운 실정이다. 정 씨 부부는 "우리나라에서 아이를 갖는 일은 죄 짓는 일처럼 여겨진다"며 씁쓸한 심경을 전했다.

② 연령에 의한 차별

지난해 회사로부터 희망퇴직 제안을 받은 최상철(60) 씨는 근속연수가 짧았던 탓에 충분한 퇴직금과 연금을 수령할 수 없었다. 노후 자금 마련이 시급했지만, 고연령 노동자를 과소평가하거나 편견 어린 시선으로 바라보는 분위기 탓에 민간 부문 재취업은 쉽지 않았다. 그는 현재 지역 복지관에서 시행하는 단기 일자리 사업에 등록, 경로당 급식 도우미로 근무하며 월 30 만 원 남짓을 받고 있다. 최 씨는 "생활고도 생활고지만, '세금 축내며 청년 일자리를 빼앗는다'는 볼멘소리와 '틀딱', '꼰대' 등의 혐오 표현이 삶을 더욱 외롭고 버겁게 한다"며 씁쓸한 심경을 전했다.

③ 사회적 지위에 의한 차별

서울 종로구 S 빌딩에서 경비원으로 근무하는 김영일(58) 씨는 건물 소재 회사 직원들의 '갑질'로 고충을 겪고 있다. 갈등은 시설관리를 담당해 온 그가 택배 대리수령 업무까지 맡게 되면서 비롯됐다. 운송장에 적힌 정보로는 부서 위치를 알기 어려워 경비실에 물건을 보관해 두었는데, 일부 직원들은 자신의 자리까지 가져다주지 않았다는 이유로 그에게 인상을 찌푸리곤 했다. 괜스레 "불량한 청소 상태"를 흠잡으며 폭언을 일삼는 경우도 있었다. 김 씨는 "부당함을 호소하려 해도 고용 형태가 바뀔지도 모른다는 염려 탓에 섣불리 말할 수 없다"며 씁쓸한 심경을 전했다.

④ 신체적 특징에 의한 차별

윤수빈(41) 씨에게 2006 년 겨울은 예상치 못한 악몽의 시작이었다. 이불에 튄 작은 불꽃이 화근이었다. 삽시간에 번진 불길은 그의 얼굴과 목, 상반신을 순식간에 할퀴고 지나갔다. 사고 후 병원에서 18 개월 동안 중증 화상 치료를 받고 퇴원했지만 그의 삶은 이전과 완전히

달라졌다. 졸업 후, 사회 복지사로 근무하기를 원했지만 실습을 할 수 없었던 탓에 꿈을 접을 수밖에 없었다. 면접을 볼 때마다 "화상 환자를 보면 시설에 있는 사람들이 너무 힘들어할 것"이라는 답변만 돌아왔다. 윤 씨는 "외모지상주의가 만연한 사회에서 화상 환자를 바라보는 시선은 사회적 사형선고나 다름없다"며 씁쓸한 심경을 전했다.

⑤ 교육 수준에 의한 차별

올해 지방소재 사립대를 졸업한 이민호(26) 씨는 공기업 취업을 준비중이다. 입사경쟁이 심하지만 사기업에 비해 지방대 차별이 조금은 덜하지 않을까하는 기대가 있어서다. 화학 공학을 전공했으나 "기름집(정유회사)은 학벌을 따지니 지방대를 염두에 두지 않는다"는 주변 말을 들은 터라, 전공을 살린 취업은 일찌감치 포기했다. 하물며 일부 공공기관에서조차 학교에 따라 성적 가중치를 달리 적용했다는 정황이 드러나면서 고심은 깊어지고 있다. 이 씨는 "학벌은 마치 등급표 같다"며 "입사 이후에도 비하의 대상이 될까 염려된다"고 씁쓸한 심경을 전했다.

5-1) 선생님께서 이야기 속 인물과 같은 처지에 놓인다면, 다음 중 어떤 감정을 느끼실 것 같습니까?

① 비애, 슬픔 ② 분노, 화남 ③ 우려, 걱정됨 ④ 좌절, 낙담함 ⑤ 진저리, 싫증남

5-1-1)해당 감정의 크기는 어느 정도일까요?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨

별반 크지 않다 보통이다 매우 크다

5-2) 선생님께서 이야기의 당사자가 된다면, 어떻게 대응하실 것 같습니까? (복수 응답 가능)

① 차별 경험을 알리지 않고 참는다.
② 주변 동료에게 차별 경험을 알리고 도움을 요청한다.
③ 신문, 방송, 유튜브 등 언론기관에 차별 경험을 제보한다.
④ 국민청원 게시판, 국가인권위 진정민원, 정당, 시민 단체 등 정치 기구를 통해 차별 경험을 알린다.
⑤ 차별 가해자나 기관을 법적 고발한다.

