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A Doctor of Philosophy in Education

**The Effects of Empathic Perspective-taking
in Reducing Prejudice against Cultural
Diversity in Elementary Schools**

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The Effects of Empathic Perspective-taking in Reducing Prejudice against Cultural Diversity in Elementary Schools

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the current study is to examine the effect of inducing empathy by perspective-taking in reducing prejudice against culturally diverse children.

Participants were 90 elementary school students (53.3% female) in Songpa-Gu, Seoul in Korea. They were all 6th grade, ages ranged from 11 to 12(M= 11.05, SD= 0.23). Songpa-Gu is one of the regions which culturally diverse population is smallest in Seoul. Therefore it is expected that almost students didn't have experience relationship with culturally diverse children, it would be easier to control the relationship experience than other region.

To assess prejudice level against culturally diverse children, Multicultural Acceptance Inventory for Korean children (Kim, 2010) was used. Kim suggested that Multicultural Acceptance is meaning behave appropriately in culturally diverse condition without prejudice neither stereotype, and this is consistent with the prejudice concept in the current study.

After the pilot test, the present study consisted of four steps. First, pre-assessment on the level of prejudice, and after 7~10 days from pre-test, participants were to watch a video clip about culturally diverse child describe her experience. Next, participants took post-assessment on the level of prejudice.

Lastly, participants took follow-up prejudice assessment. The manipulation methods are as follow. All participants watched exactly the same contents of video about a culturally diverse child describing her experience because her ethnicity. Participants in group A for inducing empathy by perspective-taking, watched video clip included crying scene with direction for perspective-taking. Group B for emotional contagion watched video 'B' that show all scenes of the girl's story included crying scene without direction. The participants watched her facial expression, and would feel emotion about her or feel distress like her without any direction. Group C watched video 'C' which didn't include crying scene without any direction. The other part of video is exactly same with video 'B', but crying scene was replaced with a description of the subtitle.

The results shown as follow. First, group A (empathic perspective-taking) participants reported the lowest prejudice level($M=6.53$, $SE=.228$) than the other two groups. Group B(emotional contagion)'s result($M=7.14$, $SE=.228$) was similar with group A, but the attitude change was smaller than group A. Interestingly, the post-test prejudice level was increased in control group C($M=8.39$, $SE=.228$). This means that without empathic elements, not only intervention cannot work on the increase a positive attitude, but also it indicates the negative impact.

Second, inducing empathy by perspective-taking was the only effective intervention to make true attitude change in follow-up prejudice assessment. Even though the effect was not much different with emotional contagion at first, there were significant differences between emotional contagion ($M=7.88$, $SE=.220$) and empathic perspective-taking effects ($M=6.90$, $SE=.220$) after 4~5 weeks. Thus, the present study provides the meaningful information for developing anti-prejudice, multicultural education and counseling for children.

Keywords : prejudice, culturally diverse children, multicultural family, empathy,
multicultural children, perspective-taking, emotional contagion

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

The 19th general elections in Korea on April 2012 garnered a lot of attention because Jasmine Lee, an immigrant from the Philippines, became a congress member of the Saenuri Party. Her candidacy was in line with the goal to draw more support from foreign residents in Korea, as she pledged to make efforts to abolish prejudice against multicultural families. Since then, however, Jasmine Lee has become a target for online racist attacks. Some bloggers and tweeters have said Lee's election will pave the way for interracial families to gain more benefits at the expense of Koreans and produce more illegal aliens. Some bloggers denounced the government's multiculturalism policies. "Unlike the United States or China, Korea has been a racially homogenous country. I don't know why we need multiculturalism. I don't understand why a small country like Korea accepts immigrants and allows them to threaten our livelihoods, and I don't know why politics takes the lead."(April 15, 2012. The Korea Times)

As shown in the above case, Korea has been rapidly changing into a multicultural society with the proportion of the culturally diverse population increasing (e.g. international marriage immigrants, foreign workers, and foreign students). However, many Koreans are still not responding properly to such societal transformation. Although the number of foreign workers have reached to about 594,875, and the number of international marriage immigrants to more than 145,604 (Korea Immigration Service, 2012.3), many Koreans do not have positive attitude toward culturally diverse people. Many multicultural people living in Korea remain at low SES status (Mo, 2007) and experience a great deal of prejudice and discrimination (Cho, 2006; Joo, 2011; Jun, & Song, 2011; Hahn, 2009; Hahn, 2011).

Children of culturally diverse background are not immune to serious prejudice and stereotypes. According to Phinney and Rotheram (1987), children come to school with many negative attitudes toward and misconceptions about racial and ethnic groups different from their own. In Korea, many students consider their Korean race as a single-blooded one, and hold ethnic prejudice (Shim, 2010). According to Seol's study (2006) on the perception of multicultural children's nationality and ethnicity, only 68.0 percent of Koreans answered that multicultural children's nationality is Korean. Only 54.4 percent of the respondents viewed multicultural children to be part of the Korean race. In

contrast, 97.3 percent of internationally married immigrants thought their children's nationality to be Korean, and 97 percent of them answered that their children are of the Korean race. Obviously, there are significant disparities between the perceptions of the two groups (Seol, 2006). Similarly in a study on elementary school student's attitudes toward multicultural children, Shim (2009) found that children showed discriminatory attitudes toward multicultural people and foreigners, and that children's ethnic preferences varied depending on the country involved.

Research has found common patterns in the experiences of culturally diverse children regarding prejudice and discrimination. Common stereotypes projected on them include identity confusion arising from their multicultural parents and their appearance different from others, problems in language development due to lack of linguistic stimuli during the critical period, problems in social and character development due to passive interaction with peers, problems of mental anguish due to exposure to prejudice (e.g. "you are poor because your mother is from a poor country") and bullying by peers (Seo & Lee, 2007).

These unreasonable thoughts and attitudes for particular groups, namely prejudice and discrimination, bring damage to culturally diverse children's mental health (e.g. Coker et al., 2009; Lynch, 1992; Sodowsky & Lai,

1997; Kim, 2009; Park, 2008; Kim 2008; Oh, 2005) and could be an obstacle for them in becoming a desirable member of community. Addressing these difficulties faced by culturally diverse students has become an urgent task of Korean public schools.

In light of such situation, what direction should multicultural education take? Banks (1995) describes the dimensions of multicultural education in five overlapping areas: Content Integration, Knowledge Construction, Prejudice Reduction, Equity Pedagogy, and Empowering School Culture and Social Structure. Among them, Prejudice Reduction is an important dimension because it involves changing the students' attitudes towards the differences in race and ethnicity – ultimately creating a "more positive racial and ethnic attitudes" (Banks, 1997).

Next important question would then be: what attempts have been made to lower prejudice against culturally diverse children? Empathy has been mentioned as one of the important factors reducing prejudice and improving attitudes toward a group (Allport, 1954; Byrnes & Kiger, 1990, 1992; Batson et al., 1997, 2002; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Johnson, 1999; Finaly & Stephan, 2000; Stephan & Finaly, 1999; Vescio, Sechrist & Paolucci, 2003).

Empathy is the ability to feel or imagine another person's emotional experience (Kim, 2008; McDonald & Messinger, 2011), and perspective-taking

is the one of the prominent element for empathic responses (Singer, 2009). There are similar terms like mimicry, emotional contagion, empathic concern, sympathy, and compassion with empathy. Shamay-Tsoory and colleagues (2009) have suggested a model that distinguishes between two types of empathy, cognitive and emotional, by separate neuroanatomical systems in brain, and a few other studies support this model (e.g. Smith, 2006; Davis, 1996). According to Shamay-Tsoory's model (2009), and many studies (e.g. de Waal, 2008; Hatfield, Cacioppo & Rapson, 1994) emotional empathy involves emotional contagion, personal distress, empathic concern and emotion recognition. On the other hand, cognitive empathy involves perspective-taking, theory of mind and mentalizing (e.g. Davis, 1996; Smith, 2006; Staub, 1987; Whiten, 1991).

Although emotional contagion and perspective-taking are both highly relevant to empathic response, their traits are very different. Emotional contagion is a more automatic and basic than perspective-taking. For instance, babies show emotional contagion in response to the distress of another individual (Singer, 2006). However, perspective-taking ability only becomes available later, during childhood and adolescence (Hoffman, 1977; Preston and de Waal, 2002; Shamay-Tsoory, 2009). Despite the various views about empathy, most scholars have consensus that empathy seems to play an important role for increasing positive attitudes. Thus, many scholars have investigated the effects of

perspective-taking or emotional contagion for reducing prejudice, too.

However, studies that have utilized empathy for reducing prejudice are rare in Korea. Although many research are dedicated to developing anti-prejudice programs toward culturally diverse children, few studies specify which elements are needed for the program and how to apply them. Therefore, the present study seeks to examine the effect of empathy in reducing prejudice against culturally diverse children among Korean children. To examine the real attitude change, pre-, post- and follow up assessments were performed. Empathy via emotional contagion and perspective-taking was examined to see how effective empathy is in reducing prejudice in children.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions and hypotheses for this study are as follows:

Research Question 1: Does induced empathy work well in reducing prejudice toward the stigmatized target group in children?

Hypothesis 1-1: Participants of group A with induced empathy via perspective-taking will show lower prejudice against culturally diverse children than the participants of group B (emotional contagion).

Hypothesis 1-2: Participants of group A with induced empathy will show lower prejudice against culturally diverse children than those in the control group C.

Research Question 2: Does induced empathy produce durable changes in attitude?

Hypothesis 2-1: Induced empathy will be associated with more durable changes in attitudes than emotional contagion.

Hypothesis 2-2: Induced empathy will produce more durable changes in attitudes compared to the control group.

Definition of Terminology

Culturally Diverse Children

Children from families of international backgrounds and cultures, with a Korean father and a migrant mother, or a Korean mother and a migrant father, or both parents who are migrants, such as migrant workers. The present study excluded North Korean defectors, because this study is focused on ethnicity.

Prejudice

An antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group (Allport, 1954, p.9).

