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First-impression Attitudes Towards People from Minorities and Different Cultures in Relation to Empathy and Self-esteem

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FIRST IMPRESSION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES IN RELATION TO EMPATHY AND SELF-ESTEEM

Abstract

The current study investigated first-impression attitudes in university students towards people from minorities and different backgrounds and the relationship these attitudes had to their empathy and self-esteem. Thirty-five students from the Introduction to Psychology course at Brescia University College took part in the study. The participants rated eighteen pictures of people based on first-impression on the First Impression Judgment Scale. Twelve of the pictures presented were of six people, one set of six pictures with a cultural identification and the other six pictures were casually posed with no cultural identification. Also, the last six pictures were of neutral people, added to the first twelve as distractions. Furthermore, participants filled out a Social Empathy Index (SEI) to measure their empathy, a Coppersmith Self-esteem Inventory (CSI) to indicate their self-esteem and a Demographic Questionnaire. The results of a Pearson Correlation indicated significant positive correlations between both empathy and self-esteem in relation to first-impression attitudes towards people of minorities and different cultures. Future research should further expand this study by replication on a larger and more diverse sample. The supported hypotheses proposes more attention be given in the education system to self-esteem and empathy to increase positive multicultural attitudes in people.
In psychology, attitudes are defined as a set of feelings, beliefs and later developed behavioral tendencies toward a specific person, object, group or anything that holds significance (Hogg, & Vaughan, 2005). For example, a person may hold a favourable attitude towards a fundraising event geared toward awareness for women abuse because of their belief that it deserves attendance and publicity. As Katz (1960) explained, attitudes can be affective, expressing a like or a dislike for a specific person or an event. As well, attitudes can be cognitive, which describes the reason for the attitude, its characteristics and the relationship it has with other attitudes. Katz (1960) elaborated that attitudes serve four different functions: a utilitarian function, ego defensive function, value-expressive function, and knowledge function; these functions play a role in influencing how humans react in different situations. First, utilitarian function, also known as adjustment function, explains peoples’ attitudes of wanting to maximize their rewards and minimizing their punishments. Second, the ego-defensive functions serve the need to protect one’s internal conflicts by defending his/her self-image by acting in a different way to appeal to the outer world. On the other hand, some attitudes serve value-expressive functions in which the person’s internal beliefs are reflected in their behavior. The last function that acts on attitude is the knowledge function that conveys the universal human nature for understanding the world. Most importantly, people act based on their psychological motivations that, in most cases, align with their developed attitudes.

The way humans behave is usually due to a general or a specific attitude towards a certain person, group or something relevant to the individual. For instance, a person who believes that animals should have equal rights as humans will act on their attitudes by behaving
in certain ways that validates their attitudes such as being a vegetarian. Human attitudes have been investigated in psychology research since the 1930s when LaPiere (1934) investigated the difference between one’s attitude and their behaviour. He found that peoples’ implicit attitudes may differ from their explicit behaviours in some cases such as social pressure. These reactions relate back to the ego-defensive function, in which the attitude is formed as a mean to defend one’s self-image. Moreover, LaPiere (1934) mentions that people change their behaviours to be presented as socially acceptable, thus behaving in a way that contradicts their inner true beliefs. For example, if a person has deep and hidden feelings of inferiority, he or she might project them by acting superior towards a group of people from a minority to boost his or her ego and assert their dominance.

Leach (2005) stated in her article that people had higher positive racial attitudes in the middle of the 20th century towards racism as shown by political movements. However, people still held attitudes of ‘old fashioned racism’, which formally criticizes cultural differences. The author indicated that continued racial discrimination in different life aspects (e.g. workforce, police treatment, judicial sentencing) are still apparent in North America even after many social justice movements. Previously in North America, the dominant group had an ideology that minorities deserve lower life chances because they were considered to be the inferior group (Leach, 2005). Unfortunately, many people in North America still appear to judge others based on their physical features and race rather than their achievements (Philipsen, 2003). As Katz (1960) discussed, these opinions stemmed from both utilitarian and ego-defensive functions of attitudes. Furthermore, people gained external rewards by belonging to the dominant social group, which perpetuated the view of minorities as inferior (Katz, 1960). A person’s judgement of others reinforced their self-image. Leach (2005) concluded that such practices of racism
declined since the 1970s, primarily because of legal protection for minorities. Nonetheless, people still engage in alternative racist expressions (e.g. mistreatment of minorities by police).