----------샘플 분할 끝----------

6. 선생님께서는 다음 진술들이 본인을 얼마나 잘 설명한다 생각하십니까? (Group Emathy Index)

	나는 ~	전혀 아니다	다소 아니다	보통	다소 그러함	매우 그러함
1	사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단을 둘러싼 이슈를 포함한 모든 사회적 쟁점에는 찬성과 반대가 있으므로 양측 생각 모두를 두루 헤아리는 편이다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
2	때때로 나와 다른 집단, 특히 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단에 속한 사람들의 관점을 이해하기가 어렵다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
3	다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단으로부터 불편한 감정을 느낀 경우, 잠시나마 그들 입장이 되어보려 노력한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
4	결정을 내리기 이전, 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단 의견을 포함한 모든 반대측 의견을 살피려고 노력한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
5	이따금 다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단이 세상을 바라보는 시각을 떠올리며, 그들을 더욱 잘 이해하려 노력한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
6	내 생각이 타당하다는 생각이 들 때, 다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단에서 내세우는 주장들을 경청하는 데 많은 시간을 쓰고 싶지 않다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
7	다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단에 속한 누군가를 비판하기 이전에, 만약 내가 그 상황에 놓였다면 어떤 기분일지 상상하려 노력한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
8	나보다 불우한 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단에게 이따금 애정 어린 관심이 생기곤 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
9	다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단에게 어떤 문제가 생겼다고 할지언정, 애석한 마음이 들지 않는	①	②	③	④	⑤

	경우가 있다.					
10	어떤 사회적 약자/ 소수자가 속한 집단의 특성 때문에 누군가로부터 이용 당하는 것을 보면, 그들을 보호하고 싶은 생각이 든다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
11	다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단 구성원이 속한 집단 속성 탓에 부당한 대우를 받는다 하더라도, 그들을 딱하게 여기지 않을 때가 있다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
12	다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단 구성원에게 관용을 베푸는 편이라 말할 수 있다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
13	사회적 약자/ 소수자가 속한 집단 특성으로 인해 어떤 문제를 겪었다는 사실을 마주할 때, 마음이 꽤 움직이곤 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
14	다른 사회적 약자/ 소수자 집단이 겪는 불행은 내 마음을 그다지 불편케 하지 않는다.	①	②	③	④	⑤

7. 다음은 우리 사회 비정규직 노동자를 바라보는 입장들입니다. 선생님께서는 각 진술에 어느 정도 동의하십니까? (Attitudes on Non-Standard Workers)

		전혀 동의 X	별로 동의 X	보통	다소 동의	매우 동의
1	비정규직에 대한 차별은 개인의 능력보단 왜곡된 노동 구조에서 비롯된 것이므로 "동일 노동 동일 임금" 원칙을 지켜야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
2	정규직이 비정규직보다 좋은 조건으로 근무하는 것은 채용 단계까지 개인이 기울여 온 노력에 대한 보상이다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
3	공공부문 정규직화는 자회사 설립이나 무기계약직 전환이 아닌, 직접 고용 방식으로 진행되어야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤

4	기업 활동의 자유를 보장하기 위해 비정규직 노동자 문제는 개별 기업에게 자율적으로 맡겨야 한다.	①	②	③	④	⑤
5	단순 업무를 담당하는 파견직 노동자까지 정규직으로 전환하는 일은 막대한 사회적 비용을 초래할 여지가 있어 바람직하지 않다.	①	②	③	④	⑤

9. 선생님 댁의 한 달 가구소득은 얼마나 되나요? 가족 구성원 전체의 월급, 상여금, 은행이자 등을 모두 포함하여 개략적으로 말씀해 주세요.

① 100 만원 미만 ② 100-199 만원 ③ 200-299 만원 ④ 300-399 만원
⑤ 400-499 만원 ⑥ 500-599 만원 ⑦ 600-699 만원 ⑧ 700-799 만원
⑨ 800-899 만원 ⑩ 900-999 만원 ⑪ 1,000 만원 이상

10. 학교를 어디까지 마치셨나요?

① 무학 ② 초등(국민)학교 졸업 ③ 중학교 졸업
④ 고등학교 졸업 ⑤ 대학교 졸업(2~4 년제) ⑥ 대학원 졸업(석/박사)

11. 정치에서 사람들은 보통 진보와 보수를 구분합니다. 0부터 10까지 눈금 중에서 선생님께서는 자신이 어디에 속한다고 생각하십니까? 0은 매우 진보를 나타내며, 10은 매우 보수를 나타냅니다)

(0) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10)

매우 진보 중 도 매우 보수

12. 선생님께서는 다음 정당 중 어느 정당을 비교적 가깝게 느끼십니까?