Empathy

An other-oriented emotional response congruent with another's perceived welfare; if the other is oppressed or in need, empathic feelings include sympathy, compassion, tenderness, and the like (Bastson et al., 1997, p. 105).

Perspective-taking

The ability to entertain the perspective of another has long been recognized as a critical ingredient in proper social functioning (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000, p. 708).

Emotional contagion

The tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person's and, consequently, to converge emotionally (Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson ,1994, p. 5).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Prejudice

What is Prejudice?

Prejudice is a positive or negative attitude toward an individual based on his or her membership in a religious, racial, ethnic, political, or other group. Allport defined the characteristics of prejudice as following: "prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group"(p.9). According to *The Nature of Prejudice* (Allport, 1954), "ethnic" prejudice have two essential ingredients : hostility and rejection and these are evoked based on the target individual's membership in a group.

Ehrlich(1973) summarized 16 definitions of prejudice from studies published from 1950 to 1966 of highly regarded social psychologists. Almost the definitions have the common elements: That is an unfavorable attitude directed

against others because of their membership in a group.

Prejudice is composed by three dimensions, including affective , cognitive and behavior components. In other words, the negative attitude expressed based of dislike about out-group, the attribution of negative characteristics and negative behavior (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Thus, it can influence one's emotions and behavior, leading to discrimination. Usually prejudice takes the form of stereotypes, overall impressions based on the assumption that all members of a target group possess similar attributes.

A Typical Prejudice, Ethnic and Racial prejudice

Ethnic and racial prejudice relate to various social problems such as peer bullying, discrimination, crimes, and even international conflicts (e.g. Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005), and discrimination is a negative behavior against others based on arbitrary characteristics (Allport, 1954).

There are many kind of discrimination such as employment (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2000; McConahay, 1986), housing, legal and medical disparity issues (Blumstein, 1982; Moy, Dayton & Clancy, 2005; Sabol, 1989; Smedley, Stith & Nelson, 2002; Sweeney & Haney, 1992; van Ryn, 2002), and safety (Correll, Park, Judd, Wittenbrink, 2002) toward minorities.

According to Dovidio and Gaertner(2000), there is significant bias

toward African American candidates than White candidates with the same qualified. And this result is similar with McConahay (1986)'s study. He reported that culturally diverse people have smaller chance of being hired for a job than White candidate with an equally qualified.

Housing issue in the United States is another critical problem by prejudice. Many African American and Hispanic homeowners were never offered the fixed-rate loans option regardless of income (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, 2007).

Stereotyping and racial prejudice provide negative effects on legal punishment (Blumstein, 1982; Sabol, 1989;), and medical services (Moy et al., 2005; Smedley et al., 2002; van Ryn, 2002), too. A meta analysis study about mock jurors' decisions of punishment reported that African American defendants were served significantly higher penalty than White defendants (Sweeney & Haney, 1992). The researchers consider that African Americans convicted of violent crimes may bring out negative stereotypes, and it affects penalty. In the medical treatment and diagnosis, there remains a gap between Whites and minorities. Culturally diverse patients receive poorer treatment than Whites (Moy et al., 2005; Smedley et al., 2002; van Ryn, 2002). According to Pylypiv and Ferraro(2005), African American patients were less likely to be admitted to cardiac care units and when admitted were expelled earlier than their

White opposite number.

Racial prejudice can also effect the personal safety of target group members at risk. In one study, participants were asked to shoot a person onscreen if he or she held a gun in video game. And researchers found participants set a lower standards for shooting African Americans than for Whites (Correll et al., 2002).

What are the causes of racial prejudice?

Various theories have been suggested to explain the cause of racial prejudice. And emotional maladjustment, social reflection and socio-cognitive development are three major approaches.

First, in the emotional maladjustment theory, many scholars(Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950) thought that prejudice is develop because personality type. This theory could provides an explanation for differences of prejudice level among children (Aboud, 1988), but it does not account for the common prejudice across whole groups of people which may occur in particular places or times (Brown, 1995).

The second theory is about social reflection. Children are simply reflect the community's attitudes and values, especially parent's and friend's. (eg. Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938; Kinder & Sears, 1981) Therefore, children learn

attitudes towards particular ethnic groups, either by direct training or by observing and imitating. However, while positive correlations have been reported between the ethnic attitudes of children and their parents (eg. Bird, Monachesi & Burdick, 1952; Harris, Gough & Martin, 1950; Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938; Goodman, 1952; Radke & Trager, 1950) and that there are similarities in the statements of parents and their children concerning ethnic minority groups (eg. Radke-Yarrow, Trager, & Miller, 1952), the correlations have typically been low (eg. Bird et al, 1952; Frenkel-Brunswik & Havel, 1953) and sometimes nonexistent (eg. Pushkin, in Davey, 1983; Aboud & Doyle, 1996).

The third theory to explain of prejudice is sociocognitive theory (Aboud, 1988), a child's attitude to other groups of children depends upon his/her level of development in relation to two overlapping sequences of perceptual-cognitive development. According to this theory, a child is initially considered to be dominated by affective-perceptual processes associated with fear of the unknown and attachment to the familiar. Perceptual processes subsequently dominate with preference for the (similar) ingroup and rejection of the (different) outgroup being determined primarily by physical attributes (eg. skin colour, language, body size). Thereafter, cognitive processes take ascendancy with the advent of the concrete operational stage of cognitive development around 7 years of age and, later, formal operational thinking (Flavell, 1963). The effect of the

transition to cognitive processes is that the child is increasingly able to understand the individual rather than the group-based qualities of people. Overlapping this sequence is a second sequence of development which is concerned with changes in the child's focus of attention. Based on these sociocognitive developments, Aboud (1988) argues that ingroup bias and outgroup prejudice increase to a peak at around 7 years of age, when group differences are paramount.

The Research of Children's Prejudice

Recent research on the development of prejudice among children and adolescents has focused on various influencing factors across individual and social-environmental levels of explanation. Numerous studies include work on cognitive or social-cognitive abilities such as classification skills, social perspective-taking abilities (Aboud, 1988; Bigler, Jones, & Loblinger, 1997; Smetana, 2006), lay theories (Levy, Karafantis, & Ramírez, 2008), group norm understanding (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), or moral development (Killen, Margie, & Sinno, 2006). Further investigations focus on motivational processes like ethnic awareness and ethnic identity development (Nesdale, 1999; Rutland, Abrams, & Levy, 2007), as well as social-environmental factors like having a friendship with an out-group member (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009), parents

with negative intergroup attitudes (Benbow & Beelmann, in press; White & Gleitzman, 2006), or intergroup contact (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008).

However, despite this extensive research several issues in the development of prejudice remain unresolved. One aspect is that empirical findings about age-related changes in prejudice are less consistent than usually assumed. As a frequently described pattern, the development of prejudice is characterized as a nonlinear trend with an increase until the age of 7 years (e.g., Duckitt, Wall, & Pokroy, 1999), a decrease until the end of elementary school age (e.g., Aboud, 1980; Doyle & Aboud, 1995), and a second increase in adolescence (e.g., Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001). Because this inverted-U-shaped form in childhood merely reflects the results of some single, although important, studies and neglects inconsistent results (e.g., Baker & Fishbein, 1998; Rutland, 1999), it has been criticized intensively in the past years (e.g., Nesdale, 2000). Moreover, the utility of describing a domain-general trend (in the sense of a unique developmental course) without taking different social contexts, out-groups, and dimensions of prejudice into account has been questioned (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010).

Empathy and Prejudice

What is empathy?

As long history of terms, there are various definitions of *empathy*. Originally 'Empathy' was coming from the Greek word's *empathia* and it is composed of "en" (in) and "pathos"(feeling). Recently empathy means that "the ability to feel or imagine another person's emotional experience" (McDonald & Messinger, 2011) and "other oriented emotional response congruent with another's perceived welfare and includes feelings of empathy, compassion and tenderness"(Bastson et al., 1997, p. 105). Eisenberg and Strayer (1987a, p. 5) suggested that "empathy is an emotional response that stems from another's emotional state or condition and that is congruent with the other's emotional state or situation."

And there are many terms and components which related with the concept of empathy such as mimicry, emotional contagion, compassion and sympathy. Usually these concepts occur at the same time, but actually mimicry or emotional contagion go before empathy, and empathy go ahead of sympathy and compassion, which in turn may lead positive attitude or behavior (Kim, 2008; Singer, 2009).

Figure 1. shows more detailed relationship with family of empathy. The lowest component of all empathic responses is emotional contagion. Though mimicry and emotional contagion are worked together with empathy, they precedes empathy and called as “primitive empathy”. On the other hand, perspective-taking take a critical role for evoking empathy. It needs more complex process, such as reasoning and imagery. And this leads empathy, which is more effective component for increasing positive attitudes and behavior.

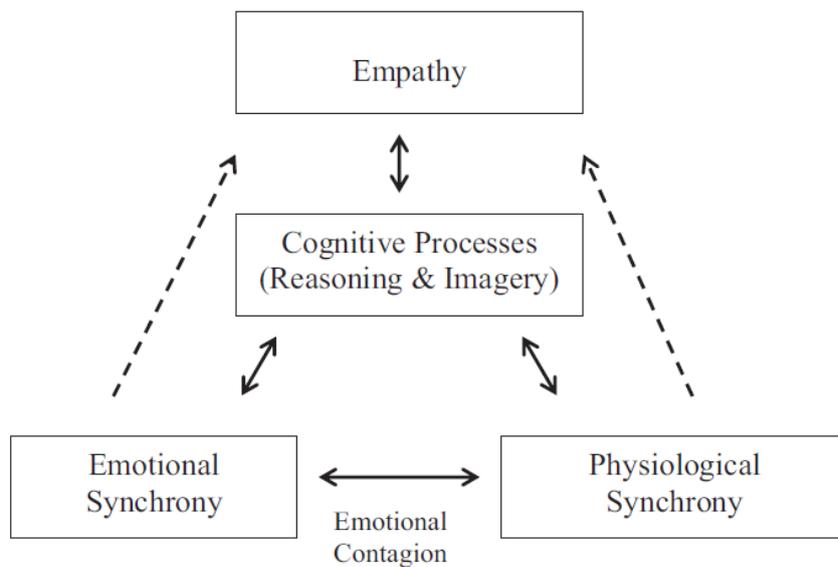


Figure 1. The components of empathy (Arizmendi, 2011)

The Differences between Two Concepts, Emotional Contagion and Perspective-taking, in Empathy

Does perspective-taking is different from emotional contagion? Shamay-Tsoory and colleague's study(2009) support this possibility. They explored about two possible systems for empathy on brain: a basic emotional contagion system and a more advanced cognitive perspective-taking system. And authors found strong evidence that these two systems are independently, not in part of a single interacting empathy system through comparing 30 neurological patients with localized damage, and 34 healthy control participants. For emotional empathy, an early emotional matching / mirroring system involving the MNS is needed, but for cognitive empathy, a more advanced system involving the VM cortices is needed. Furthermore, the fact that area 44 was found most critical for emotional empathy while BA 11 and 10 are necessary for cognitive empathy is consistent with the other study(e.g. Mesulam, 2000).