Internal and external motivations play a key role in both opinions and behaviours that express certain attitudes (Biernat and Sesko, 2013). In a study conducted by Biernat and Sesko (2013), participants were exposed to a written educational description of students from either black or white ethnic backgrounds (e.g. transcript showing GPA of a certain student). Researchers investigated the participants’ race-relevant motivators by filling a pro-black questionnaire in advance. Afterwards, participants read the communication given and later recalled what they remembered from the statements. Results showed that the undergraduate students who expressed pro-black motivations prior to exposure to educational information, developed anti-black attitudes after the information described black individuals positively. On the other hand, those with no internalized prejudice attitudes did not indicate race when recalling information. Researchers stated that the explicit positive attitudes towards black reported by participants in the beginning of the study were stated to avoid social affirmation. However, their actions later in the study of recalling black students with weaker GPA contradicted their initial opinion, which indicated implicit racially discriminating attitudes in participants.

Living in a diverse society leads people from different backgrounds to unite in order to live in a peaceful manner. However, people continue to make instant judgments on individuals based on their physical features or ethnic backgrounds (Philipsen, 2003). Those judgments are based on attitudes that are developed through parents, peers or social media outlets. The Social Cognitive Domain theory proposed that people evaluate perspectives towards others based on moral or ethical reasoning, social expectations and personal perspectives (Edmonds & Killen, 2009). For example, one will not exclude a person from a group based on his or her identity
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because they believe it is morally wrong and results in endorsing inequality between group
members. People tend to develop less prejudicial attitudes towards others from minorities when
they are exposed to inter-racial friendships since childhood (Edmonds & Killen, 2009). Edmonds
and Killen (2009) added that parental attitudes towards inter-racial relationships did not impact
their adolescent’s friendships, yet might affect their romantic relationships. In addition,
transitioning into university changes the life pattern of students. By joining a university, students
tend to categorize themselves into one group. This phenomena happens regardless of students’
ethnicities and backgrounds; they become one united student body, albeit with a variety of
different disciplines and majors (Dovidio et al., 2001). A person tends to self-categorize with a
group of individuals who share similar beliefs, goals, and motives and does not always need to
individualize oneself from the rest of the group as a distinctive figure. Furthermore, typically
students develop this common in-group identity when enrolling within a certain institution
(Dovidio et al., 2001). The developed in-group identity assists students in reducing
stigmatization towards others from different backgrounds, in fact, it produces a positive
relationship between students who envision the same goals.

The student body involvement in different aspects of university life together develops a
sense of belonging to one’s institution. As mentioned by Dovidio et al. (2001), this developed
sense of belonging fosters mutual feelings between one another towards success and assistance.
In such cases, a sense of empathy towards people from the same group increases. Empathy is the
ability to understand and emotionally respond to other people’s perspectives (Collins, 2014). In a
university setting, understanding other peoples’ perspectives emotionally is easier between
students since they go through shared experiences. However, there is a gap in research regarding
the degree in empathy of university students and their first-impression judgments towards people
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from minority and different backgrounds. Dovidio et al.’s (2001) research indicated that through the development of an in-group identity under a certain institution, feelings of out-group members of ethnic backgrounds are diffused, however the researchers did not investigate personal first-impressions of undergraduate students, but rather interactions between people in group settings.

Batson et al. (1997) conducted a study that intended to increase people’s empathy through exposing them to an experience from someone in a minority group. The study later showed that empathy can act as a moderator for people’s attitudes. Participants comprehended three different people’s perspectives; one who suffered from AIDS, another who suffered from homelessness and a murderer. As a result, empathetic responses were moderated by the way participants perceived people from a certain group. Furthermore, empathetic people can feel the position of other people’s struggles more than those low in empathy. Through these findings, the current research suggests that people higher in empathy scores will be have positive attitudes towards people from minority and different backgrounds.

Self-esteem is defined by Smith and Mackie (2007) as one’s self-concept of the self; it is the held positive or negative value that one has to themselves. As Bishop and Inderbitzen (1995) mentioned, the concept of self-esteem has been extensively researched in the areas of one’s self-worth and mostly in younger ages. Pioneer researchers such as Sullivan indicated that self-esteem development takes place in grade-school years, the current research will investigate the developed self-esteem in university students and how this concept can influence perspectives towards other people. From the ages of seven to nine, the experiences that a person has with peer relations such as friendships act as an important moderator of one’s self-esteem (Bishop & Inderbitzen, 1995). Therefore, the developed self-esteem in young adults revealed a sense of the
person’s past experiences and carried an impact on developing friendships later in life. Baumeister et al. (2003) denoted that self-esteem is essential in relationships since they are based on love and value. Moreover, to develop such associations to others, the need to love and value one’s self is essential. The Sullivan theory of self-esteem mentioned through friendships that increased one’s wellbeing by emotional support and intimacy, the individual felt competent and worthy, which increased their self-esteem. In this study, it was predicted that self-esteem will influence younger adults’ first-impressions towards people from minority and different cultural backgrounds, since one’s impression of the self reflects towards their attitudes and then behaviours to others in acting on the value function (Katz, 1960).