① 더불어민주당	② 자유한국당	③ 바른미래당
④ 정의당	⑤ 민주평화당	⑥ 우리공화당
⑦ 민중당	⑧ 기타	⑨ 없음

13. 선생님은 어떤 종교를 믿고 계십니까?

① 불교	② 개신교	③ 천주교
④ 이슬람교	⑤ 기타	⑥ 무교

14. 선생님의 현재 고용 상태는 어떻게 되십니까?

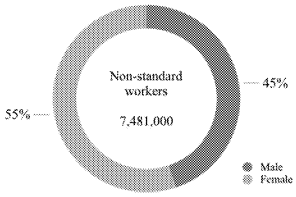
① 정규직 근로
② 비정규 근로 (기간제, 시간제, 일용직, 용역직, 파견직. 특수형태근로 등)
③ 자영업
④ 구직, 실업 (지난 4주간 적극적인 구직 활동을 수행하였으나 일을 하지 않는 상황)
⑤ 비경제활동 (육아, 가사, 재학, 연로, 심신장애 등으로 구직을 희망치 않는 경우)

Appendix B

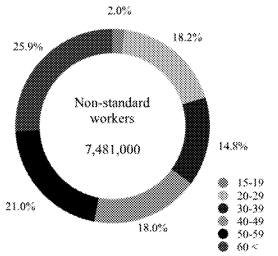
Working conditions of non-standard workers

Average job tenure	Regular	7 Y 10 M
	Non-standard	2 Y 5 M
Weekly working hours[a]	Regular	38.8 hours
	Non-standard	30.8 hours
Average monthly salary[b]	Regular	₩ 3,165,000
	Non-standard	₩ 1,729,000
Social insurance enrollment rate		
Health insurance	Regular	91.5 %
	Non-standard	48.0 %
Employment insurance	Regular	87.2 %
	Non-standard	44.9 %
National pension	Regular	87.5 %
	Non-standard	37.9 %
Labor welfare recipients rate		
Retirement allowance	Regular	91.7 %
	Non-standard	42.9 %
Overtime allowance	Regular	60.9 %
	Non-standard	25.9 %
Paid leave	Regular	80.1 %
	Non-standard	33.0 %
Bonus/ Compensation	Regular	86.4 %
	Non-standard	38.2 %
Vocational Training	Regular	61.0 %
	Non-standard	41.3 %
Labor Union Registration	Regular	17.6 %
	Non-standard	3.0 %
Contract with the written format	Regular	74.3 %
	Non-standard	66.3 %

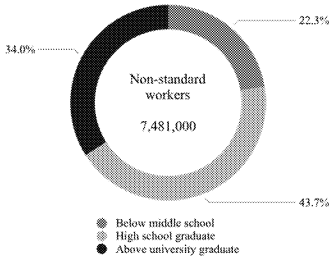
→ Gender distribution of non-standard workers



→ Age distribution of non-standard workers



→ Final education distribution of non-standard workers



Note: [a] The figures average the working time of all non-standard workers, including "part-time" job. The working hours of untypical workers are 35.5 and temporary workers work for 32.3 [b] The average wage of non-standard workers after excluding part-time jobs is ₩ 2,314,00 c.f. Temporary workers: ₩ 1,860,000 / Untypical workers: ₩ 1,858,000

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국문초록

본 연구는 소수자에 대한 공감을 증진시키는 요인으로 각 개인이 경험한 사회적 차별을 주목한다. 기억상기 실험설문을 이용한 분석결과는 자신이 경험한 차별을 회상하고, 비슷한 경험을 한 사람들의 생각과 감정을 헤아려 본 사람일수록 사회적 약자 및 소수자 집단 전반에게 공감할 가능성이 높아짐을 보여준다. 또한 본 연구는 한국의 대표적 소수자 집단인 비정규직 노동자에 대한 태도를 중심으로 제고된 공감의 실제 효과를 검증한다. 분석 결과, 소수자에 대한 높은 공감 수준을 지닌 사람들일수록 친(親) 비정규직 정책을 선호함이 확인되었다. 반면 해당 경향이 비정규직 일반에 대한 인식 변화로는 이어지지 않는 것으로 나타났다. 이러한 결과는 사회적 차별의 보편성과 편재성에 대한 재인식이 소수자의 관점과 감정을 이해하는 과정에서 유의미한 역할을

수행할 수 있음을 시사한다. 본 연구는 뚜렷한 정체성을 공유하는 특정 집단 구성원 상간의 공감 확장만을 살폈던 선행 연구의 한계를 보완하고 인과적 추론을 바탕으로 차별 경험 환기의 효과와 관련한 경험 증거를 마련하였다는 점에서 의의가 있다.

주요어: 공감, 사회적 차별, 소수자, 비정규직, 집단공감이론

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