Also, developmental studies reported that emotional contagion can be found in birds and rodents, in contrast perspective-taking, one of the most important parts of empathy are evident only in more phylogenetically advanced mammals such as great apes (De Waal, 2007). Moreover, emotional contagion ability is developed in babies, it is prove in response to the distress of another individual without being able to separate their own and the other's distress

developmentally(Singer, 2006). Perspective-taking ability is developed during later childhood and adolescence (Hoffman, 1977; Preston and de Waal, 2002; Gallese, 2003; Decety and Jackson, 2004).

Based above mentioned, emotional contagion doesn't need efforts. If not injured brain, emotional contagion would be arouse in automatically. In contrasts, to develop perspective-taking is not simple. It is more advanced cognitive ability(Shamay, 2009; De Waal, 2007), and it heavily draws on the maturation of executive resources as the processes that serve to monitor and control thought and actions. Besides, self-regulation, planning, cognitive flexibility, response inhibition, and resistance were included in perspective-taking, too. For this process, development of the prefrontal cortex which continues to mature from birth to adolescence is needed (Decety, 2006). And education and counseling can take the role for helping this process. Therefore, it would better to distinguish emotional contagion from empathy in the current study. In the present study examine the effect of empathy in reducing prejudice and find the appropriate intervention methods to apply empathy for education. Therefore, in the current study choose the Singer(2009)'s point of view, that empathy is the observer's emotions reflect affective sharing "feeling with" the other person.

Inducing Empathy by Perspective-taking for Reducing Prejudice

Recently, one of the most common methods for inducing empathy is perspective-taking. This procedure, developed by Stotland (1969), is shown as follow. Participants are exposed to another person's plight (often painful) and before exposure, they are directed to imagine how the other feels (*imagine-other perspective*) or how they would feel if they were in the other's situation (*imagine-self perspective*). After exposure, they are asked to report their emotional responses. Whereas participants of control groups are directed to remain objective and detached or are not given any directions. This procedure has been used in many studies (e.g., Batson, Early & Salvarani, 1997; Batson et al., 1995; Batson, Polycarpou et al., 1997; Batson et al., 2002, 2005, 2007; Buswell, 2005; Davis et al., 1996, 2004; Dovidio et al., 2004; Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Maner et al., 2002; Stocks et al., 2009; Van Lange, 2008; Vescio, Sechrist & Paolucci, 2003).

Almost research reported that participants who induced empathy through perspective-taking were showed higher levels of empathic concern and emotional reactions (i.e., distress, sadness, feelings of injustice) than the other participants who are directed to remain objective. (Davis et al., 1996; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Galinsky et al., 2008).

Especially, Batson and colleague's(1997) study is very meaningful

in terms of directly manipulating empathy and examined its effects on attitudes toward members of stigmatized groups. Instead of indirectly manipulating empathy through role-playing, they directly manipulated empathy by perspective-taking that imagine how a person talking about his or her life feels about what has happened to him or her. This empathy-attitude effect seems remarkably robust. Empathy has improved attitudes even when the individual for whom empathy was induced was not prototypical of the group and was not responsible for his or her plight (Batson et al., 1997). Extremely negative attitudes have been affected despite apparent attempts to resist the effect. For example, attitudes toward convicted murderers serving life without parole were not significantly improved immediately after the empathy induction but were significantly improved several weeks later when assessed through an unrelated telephone survey in experiment three.

The ability of empathy to affect attitudes across a wide range of stigmatized groups, the lack of restriction due to subcategorization, the relative insensitivity to information about responsibility, and the endurance over time all suggest that inducing empathy may be a potent and valuable technique for creating more positive responses to the stigmatized of society.

Batson et al. (1997) tested in a series of experiments that examined attitudes towards members of the stigmatized groups: a woman with AIDS, a

homeless man, and a convicted murder. Across these three experiments, they found that perspective-taking about the specific target person leads to empathic feelings and these feelings lead to attitude change. They showed consistent results in the other research(2002, 2005,2007) They reported empathy has effect for more positive attitudes toward people addicted to hard drugs. In addition, an experimental condition in which participants were induced to feel empathy for a fictional addict marginally increased action on behalf of, and more positive attitudes toward, drug addicts. Through same methods, Vecio and colleagues (2002) found that perspective-taking promote improve intergroup attitudes irrespective of stereotypicality, however Buswell(2005) didn't found that there was a significant effect for listening perspective in reducing prejudice and improving attitudes for fat people.

Perspective-taking manipulations such as those used by Batson et al. (1997) have been shown to influence attention to situational versus dispositional causal factors (e.g. Aderman, Brehm, & Katz, 1974; Brehm & Aderman, 1977; Galper, 1976; Gould & Sigall, 1977; Regan & Totten, 1975); those encouraged to adopt the perspective of another tend to make more situational and fewer dispositional causal attributions than do objective focused participants. In other words, encouraging a perceiver adopt the perspective of another effectively eliminates the actor-observer difference (Jones & Nisbett, 1972), or the tendency

to attribute the actions of others to their dispositions but one's own actions to situational factors.

Together this suggests that perspective-taking may inspire attributionally focused cognitive mechanisms that promote improved intergroup attitudes by facilitating more favourable world views based on acknowledgement of the situational factors operating against outgroup members. Because such situationally focused views of group based disadvantage conflict with stereotypes, there may be an inhibition of the stereotyping processes that typically operate as barriers to attempts to improve intergroup attitudes (see Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Perspective-taking may promote improved intergroup attitudes regardless of the extent to which stereotypes of outgroups are endorsed (Vescio et.al., 2003).

How Does Empathy by Perspective-taking Make Change?

Batson et al. (1997) suggested the specific ways that empathy effects positive attitudes. They propose a three-step model. Step 1 includes adopting the perspective of a person from a target group, which leads increasing empathic feelings towards that person. Step 2 is that the empathic feelings provide to a heightened concern of the person's welfare. Lastly, Step 3 arise when the increased awareness and value for a person is generalized to the entire

stigmatized group.



Figure 2. Three-step Model in Reducing Prejudice (Batson, 1997)

Another Process, Emotional Contagion

Emotional contagion is another process that is related to but distinct from empathy. It denotes the tendency to “catch” other people’s emotions and has alternately been labeled “primitive empathy” (Hatfield et al. 2009).

According to Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson (1994), primitive *emotional contagion* is the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person's and, consequently, to converge emotionally (p. 5).

For example, babies start crying when they hear other babies crying—long before they develop a sense of a self separate from others. Recently, initial evidence for involuntary papillary contagion was found in an fMRI study (Harrison et al. 2006). Participants were presented with photos of sad faces with

various pupil sizes. Their own pupil size was significantly smaller when they viewed sad faces with small as compared to larger pupils, and the Edinger–Westphal nucleus in the brainstem, which controls pupil size, was specifically engaged by this contagious effect. Activation in this subcortical structure provides evidence that pupillary contagion occurs outside of awareness and may represent a precursor of empathy.

Then, how is the mechanisms of emotional contagion? The process of emotional contagion consists of three stages (Hatfield, E., Rapson, R. L., & Le, Y. L. ,2009): Mimicry, Feedback, and Contagion. People tend: (a) to automatically mimic the facial expressions, vocal expressions, postures, and instrumental behaviors of those around them, and thereby (b) to feel a pale reflection of others' emotions as a consequence of such feedback. (c) The result is that people tend to catch one another's emotions. Presumably, when people automatically mimic their companions' fleeting facial, vocal, and postural expressions of emotion, they often come to *feel* a pale reflection of their companions' actual emotions. By attending to this stream of tiny moment-to-moment reactions, people are able to “feel themselves into” the emotional lives of others. They can track the intentions and feelings of others moment-to-moment, even when they are not explicitly attending to this information.

Research about Emotional Contagion and Attitudes

A great deal of research has documented the fact that infants (Meltzoff & Prinz, 2002), young children, adolescents, and adults automatically mimic other person's facial expressions of emotion (Hatfield, et al., 1994).. Scholars from a variety of disciplines provide evidence that people do in fact catch one another's emotions: there is evidence from clinical observers (Coyne, 1976), social-psychologists and sociologists (Hatfield, et al., 1994; Le Bon, 1896; Tseng & Hsu, 1980), neuroscientists and primatologists (Hurley & Chatter, 2005a; Wild, et al., 2003), life span researchers (Hurley & Chatter, 2005a and b), and historians (Klawans, 1990) suggesting that people may indeed catch the emotions of others at all times, in all societies, and perhaps on very large scales. (Hatfield, et al., 1994)

Self-centered vicarious arousal, known as personal distress, represents the oldest kind of empathy. A good example seems the intensified pain response of mice seeing other mice in pain (Langford et al. 2006). Emotional contagion may lead individuals frightened by the alarm of others to hide or flee, a mother distressed by her offspring's distress to reassure both herself and her offspring by warming or nursing them, or inhibit an individual from inflicting pain upon another because of the vicarious negative arousal induced by the other's distress calls. Thus, simple empathic reactions may

benefit both the actor and individuals close to them.