Empathy and self-esteem were both studied by Miklikowska (2012) in association with the concept of democratic personality, in which an individual support with positive attitudes. The study showed the concept of attitudes towards a democratic state and personality traits’ impact on people’s political attitudes. Moreover, the integration of psychological properties came from the idea that people’s emotional security play a role in being drawn to or pulled away from the democratic state. The study done on mid-aged adolescences indicated that such attitudes held to a political perspective remain stable in the long run. Results showed that empathy served as one of the strongest predictors for democratic values, and Miklikowska (2012) mentioned that it was due to people with higher empathy who cared and were concerned with the wellbeing of others. However, self-esteem did not show any association with positive attitudes towards democratic values. Self-esteem and empathy are two psychological measures that have not been found to be significantly correlated within an individual. However, this research further investigated each psychological construct in regards to first-impressions on people from different cultures.
The topics of empathy, self-esteem and attitudes towards people from minorities and different cultures have been commonly researched and reviewed in subareas of psychology. However, each topic was mentioned in a separate research and only a limited number investigated empathy in relation to attitudes towards minority. Peoples’ attitudes and behaviours fluctuate based on the differences in each person’s social surroundings and environmental factors that trigger a certain attitude (Edmonds & Killen, 2009). This current research was conducted at a women’s university to an all-female pool of participants and as Staruss (2007) indicated, past research found females had a positive attitude towards people from minorities and different racial backgrounds. Also, several researchers found that one of the major impacts of developing positive attitudes towards people from different backgrounds are both personality factors and values (Staruss, 2007). Roberts, Laux and Bruck (2009) indicated that age and educational level both significantly correlate with one’s Universal-Diverse Orientation. Universal-Diverse Orientation is a new concept that assesses attitudes towards dissimilar others. Moreover, their research studied personality factors in relation to Universal-Diverse Orientation in university students and found that those with a higher sense of care and consciousness, reported higher positive attitudes toward people from different backgrounds. Additionally, they reported that females, who outnumbered males in their sample, have higher empathy scores thus more positive attitudes towards people from different backgrounds. Therefore, participants from an educational institution are more likely have higher awareness of cultural differences. In turn, that resulted in positive attitudes in their first-impressions towards people from different backgrounds in this study.

First impressions of people tend to fluctuate in its accuracy when developing a sense of judgment towards an object, person or concept. Research has shown that people tend to make
personality judgments based on people’s appearance after a short time exposure (Todorov & Porter, 2014). Gosling, Gaddis and Vazire (2007) indicated in their research regarding first-impressions on people’s Social Media profiles that people make identity claims in which they convey to others how they would like to be perceived. For example, the way a person dresses can reflect a person’s personality. Therefore, people’s first impressions can be accurate at times, however, with little indication of the perceived person’s personality (i.e. picture only with no biography description), first-impressions can be misleading. Todorov and Porter (2014) mentioned in their research that different pictures of the same individuals can be rated as two separate people with different social attributions (e.g. extraversion). Thus minor variations of the same individuals can have some impact on how they are perceived. Taking into consideration that the rated pictures are based on first-impressions of strangers.

The present research is intending to fill gaps for past research in areas of first-impression judgments towards people from minority and different cultural backgrounds and relating these judgments to psychological constructs of empathy and self-esteem. Measuring first-impression judgment on virtual pictures with no description duplicates the research of Todorov and Porter (2014), where the same person is rated in two different pictures. However, there were some differences in this study where it had a portrait shot rather than a headshot, and one of the pictures had a cultural identification, where the other picture was in casual clothing. There was no further information on the pictures in order to control for differences in opinions to different individuals. Self-esteem studies regarding first-impressions towards other individuals was limited. Moreover, there was research that supported the impact of self-esteem on relationships (Baumeister et al., 2016) but nothing regarding first-impressions. Miklikowska (2017) noted in her article that empathy had been inversely related to ethnic and racial prejudice, which suggests
a higher possibility of positive first-impressions towards minority and people from cultural backgrounds.

The present correlational research hypothesized that people who score higher on the Social Empathy Index (SEI) (Segal, Gerdes & Lietz, 2017) will have more positive attitudes towards people from a perceived minority or cultural backgrounds than those with low empathy scores. The second hypothesis suggested that people with higher self-esteem scores on the Coppersmith Self-esteem Inventory (CSI) (Coopersmith, 1967) will report positive attitudes towards people from a minority and different backgrounds. If the sample included a fair number of participants who identify as a part of a minority or a different racial background, then there will be a possibility of them having higher positive attitudes towards the cultural identity picture of the person in comparison to the other casual picture.