Behavioral copying, too, often produces adaptive outcomes. Imagine a group of animals in which every member was to eat, sleep, forage, or play independently: This would be impossible for nomadic animals, such as primates. Being in sync is often a matter of life or death (Boinski & Garber 2000).

Kim & Gim(2007) investigated the relationship between emotional contagion and altruistic behaviors, they found that the more participants experienced emotional contagion, the more they participated in altruistic behaviors. They designed experiments that participants watched a video clip about a disabled student reporting difficulties in school life but showing facial expression opposite to the contents of message to separate emotional contagion. Through this experiment, they showed that emotional contagion has effects for increasing positive attitudes independently. And emotions are transferred from person to person through the mimicry of facial expressions than contents in this study, this is consistent with other studies (e.g.Singelis, 1996; Joiner, 1994).

However, “putting ourselves into someone else’s shoes” is not a simple task, and requires more advanced efforts at the meta-cognitive level. Thus, it is difficult to conclude that emotional contagion is more powerful than empathy with such results. Also, there was no evaluation of pre- and post-attitudes. They checked altruistic behaviors once, after manipulation. Though

participants who experienced emotional contagion showed more altruistic behavior, there was no evidence that altruistic attitudes more increase over time. The other question is about the durability of change attitudes. There are need to check durability of behavior change through emotional contagion.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Participant sample included 90 elementary school students (53.3% female) residing in Seoul, Korea. Only 6th graders, ages ranging from 11 to 12 (M= 11.05, SD= 0.23), were included in order to control for the possibility that children may react to culturally diverse children differently depending on their age. Participants resided in Songpa district where culturally diverse population is smaller than other districts in Seoul; they didn't have much experience forming relationships with children from multicultural families. According to Allport (1954)'s contact hypothesis, the degree of contact is associated with the prejudice level, and there are numerous studies that support Allport's hypothesis (e.g. Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008; Paluck & Green, 2009). Thus, the current study chose participants who have not had much experience with culturally diverse children in order to minimize the impact of contact.

Participants were assigned into 3 groups: Group A was the 'induced empathy by perspective-taking' group, Group B was the 'emotional contagion'

group, and Group C was the ‘control’ group. Experimental group A consisted of 13 boys and 17 girls, group B consisted of 14 boys and 16 girls, and group C had 15 boys and 15 girls. Table 1 shows the demographic data of the participants.

Table 1.

Demographic Data of the Participants.

	Induced empathy group A	Emotional contagion group B	Control group C
Sex			
Males	13	14	15
Females	17	16	15
total	30	30	30

Measures

Prejudice Measure. Multicultural Acceptance Inventory (MAI) for Korean children (Kim, 2010).

In Korea, there is no appropriate inventory for assessing the level of prejudice against multicultural children yet. However, it is difficult to use scales

developed in other countries with different historical and cultural backgrounds.

For measuring prejudice, Multicultural Acceptance Inventory (MAI) for Korean children (Kim, M.J., 2010) was used. Kim defined that multicultural acceptance means being without prejudice or stereotypes, understanding culturally diverse children's stance and emotions, and behaving positively in active relationship with them. This definition is closely related with the components of prejudice in the current study. Prejudice composed of a negative attitude expressed through dislike of a social out-group (affective component), the attribution of negative characteristics (cognitive component), or negative behaviors (behavioral component). Therefore, low level of MAI score would signify that he/she shows a high level of prejudice. Originally, the inventory was for measuring positive attitudes toward culturally diverse children. Thus, positively worded items were reverse-scored, larger numbers always indicating more prejudice attitudes.

The reversed MAI scale consists of four subscales. The first subscale, deficit of multicultural competence ($\alpha=.93$), measures the lack of confidence participants have in forming relationships with multicultural children and has 15 items. A sample item from this subscale is "I'll invite a multicultural children to my birthday party". The second scale, deficit of multicultural awareness ($\alpha=.74$), measures the lack of respect regarding the differences

between culturally diverse children and themselves and has 6 items. A sample item from this subscale is “I think that a multicultural child can be a leader in my class.” The third subscale, deficit of multicultural openness ($\alpha=.76$), measures lack of open-mindedness in accepting multicultural children as fellow Koreans without prejudice or stereotype and has 8 items. A sample item from this subscale is “I don’t want to be classmates with multicultural children.” The last subscale, deficit of multicultural empathy ($\alpha=.68$), measures the lack of congruency with culturally diverse children’s thoughts, feelings, behaviors and has 4 items. A sample item from this subscale is “I’m sad when a multicultural child suffers from teasing because his/her parent is foreigner.” Responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The MAI for Korean Children can be seen in Appendix A.

Empathy Measure. Korean Children’s versions of the Empathy Quotient(Korean EQ-C ; Park and Ghim, 2010)

For manipulation check, Korean EQ-C (Korean Children’s versions of the Empathy Quotient) which was developed by Park and Ghim(2010) for children in Korea was used. Differ from the original version of EQ-C by Auyeung et al. (2009), the Korean version is a self-report questionnaire.

Exploratory factor analysis revealed three factors: cognitive empathy, emotional response and social skills. In 2011, Cha and her colleagues examined the validity and reliability of the Korean version of EQ-C. In terms of the reliability, the internal consistency of the Korean version of EQ-C was high (Cronbach's $\alpha=.82$), and the test-retest reliability over two months was relatively stable (Cronbach's $\alpha=.67$).

Procedures

The first stage of current study was administering pre-assessment regarding the level of prejudice. The limitation of previous studies (Batson et.al., 1997; 2000) was that pre-prejudice level was never assessed (Buswell, 2005). If pre-prejudice level could be controlled, it would be helpful in knowing the true attitude change. After 7~10 days from the pre-test, participants watched a video clip of a culturally diverse child describing her experience. The content of the video clips were different for three groups. After watching a video clip, participants took post-assessment about the level of prejudice. Finally, after another 4~5 weeks, their prejudice levels were measured again to examine the durability of changed attitudes.

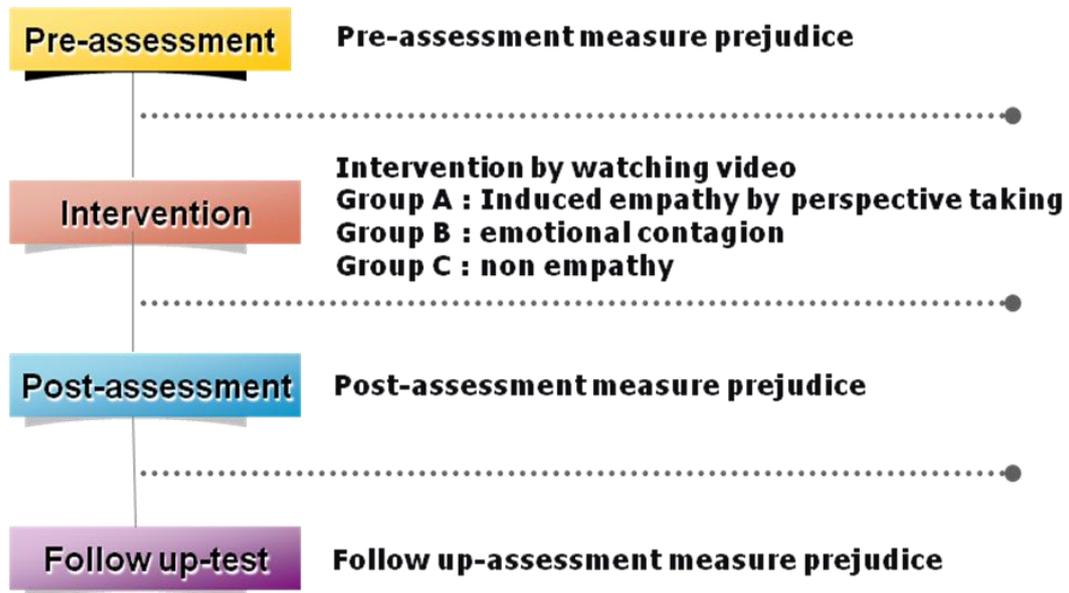


Figure 3. Four steps for the present study

Experiments.

Each video was approximately 3'40'' minutes in length, and attempts were made to control for content such that clips for all videos were selected from a television documentary. The focus of the video clip was a culturally diverse child and her story about the difficulty she had faced as a result of her ethnicity. The girl explained what happened with friends, and described feelings of sadness. There were some differences among the video clips for each group. The first difference was whether the video clip included directions for perspective-taking

or not. While the video for group A gave directions for perspective-taking, the videos for group B and C were without any directions. The second difference was whether the video clip included a crying scene or not. The empathy group A and the emotional contagion group B were shown a scene of the girl literally crying, whereas group C were simply given a verbal description of such a scene.

Video Clip - Eunsun, a girl from a multicultural family.

All participants watched a video clip of "Eunsun" describing her discrimination experience due to her ethnicity. Eunsun is a 11-year-old elementary school student. Her mother is Japanese, and her father is Korean. Because her appearances do not make her look any different from an ordinary Korean, her parents did not realize that their child has been experiencing discrimination from other children. But according to the girl, her classmates bully her asking, "Why is your mother Japanese?" To that, she could not say anything. She did not believe that her mother's nationality matters but the incident made her sad. She cried and her parents could not say anything.

Manipulation.

Participants in group A, who were induced empathy by perspective-taking, watched the video clip 'A', which had the following directions: "While

you watch the video clip, please imagine how the girl in the interview would feel and think about what has happened. Try to feel the full impact of what this girl has been through and how she feels as a result.” In the end of the video clip, participants were again given the following directions: “If you were in her shoes, how would you feel and think about the incident with the classmates? Let’s think about the girl’s thoughts and feelings for a moment.”

Group B for emotional contagion watched the video clip ‘B’ which shows all the identical scenes of Eunsun’s story but is without any directions. The participants observed her facial expressions, and would feel emotions about her or feel distressed like her without any directions.

Group C watched the video clip ‘C’ which did not include the crying scene nor any directions. In other words, the other parts of video was exactly the same as the video clip ‘B’, except that the crying scene was replaced by a description using the subtitles. Figure 3 shows the differences of the three video clips in detail.

video 'A' : Induced empathy by perspective-taking group



video 'B' : Emotional contagion group



video 'C' : Non empathy group



Figure 4. Manipulation in Experiment

Measuring attitudes toward the culturally diverse children.

The MAI (Multicultural Acceptance Inventory) assessed participants' attitudes toward the culturally diverse children. This was the dependent measure. It contained 33 items around 4 subscales: multicultural competence, multicultural awareness, multicultural openness, and multicultural empathy. As mentioned before, positively worded items were reversed in scoring, so that the larger numbers always indicated more prejudice attitudes.

Manipulation check.

Firstly, in order to assess whether the empathy manipulation was effective, an ANCOVA test was conducted on the EQ-C (Children's versions of the Empathy Quotient). This was for the purpose of knowing whether there were any difference in the level of empathy among the groups.

Secondly, to distinguish the effectiveness of perspective-taking itself from presence or absence of the directions, another group was formed who were directed to take an objective stance about the same video clip. Participants in the fourth group watched the video clip 'B', but were given additional directions as follows: "While you watch the video clip, please take an objective perspective toward what is described. Try not to get caught up in how the girl is interviewed feels, and just remain objective and detached." In the end of the video clip, participants were given the following directions: "What happened to her, and what did she say about the incident? How she act in the interview? Let's think about the video's contents for a moment."

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Manipulation check

Empathy Level of Three Groups.

To examine whether the empathy manipulation worked well, an ANCOVA was conducted on the EQ-C (Children's versions of the Empathy Quotient) with the pre-empathy level controlled for. As expected, there were significant differences among the three groups. The empathy level of group A had dramatically increased in the post-test compared to the pre-test. Also, it had the highest empathic level ($M=9.778$, $SE=.103$) among the three groups. There were no significant differences between group B ($M=9.249$, $SE=.104$) and group C ($M=9.114$, $SE=.102$)'s empathy levels. Table 6 and Figure 11 show these results in detail.

Distinguish Effects of Perspective-taking from Presence or Absence of the Direction.

A separate group D, which was directed to take an objective stance regarding the same video clip, was created in order to distinguish effectiveness

of perspective-taking from presence or absence of the directions. According to the post-empathy assessment, group A's empathy level was higher than group B's. A one-way ANOVA was used to test for empathy level differences among the four groups. Empathy levels differed significantly across the four groups, $F(3, 116) = 5.40, p = .002$. Scheffe post-hoc comparisons of the four groups indicated that group A' empathy level ($M = 10.03, 95\% \text{ CI } [9.72, 10.35]$) was significantly higher than group B ($M = 8.98, 95\% \text{ CI } [8.50, 9.46]$), $p = .006$ and group C ($M = 9.13, 95\% \text{ CI } [8.73, 9.52]$), $p = .027$. Comparisons between group D ($M = 9.63, 95\% \text{ CI } [9.14, 10.12]$) and other two groups (B and C) were not statistically significant at $p < .05$. These results showed that the manipulation worked well in the experiment of the current study.

Table 2.

ANCOVA Results of Empathy Level in Three Groups

empathy	pre		post		estimated	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Group A (induced empathy)	9.51	.87	10.03	.85	9.78	.10
Group B (emotional contagion)	8.86	1.34	8.98	1.29	9.25	.10

Group C (non empathy)	9.21	1.16	9.13	1.05	9.11	.10
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Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values:

pre-empathy=9.1935

	Type I SS	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Pre-empathy	86.435	1	86.435	
Intervention	7.176	2	3.588	11.48***
Error	26.877	86	.313	
Total	8039.971	90		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

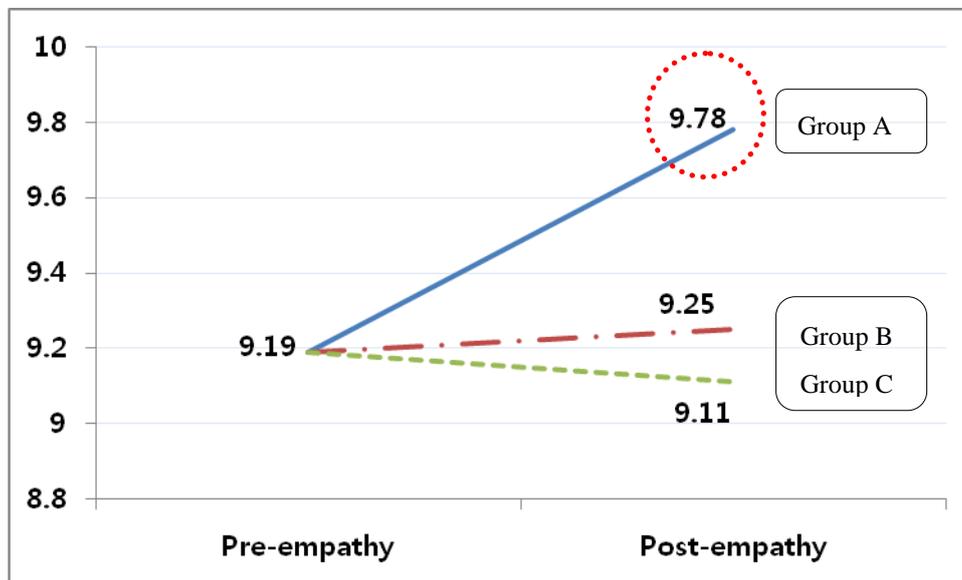


Figure5. ANCOVA Results of Empathy Level in Three Groups

Research Questions

Research Question One - The Effect of Empathy in Reducing Prejudice after Manipulation Immediately.

An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was undertaken to explore the effect of induced empathy on reducing prejudice after controlling the pre-assessment prejudice scores. The predicted main effect of pre-prejudice scores was significant, $F(1, 86) = 96.56, p < .001$, as was the predicted main effect of experiment intervention style, $F(2, 86) = 17.31, p < .001$.

Specifically, as indicated by the estimated marginal means, group A (induced empathy) participants reported the lowest prejudice level ($M=6.53, SE=.228$) compared to the other two groups. Group B (emotional contagion)'s result ($M=7.14, SE=.228$) was similar to that of group A, but the change was smaller than in group A. Interestingly, the post-test prejudice level was increased in the control group C ($M=8.39, SE=.228$). This means that without empathic elements, not only is the intervention ineffective in increasing a more positive attitude, but may bring negative impact.

Except group C, the other two groups' levels of change were very similar. Though there were some differences between groups, they were not significant. Both interventions, induced empathy and emotional contagion, were

effective in immediately reducing prejudice in children. This is not consistent with the results from other studies (Batson et al., 1997; 2000; Vescio et al., 2003; Buswell 2005). Based on such results, inducing empathy by perspective-taking seem to be effective for reducing prejudice in children, but the effect was not much different from the emotional contagion effect. Figure 12 and Table 6 show these results in detail.

Table 3.

ANCOVA Results of Post-Prejudice Level in Three Groups

Prejudice	Pre		Post		estimated	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Group A (induced empathy)	7.91	1.96	6.67	1.71	6.53	.23
Group B (emotional contagion)	7.66	1.58	7.09	1.72	7.14	.23
Group C (non empathy)	7.62	1.76	8.31	2.08	8.39	.23

Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values:

pre-prejudice = 7.73

	Type I SS	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Pre-prejudice	150.530	1	150.53	96.56***
Intervention	53.981	2	26.99	17.31***
Error	134.062	86	1.56	
Total	5208.196	90		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

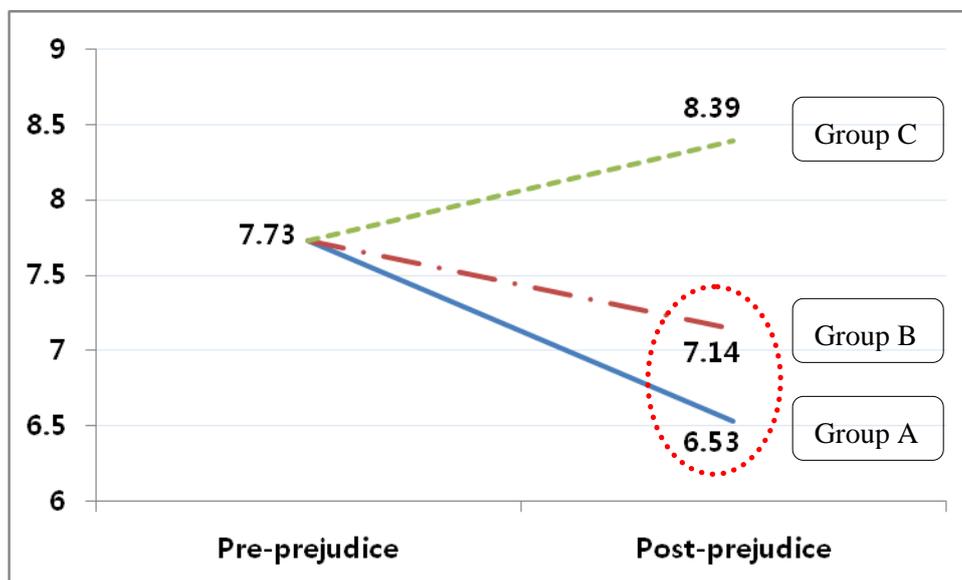


Figure 6. ANCOVA Results of Post-Prejudice Level in Three Groups

A post hoc Scheffe test was conducted to examine the intervention effects among three groups. Group A which was induced empathy reported the lowest prejudice score among the three groups. Especially, hypothesis 1-1, which stated that induced empathy group will show lower prejudice level than control group C, was confirmed. However, the differences with the emotional contagion group B were not significant. Hypothesis 1-2, stating that the induced empathy group will report lower prejudice level than the emotional contagion group B, was not confirmed, as shown in Table 7.

Table 4.