Method

Participants

Students from an Introductory to Psychology course, Psychology 1000, signed up for the study through the SONA system at Brescia University College. A total of 35 participants completed the study and were compensated for 1 credit for their participation.

Materials

The First-impressions Judgment Scale (Todorov & Porter, 2014) was used to rate first-impressions towards eight personality traits of people presented in the virtual images (Appendix A). The scale had statements of different traits (e.g. extraversion) and the participants rated the pictures on a scale from 1-5, 1 being strongly disagree and 5 strongly agree. There were 18 photos presented (Appendix B), 12 of them were independent variables, six of the photos shown were of a person with cultural or religious identification and six were of the same people with
casual clothes that did not indicate any cultural or religious affiliation. There were six additional pictures intermixed with the independent variables. These pictures acted as distractions to reduce the chance of similarity detection of the other people presented in the independent measure. Self-esteem in participants was measured using the 58-item Coppersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI) developed by Ryden (1978). Participants were provided with a statement and had two choices, “like me” or “not like me”, to indicate relatability to the statement (e.g. I find it very hard to talk in front of a group). There was a mixture of positive statements that got one-point score (e.g. I’m easy to like) mixed with negative statements that acted as reverse scores that got a zero-point score (e.g. I wish I were younger). The person can get up 47 point scores and the average self-esteem score for women is 39. Empathy was tested in participants using The Social Empathy Index (SEI) (Segal et al. 2017) measure. 40 statements in the index assessed both the social and interpersonal empathy of participants on a Likert scale of 1-6, 1 responding to Never and 6 responding to Always. An example of the statements was “emotional Stability describes me well”. There were two reversed scores in the index and the questions were averaged to measure the participants’ empathy level from 1-6, 1 corresponding to low level of empathy and 6 equivalent to high level of empathy. Finally, participants completed a demographic questionnaire about their background information of age, ethnicity and religious affiliation to measure if it influenced the first-impression ratings.

**Procedure**

Participants signed up to the study through the SONA system in Brescia University College. After the participants arrived they were asked to read the letter of information that provided details about the study and preceded to sign the informed consent. Participants were told that the purpose of the study is to test university students’ first impression judgment in
relation to specific social skills. Participants were given 18 copies of the First-impressions Judgment Scale to fill and then shown a series of 18 pictures and asked to fill out each copy about each virtual person. Participants were encouraged to be as truthful as possible with their judgment towards people in the pictures. The pictures were shown one by one on a slide show; each picture was presented for ten seconds and 50 subsequent seconds allowed for rating the picture, before moving on to the next picture. After that, participants filled the following three questionnaires; Coppersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI), Social Empathy Index (SEI) and a demographic questionnaire. After the participants were done, they were given a Debriefing document, as well as debriefed by the researcher, about the aims of the study. Participants were told that the study investigated first-impression attitudes towards people from minorities and different cultural backgrounds and its relation to empathy and self-esteem. This document indicated that the information is anonymously coded and individual subjects’ scores will not be accessible. Finally, individuals were compensated for a credit upon completion of the study.

Results

A Pearson Correlation was conducted to detect any positive relationships that empathy and self-esteem had with first-impression attitudes towards people from minorities and different cultures in university students (N = 35). (empathy $M = 4.84$, $SD = .46$; self-esteem $M = 32.23$, $SD = 10.51$)

The results shown in Table 1 illustrated the relationship between empathy, self-esteem and first-impression attitudes towards people with and without cultural identifications.

The results of a one-tailed test indicated a significant positive correlation between empathy and first-impression attitudes towards people with cultural identification, $r (33) = +.40$, $p = .009$. As shown in Figure 1, the increase of empathy in participants meant an increase in
positive attitudes toward people with cultural identifications. As well, there was a significant positive correlation between empathy and first-impression attitudes towards people with no cultural identification, $r (33) = .46, p = .003$, *one-tailed*, but positive attitudes remained higher for pictures of people with cultural identification after comparing the two averages. Figure 2 exemplified the relationship between empathy and first-impression attitudes using a scatterplot, different colors referred to the pictures with and without cultural identification. The line of best fit demonstrated on the graph shows the pattern of attitudes towards people with or without cultural identification in relation to empathy.