Results of Post Hoc Scheffe Test for Confirmation Immediately Effects of Inducing Empathy in Reducing Prejudice

	Group A	Group B	Group C
Group A (induced empathy)		-.42	-1.64*
Group B (emotional contagion)			-.1.22*
Group C (non empathy)			

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Research Question Two - The Durability of Empathy in Reducing Prejudice after Time

The second research question was related to whether there are differences in maintaining effects by intervention styles. When examining the follow-up prejudice scores co-varying out pre-prejudice level by ANCOVA, the predicted main effect of pre-prejudice score was significant, $F(1, 86) = 91.16, p < .001$, as was the predicted main effect of experiment intervention style, as shown in Table 7, $F(2, 86) = 10.68, p < .001$.

Table 5.

ANCOVA Results of Follow-up Prejudice Level in Three Groups

	Type I SS	df	MS	F
Pre-prejudice	132.404	1	132.40	91.16***
Intervention	31.013	2	15.51	10.68***
Error	124.914	86	1.45	
Total	5613.558	90		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Specifically, group A (induced empathy) participants reported the lowest prejudice level ($M=6.90$, $SE=.220$) than the other two groups by the estimated marginal means. Unlike the post-assessment result, group B (emotional contagion)'s score results ($M=7.88$, $SE=.220$) were more similar with group C ($M=8.30$, $SE=.220$) than with group A. This indicates that the emotional contagion effect might diminish more easily than the induced empathy by perspective-taking. Also, induced empathy by perspective-taking was the only effective intervention that created a true attitude change. Figure 13 and Table 8 show these results in detail.

Table 6.

Means and SD of Follow-up Prejudice Level in Three Groups

Prejudice	Pre		Follow up		estimated	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Group A (induced empathy)	7.91	1.96	7.03	1.56	6.90	.22
Group B (emotional contagion)	7.66	1.58	7.83	1.59	7.88	.22
Group C (non empathy)	7.62	1.76	8.22	2.05	8.30	.22

Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values:

pre-prejudice = 7.73

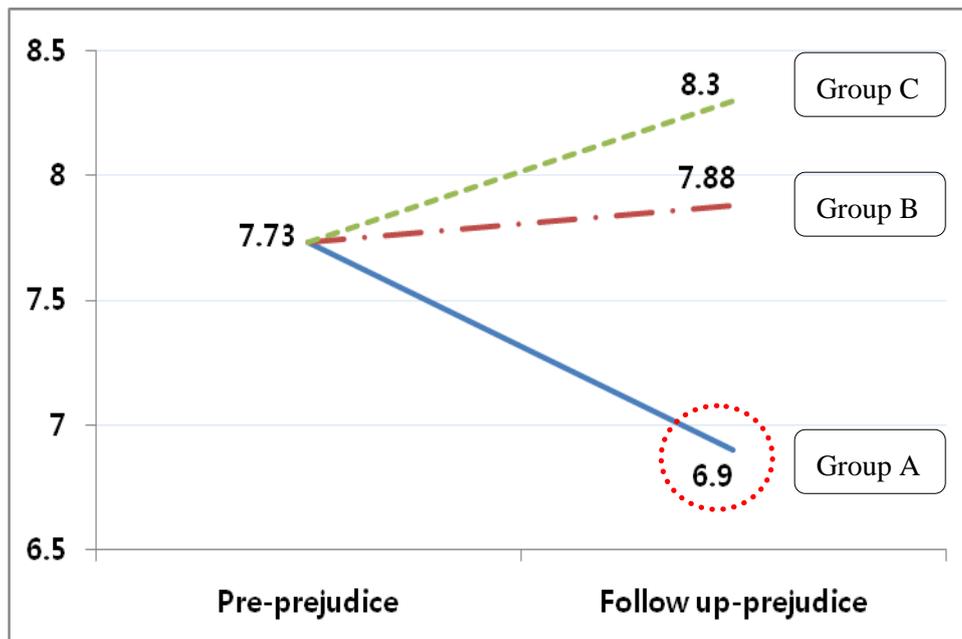


Figure 7. ANCOVA Results of Follow-up Prejudice Level in Three Groups

A post hoc Scheffe test was utilized to explore the differences among three groups. As shown in Table 10, group A with induced empathy reported the lowest prejudice score among three groups. Therefore, hypotheses 2-1 and 2-2, namely that inducing empathy will be the most effective intervention for reducing prejudice, were confirmed.

Table 7.

Results of Post Hoc Scheffe Test for Confirmation Durable Effects of Inducing Empathy in Reducing Prejudice

	Group A	Group B	Group C
Group A (induced empathy)		-.80	-1.20*
Group B (emotional contagion)			-.39
Group C (non empathy)			

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Overall analysis

A repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the prejudice levels by time (Pre, Post, Follow-up) and intervention type. Mauchly's Test of Sphericity indicated that the assumption of sphericity had not been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 1.566$, $p = .457$. Also, there was a significant effect of

intervention types, with Wilks' Lambda = 0.68, $F(4,172) = 9.29$, $p = .000$. This indicated that attitudes were significantly different depending on the type of the intervention. Specifically, by the estimated marginal means, group A (induced empathy) participants reported the lowest prejudice level ($M=7.03$, $SE=.319$) than the other two groups. Unlike the post-assessment results, group B (emotional contagion)'s scores ($M=7.83$, $SE=.319$) were more similar to those of group C ($M=8.22$, $SE=.319$) than group A. These results are shown in Figure 12.

Table 8.

Repeated Measure ANOVA Results of Within Subject-Effects

	Type III SS	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
time	8.43	2	4.22	5.14**
Time* Intervention	32.59	4	8.15	9.94***
Error	142.70	174	.82	

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

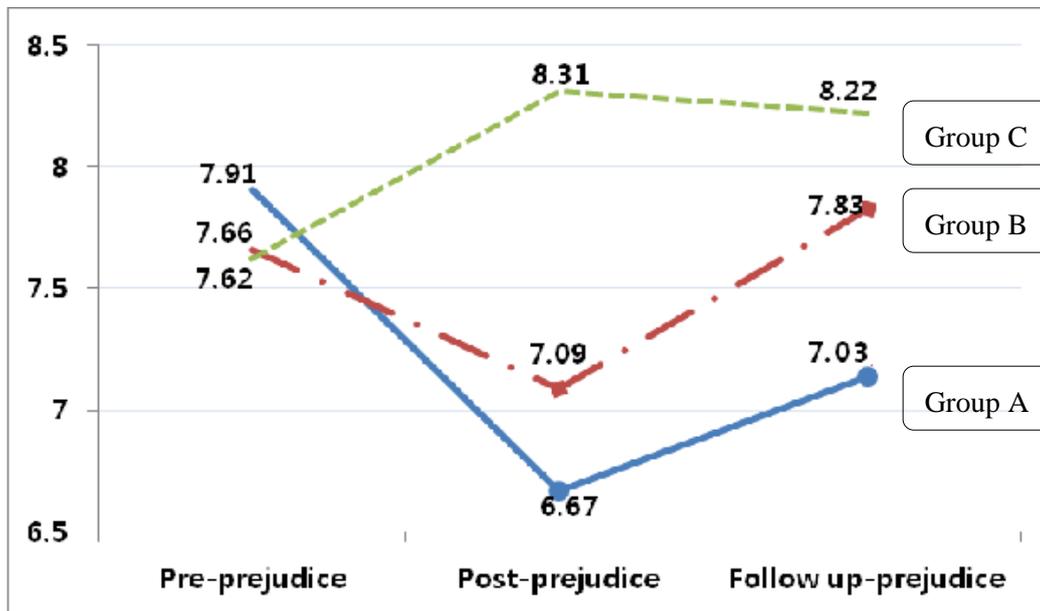


Figure 8. Repeated Measure ANOVA Results of Prejudice in Three Groups

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Empathic Perspective-taking, the Powerful Intervention in Reducing Prejudice toward Culturally Diverse Children

The current study focused on the effects of empathic perspective-taking in reducing prejudice toward culturally diverse children in elementary school. The results support the contention that inducing empathy by perspective-taking is an effective intervention for reducing prejudice in children.

More specifically, there were two hypotheses: the first hypothesis was that induced empathy by perspective-taking would be more powerful in reducing prejudice in children toward the stigmatized target group than other interventions. The second was that induced empathy by perspective-taking would be associated with more durable attitude changes than other interventions.

The first hypothesis was partially confirmed. Both inducing empathy and emotional contagion were effective for immediately reducing prejudice. However, though the differences of post-prejudice level with emotional contagion group B was not significant, induced empathy group A reported lowest level of prejudice on post-test. This result intended that empathic perspective-

taking is the most effective means to reduce the prejudice level in children.

The second hypothesis was confirmed. There were significant differences between the two groups in follow-up prejudice assessment results. Group B's prejudice scores were back to pre-test level after one month. In contrast, induced empathy group A's prejudice scores remained at low levels. In sum, only induced empathy by perspective-taking group reported stable reduced levels of prejudice among three groups.

Induced empathy by perspective-taking tended to reduce the prejudice level immediately after manipulation, and the effect was maintained even 4~5 weeks after. These promising results are consistent with previous studies (e.g. Batson et al., 1997; 2002; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Vecio, Sechrist & Paolucci, 2003).

What Makes Different Effects Between Perspective-taking and Emotional Contagion?

As shown above, both empathic perspective-taking and emotional contagion were effective for immediately reducing prejudice. However, the follow-up results were very different with each other. The effect of perspective-taking was maintained even 4~5 weeks after, but emotional contagion was not.

What makes these differences? The evidence might be found from mechanisms of emotional contagion and perspective taking.

According to Hatfield and her colleagues (2009), emotional contagion arise automatically based mimicry of the facial expressions, vocal expressions, postures, and instrumental behaviors of those around them. Thereby people can feel a pale reflection of others' emotions, catch one another's emotions (Hatfield, Rapson & Le, 2009). About this, neuroscientists suggested that state-matching reaction has been related to the simulation theory and the mirror neuron system (MNS) (Gallese, 2007; Preston and de Waal, 2002). Also recent studies have emphasized the specific role of the inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) in emotional empathy (Schulte-Ruther et al., 2007; Shamay-Tsoory et al., 2009). Based on MNS and IFG, emotional contagion be occurred automatically, and this means that the process does not require conscious and effortful processing but can be inhibited or controlled (Singer & Lamm, 2009). It is consistent with Preston and de Waal's (2002)'s model. They suggested that there are several systems mediating empathy: early emotional contagion systems and more advanced cognitive perspective-taking systems.

Perspective taking requires more complex cognitive functions as mentalizing and meta-cognitive strategies than emotional contagion (De Waal, 2007). In other words, there is long-standing interest in how placing of oneself

into another's shoes affects one's vicarious response to the other, and whether this differentially affects altruistic and prosocial behavior for perspective taking, (Batson et al. 1997). According to Shamay-Tsoory and colleagues(2009), ventromedial prefrontal (VM) structures are necessary for cognitive empathy such as perspective taking, whereas inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) structures are necessary for affective empathy such as emotional contagion. Based on these differences, it might be expected that perspective taking is in more advantageous position for effective durability.

Non Empathy Intervention Might Bring Negative Effects

Even though all participants watched exactly the same interview, participants in control group C (no emotional empathy) reported significantly higher prejudice than group A, with even the level of prejudice increased more than their own pre-test results ($t[29]=-2.45, p<.05$). This indicates that the intervention without empathic stimuli or appropriate guide might lead to negative consequences. Persson and Musher (2004) studied about the effects of a prejudice prevention TV program on young children's ideas about race. The participants were young children of 3 to 6 years, and they watched the TV program for about 20 minutes. However, their attitudes did not change even

when they have understood the contents well. Thus, cautions need to be taken when using materials such as video clips without empathic stimuli. Inappropriate usage of such materials might bring negative effects.

Plant and Devine(2001) comment that it might from affective backlash. They studied about responses to other-imposed pro-Black pressure, and they reported that some people, those low in internal, but high in external motivation to respond without prejudice, respond to pro-Black pressure with counter-intentional, negative reactions.

Summary

The current study examined whether inducing empathy would reduce prejudice against culturally diverse children. Almost all results supported the hypotheses. Especially, the major finding was that the empathy by perspective-taking seems to be a very useful strategy to reduce prejudice in children. The conclusions drawn from the present study are as following.

First, Korea has been rapidly changing into a multicultural society with the proportion of the culturally diverse population increasing. However,

many multicultural people, especially young multicultural children and adolescents living in Korea, still experience a lot of prejudice and discrimination. The need to deal with these difficulties faced by diverse students and the subsequent pluralistic society for which those children will be responsible is an urgent task faced by Korean public schools. Thus, educators and researchers must continue to study and develop interventions that can reduce prejudice and increase positive attitudes in children.

Second, the powerful factor in reducing prejudice is empathy. Empathy means other oriented emotional response congruent with another's perceived welfare and includes feelings of empathy, compassion and tenderness. Perspective-taking is proven to be a very successful means to inducing empathy.

Third, the present study results indicate that induced empathy by perspective-taking has effects on reducing prejudice, and the effect is durable. Even though the effect was not much different with emotional contagion at first, there were significant differences between emotional contagion and empathy effects after 4~5 weeks. Thus, anti-prejudice counseling and education programs should be aware these results.

Implications

The results of the current study confirmed that there were significantly positive effect of empathy in reducing prejudice against culturally diverse children and there are some implications.

First, the findings of the present study can contribute to developing anti-prejudice counseling and education programs for children. Childhood is a critical period where children form relationships with others and develop their own identity. Thus, developing a more positive attitude toward stigmatized groups and helping to gain a more positive experience in relationships with others through empathy are very important. Until now, there was not sufficient research about children in Korea.

Second, the current study is meaningful in that it examined and distinguished empathy by perspective-taking and emotional contagion. Most of previous empathy studies reported the effects of empathy by perspective-taking in reducing prejudice by comparing with low empathy conditions via taking objective stances. In the same manner, many research examined the role of emotional contagion in bringing positive attitudes by comparing it with a control group.

Although studies comparing empathy and emotional contagion are

rare, Kim and Gim (2007) attempted to do so and reported that emotional contagion was more effective for increasing altruistic behavior than empathy. However, their study had some limitations in their experiment design. They distinguished empathy and emotional contagion with manipulation by video clip which showed facial expressions opposite to the contents. They claimed that emotional contagion was more effective because participants were more influenced by the facial expression than contents. However, “putting ourselves into someone else’s shoes” is not a simple task, and requires more advanced efforts at the meta-cognitive level. Thus, it is difficult to conclude that emotional contagion is more powerful than empathy with such results.

There is a clear empirical necessity to know the effectiveness of empathy and emotional contagion for developing programs. The current study is meaningful because it showed reasonable intervention methods for inducing empathy, and expectation effects of empathy and emotional contagion.

Third, true attitude change was checked by pre-test/post-test/follow-up test. Most previous studies (Batson et al., 1997; Finaly & Stephan, 2000; Vescio et al., 2003) had simply compared the experiment group with a control group after intervention or designed pre- and post- sessions. The simple comparing method has limitations because there may be other reasons that could account for the differences between groups. Moreover, comparing pre- and post-

assessments cannot show the duration of effects. Thus, the present study attempted to measure the true attitude change through pre-, post-, and follow up-prejudice assessments. Both of interventions were effective in reducing prejudice in children, since there was not significant differences between group A (empathy by perspective-taking) and group B (emotional contagion)'s prejudice levels in post assessment. However, the follow up- prejudice assessments after 4~5 weeks showed different results. Unlike group A (empathy by perspective-taking), the prejudice level of group B (emotional contagion) returned to the pre-assessment levels. Such findings from the three step (pre-, post-, and follow up-) design suggest that inducing empathy by perspective-taking is the most effective intervention for reducing in children.

Empathy has been an essential counseling technique for a long time, because it helps to build stable relationships among people. It allows one to feel and understand the emotions of others, and helps to see things from other people's perspective. Add to this, the effects of empathy in reducing prejudice were confirmed in the current study. Thus, we need to develop counseling and education programs that utilize empathy for various purposes.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current study has several limitations, and further researches are required in several directions.

Does Changing Attitudes Make Better Behavior?

Attitudes do not always translate into action (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998; Fazio, 1990), but there is considerable evidence that an increased empathy for a person in need increases the readiness to help that person (Batson, 1991; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987) and the whole group (Batson et al., 2002). If inducing empathy leads to reduced prejudice and more positive attitudes, and ultimately trigger more positive actions toward the stigmatized group, the value of empathy will be more powerful. Therefore, this question needs to be addressed in a future study.

Will the Effect Replicate?

The current study found empathy to be effective in reducing prejudice in children. Although the post-assessment prejudice results of Group A (induced empathy by perspective-taking) were not significantly different from that of group B (emotional contagion), the effects of empathy remained only for

4~5 weeks in three groups. Future studies need to be conducted to determine if this effect does indeed replicate.

Change Target Groups.

The present study examined the effect of empathy in reducing prejudice against culturally diverse children. Can this effect be generalized to other target groups? Batson and his colleagues had targeted women with AIDS, homeless men, convicted murderers, drug addicts, and obese people. These target groups differ from that of the present study. Race is the born into, not achieved condition as in women with AIDS, homeless men, convicted murderers. In other words, culturally diverse people cannot be held responsible for their present state. It would be meaningful to examine whether the same intervention would work equally well for other stigmatized groups.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

MAI(Multicultural Acceptance Inventory) for Korean Children

※ 아래 각 문항을 읽고 자신의 생각이나 행동과 가장 일치하는 숫자에 V 표해 주십시오. 만약 주변에 다문화가정 친구들이 없다면, 만약에 이런 친구가 있을 경우, 어떻게 생각하고 행동할 것인지 v표 해 주세요.

나는	항상 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇다	항상 그렇다	
1	우리반에 다문화가정 아동이 있다면 점심시간에 같이 밥을 먹을 것이다.	1	2	3	4
2	다문화가정 아동과 같은 반이 된다면 짝꿍이 되고 싶다.	1	2	3	4
3	다문화가정 아동을 외모가 다르다고 놀리지 않는다.	1	2	3	4
4	다문화가정 아동이 고민을 얘기하는 것을 잘 들어준다.	1	2	3	4
5	다문화가정 아동보다 내가 무엇이든지 잘한다고 느낀다.	1	2	3	4
6	다른 나라 사람의 피부색이 나와 다르다는 사실이 이상하지 않다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4
7	다른 친구들에게 다문화가정 아동을 내 친구라고 소개할 수 있다.	1	2	3	4

나는		항상 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇다	항상 그렇다
8	우리집에 다문화가정 아동을 놀러오라고 할 수 있다.	1	2	3	4
9	다문화가정 사람들을 만날 수 있는 모임이 있다면 갈 것이다.	1	2	3	4
10	피부색이나 얼굴생김새가 달라도 친구가 될 수 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4
11	집에 갈 때 우리 집과 방향이 같으면 다문화 가정 아동과 같이 갈 것이다.	1	2	3	4
12	얼굴생김새와 피부색이 다른 나라 사람들과 함께 있는 것을 좋아하지 않는다.	1	2	3	4
13	우리나라 사람들이 같은 동네에 살고 있는 다문화가정 사람들과 잘 지냈으면 좋겠다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4
14	다문화가정 아동과 같은 반이 되고 싶지 않다.	1	2	3	4
15	다문화가정 아동이 모르는 문제를 물어보면 가르쳐 줄 수 있다.	1	2	3	4
16	내 생일에 다문화가정 아동을 초대할 것이다.	1	2	3	4
17	다문화가정 아동이 부모님이 외국인이라서 놀림을 받으면 마음이 아프다.	1	2	3	4
18	다문화가정 아동이 피부색이나 얼굴모양이 다르다고 놀림 받는 것은 나와 상관없는 일이다.	1	2	3	4

나는		항상 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇다	항상 그렇다
19	다문화가정 아동이 잘하는 것이 있다면(예: 달리기, 그림 그리기 등), 잘했다고 칭찬해 줄 수 있다.	1	2	3	4
20	백인은 백인끼리, 흑인은 흑인끼리, 아시아인은 아시아인끼리 지내야 한다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4
21	다문화가정 아동이 우리나라 글을 잘 읽지 못하면 도와줄 수 있다.	1	2	3	4
22	다문화가정 아동이 얼굴생김새와 피부색이 다르다는 이유로 놀림을 받으면 불쌍하다.	1	2	3	4
23	다문화가정 아동도 우리 반에서 리더역할(예: 학급임원)을 할 수 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4
24	국가에서 다문화가정이 잘 살 수 있도록 도와주는 정책을 많이 만들어주기를 바란다.	1	2	3	4
25	다문화가정에 대해서 안 좋게 말하는 사람들을 보면 싫다.	1	2	3	4
26	다문화가정의 외국인 부모님이 우리나라 말이 아닌 외국어를 사용하면 싫다.	1	2	3	4
27	우리나라에 다문화가정 사람들이 많아지지 않았으면 좋겠다.	1	2	3	4
28	다문화가정 아동이 한국말을 할 줄 알아야만 나와 같은 한국인으로 받아들일 수 있다.	1	2	3	4

나는		항상 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇다	항상 그렇다
29	기회가 된다면 다문화가정에 대한 수업을 듣고 싶다.	1	2	3	4
30	다문화가정 아동이 외모가 다르다고 놀림을 받는다면 그 아동의 편을 들어줄 수 있다.	1	2	3	4
31	친구를 사귀는데 있어서 국적(어느 나라 사람인지)은 상관 없다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4
32	다문화가정 아동이 자기 집에 놀러오라고 하면 갈 것이다.	1	2	3	4
33	다문화가정 아동이 준비물을 가져오지 않았다면 내 것을 빌려줄 수 있다.	1	2	3	4
34	이 설문에 대해 성실히 응답했다.	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX B.

EQ-C(Children's versions of the Empathy Quotient)

※ 아래 각 문항을 읽고 자신의 생각이나 행동과 가장 일치하는 숫자에 V 표해 주십시오.

나는		항상 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇다	항상 그렇다
1	다른 사람들을 돌보기를 좋아한다.	1	2	3	4
2	영화의 주인공이 죽는다 해도 울거나 마음 아파하지 않는다.	1	2	3	4
3	사람들이 농담하는 것을 재빨리 알아차린다.	1	2	3	4
4	벌레를 자르거나 곤충의 다리를 잡아 뜯는 것을 좋아한다.	1	2	3	4
5	형제나 친구로부터 내가 원하는 물건을 훔친 적이 있다.	1	2	3	4
6	내 의견이 다른 사람의 기분을 상하게 할 수 있다 해도 눈치 채지 못하고 얘기하곤 한다.	1	2	3	4
7	무례하거나 불손한 행동을 하면서도 스스로 그것을 깨닫지 못하는 경우가 많다.	1	2	3	4
8	다른 아이를 괴롭혀서 문제를 일으킨 적이 있다.	1	2	3	4
9	학교에서 무엇인가를 이해하면 그것을 다른 사람들이 알아들을 수 있도록 쉽게 설명할 수 있다.	1	2	3	4

나는	항상 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇다	항상 그렇다	
10	친구가 여럿 있을 뿐 아니라 그 중 한 두명과는 아주 친하게 지낸다.	1	2	3	4
11	나와 의견이 다른 사람들의 의견도 잘 듣는다.	1	2	3	4
12	다른 사람이 기분 나빠 하면 걱정된다.	1	2	3	4
13	내가 한 일에 대해서 다른 아이를 탓한다.	1	2	3	4
14	동물이 고통 받는 것을 보면 굉장히 마음 아프다.	1	2	3	4
15	누군가 나를 화나게 하면 그 사람을 밀치거나 꼬집기도 한다.	1	2	3	4
16	누군가 대화에 참여하고 싶어 하면 쉽게 알아챌 수 있다.	1	2	3	4
17	내가 원하는 것을 얻기 위해 협상하는데 능숙하다.	1	2	3	4
18	어떤 아이가 파티에 초대받지 못하면 그 아이의 기분이 어떨지 걱정된다.	1	2	3	4
19	다른 사람이 울거나 고통 받는 것을 보면 슬퍼진다.	1	2	3	4
20	새로 전학 온 친구가 학급에서 잘 어울리도록 도와주는 것을 좋아한다.	1	2	3	4
21	욕을 하거나 괴롭히는 행동 때문에 문제가 된 적이 있다.	1	2	3	4

나는		항상 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇지 않다	대체로 그렇다	항상 그렇다
22	내가 원하는 것을 얻기 위해서 신체적 공격을 하는 경우도 있다.	1	2	3	4
23	이 설문에 대해 성실히 응답했다.	1	2	3	4

국문초록

관점채택을 통한 공감의 다문화 아동에 대한

편견감소에 미치는 영향

본 연구의 목적은 관점채택을 통한 공감의 다문화 아동에 대한 편견 감소에 미치는 영향을 살펴보고자 하는 것이다. 본 연구는 다음의 세 가지 특징을 가지고 있다. 첫째, 본 연구에서는 편견 감소에 대한 공감의 효과를 측정하고 비교하기 위해 2 개의 대조군을 마련하였으며, 그 중 한 집단에는 공감과 비슷한 작용을 하지만 그 개념 및 구동 메커니즘이 다른 정서전염을 처치하였고, 다른 한 집단은 공감과 정서전염이 모두 일어나지 않도록 통제하여 개입의 효과를 비교하였다. 둘째, 사전-사후-추수 검사 설계를 통하여, 단순한 집단 비교를 통한 효과성 검증이 아닌 실질적 태도 변화와 그 지속성까지 측정하고자 하였다. 셋째, 2012 년 현재 가장 많은 비율의 다문화 자녀들이 속해 있는 초등학교 집단을 대상으로 하여, 다문화 가정 어린이들의 입장에서는 편견과 차별을 받지 않고 순조롭게 적응해 나가도록 하고, 일반 아동들의 입장에서는 이들이 사회의

소수집단에 대해 형성할 수 있는 잘못된 편견의 부정적 영향으로부터 보다 자유로워질 수 있도록 하는데 도움이 되고자 하였다.

연구 참가자들은 서울 송파구의 초등학교 6학년 학생 90명으로 하였으며, 그 중 여학생은 48(53.3%)명이었다. 송파구는 서울에서도 다문화 아동의 비율이 가장 낮은 지역 중 하나로, 과거 다문화 아동과의 관계 경험이 없는 학생들이 많아 편견에 영향을 미치는 주요한 변인인 관계 경험을 보다 효과적으로 통제하기 위하여 선정하였다.

아동의 편견 수준은 김미진(2010)의 아동의 다문화 수용성 척도(K-MAI)를 역코딩하여 측정하였다. 이는 아직 한국에 다문화 가정 아동들에 대한 편견을 측정하기 위한 신뢰로운 검사가 개발되지 않을 뿐 아니라, 김미진의 연구에서 정의한 다문화 수용성의 개념이 문화의 차이를 이해하고 편견이나 고정관념 없이 문화가 다른 상황에서도 적절하게 행동하는 것으로, 본 연구에서 다루는 편견의 개념과도 밀접하게 연관되어 있기 때문이었다. 또한 다른 나라의 인종편견에 관한 척도의 경우, 한국과 그 상황 및 정서가 다른 점이 많아 그 개념이나 척도를 그대로 사용하기에 무리가 있어 사용하지 않았다.

예비 실험을 거친 뒤 이루어진 본 연구는 4 단계, 즉 사전검사 - 실험처치 - 사후검사 - 추수검사로 이루어져 있으며, 사전검사로부터 약 10일 후 실험 및 사후 검사를, 그로부터 약 4,

5 주가 지난 뒤 추수 검사를 실시하였다. 실험 조작은 비디오 영상을 활용하였으며, 각 집단에 보여준 비디오 영상의 내용은 모두 동일했다. 실험 집단(관점채택을 통한 공감 처치)과 통제 집단(정서전염, 비공감) 모두에게 다문화 아동의 인터뷰가 담긴 동일한 비디오클립을 보여주되 실험집단에는 아동이 눈물을 흘리고 슬픈 표정을 짓는 모습을 그대로 보여주는 것은 물론, 영상의 앞 뒤에 ‘만약 나라면 나는 기분이 어떨까? 무슨 생각을 할까?’ 등 타인의 관점을 수용할 수 있도록 지시를 했다. 정서전염을 처치한 통제집단의 경우, 아무런 지시 없이 아동이 눈물을 흘리고 슬픈 표정을 짓는 영상을 그대로 보여주었으며, 비공감 처치 통제집단에는 동일한 영상을 보여주었으나, 눈물을 흘리거나 슬픈 표정을 짓는 일부 장면을 자막으로 대체하여 보여주었다.

그 결과는 다음과 같다. 첫째, 사후 검사 결과 관점채택을 통한 공감처치를 받은 집단은 그렇지 않은 집단에 비해 다문화 가정 아동에 대한 편견이 낮았다. 특히 비공감 처치 통제 집단과는 유의미한 수준에서 차이가 있었으며, 정서전염을 처치한 집단과의 차이는 통계적으로 유의미하지는 않았다. 공감 처치 집단과 정서전염 처치 집단은 비공감 처치 통제 집단에 비해 유의미한 수준에서 낮은 편견을 보였다.

둘째, 추수 검사 결과 관점채택을 통한 공감처치를 받은 집단만이 그렇지 않은 집단에 비해 편견 감소 수준이 안정적으로 지속되었다. 정서전염 처치 집단의 경우, 약 한 달 뒤 측정한 추수 검사결과 사전 편견 점수와 비슷한 수준으로 회복되었으나, 관점채택을 통한 공감 처치 집단의 경우 사후 검사에 비해 편견 수준이 다소 증가하긴 하였지만 편견 감소상태가 유지되고 있는 것으로 나타났다. 즉, 사전-추수 검사 결과를 비교했을 때, 세 집단 중 편견 감소에 안정적인 효과가 있는 것은 관점채택을 바탕으로 한 공감처치 집단이라 할 수 있었다.

이러한 결과를 바탕으로, 연구가 가지는 함의와 향후 연구 방향을 논의하였다.

주요어: 다문화 가정 아동, 편견, 공감, 정서전염, 관점채택

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