On the other hand, there was a weak positive significant relationship between self-esteem and first-impression attitudes towards people with cultural identification, $r (33) = .30, p = .040$, *one-tailed*. As well there was a similar, positive relationship between self-esteem and first-impression attitudes towards people with no cultural identification, $r (33) = .29, p = .041$, *one-tailed*. Figure 2 illustrated the relationship between self-esteem and first-impression attitudes using a scatterplot, different colors indicated the pictures with and without cultural identification. The line of best-fit shown clarifies the pattern of the behaviour according to self-esteem levels of participants.

There was an unexpected significant positive relationship between self-esteem and empathy in participants, $r (33) = .40, p = .009$, *one-tailed*, shown on Table 1.

The information on the demographic questionnaire were encoded and tested with an Between-factor ANOVA to detect any possible relationships between ethnicity, religious views and other factors such as empathy, self-esteem and first-impression attitudes. All the participants were females, most of them identified themselves as White or European-Canadian ($n = 21$). The rest of the sample were East Asian or Asian-Canadian ($n = 5$), Black or African-Canadian ($n = 5$), and others ($n = 5$).
3), Latino or Hispanic-Canadian (n = 1), South Asian or Indian-Canadian (n = 1), Middle-eastern or Arab-Canadian (n = 1) and three participants did not indicate an ethnic affiliation. As for religious affiliation, the highest two areas of identification were Christian (n = 16) and Atheist (n = 10), others identified as Muslim (n = 2), none identified as Sikh and others identified as a non-stated affiliation (n = 7).

The Between-factor ANOVA test showed that there are non-significant relationships between ethnicity and empathy, $F(5, 33) = 1.77, p = .153$, nor first-impressions toward people with cultural identification, $F(5, 33) = 2.19, p = .083$. However, a significant main effect was detected between ethnicity and self-esteem, $F(5, 33) = 3.06, p = .025$. In terms of religious affiliation, no significant main effects were detected in relation to empathy ($F(5, 33) = 1.02, p = .399$), self-esteem ($F(5, 33) = .81, p = .501$) or first-impression attitudes towards people from minorities and different backgrounds ($F(5, 33) = 2.59, p = .071$)
**Table 1.** The table indicated the results from the SPSS output that showed the correlation between different variables (e.g. empathy & first-impression attitudes, self-esteem & first-impression attitudes, etc.) in the study.
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Figure 1: The higher the empathy levels in participants, the higher the positive ratings towards people from minorities and different cultures.
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Figure 2: The graph illustrates the slight increase in ratings towards people from minorities and different backgrounds when self-esteem ratings increase in participants.
First impression attitudes towards people from minorities and different cultures were shown to be significantly impacted by empathy and self-esteem. The current study revealed that participants who had positive first-impressions towards culturally identified individuals also scored high in empathy. Additionally, participants who reported higher self-esteem reported high positive attitudes towards culturally identified individuals.

Participants in this study were all females, and none of them were identified low in empathy. The average empathy level of the sample was 4.88, where the maximum that can be acquired was 6. Roberts, Laux and Bruck (2009) indicated in their research that females tend to have higher empathy levels than males. Therefore, it was expected that the empathy level would be high in this sample as it consisted of females only. It was supported by previous research that empathy has a negative correlation with ethnic and racial prejudice (Miklikowska, 2017). The current study supported Miklikowska’s point that high empathy scores meant higher positive attitudes towards people from minorities and different backgrounds.

Self-esteem, on the other hand, fluctuated among participants. There was a range of low, average and high self-esteem in participants’ scores. Moreover, the higher the self-esteem score of the student, the more positive her ratings were towards culturally identified individuals. Previous research has shown that self-esteem affected relationships. Thus, the way people perceive others (Baumeister et al., 2016). This research investigated the impact of self-esteem a step further by measuring how it influences first-impression attitudes towards people from different cultures. Through this research, it was supported that different ethnic backgrounds carried an effect on participants’ self-esteem scores. However, we cannot rely entirely on this significance because the sample was not ethnically proportional.
It is possible that this sample had positive attitudes towards people from minorities and different cultures because of the education level of participants. The participants were all students from Brescia University College, which indicated that they are a highly selected group of the population by being granted post-secondary education. Roberts, Laux and Bruck (2009) mentioned in their research that the educational level of a person increases their positive attitude towards others from different backgrounds. Hence, this study supported past research by the educated participants having positive attitudes towards people from different cultures. Furthermore, the study was based on first-impression attitudes and used pictures with no further context about the individual. Thus, significance might be affected by positive feelings towards the appearance of the individual in the picture. Appearance was not an extraneous variable since the appearance was controlled by having two pictures of the same individual in both cultural and non-cultural identification. Nevertheless, the color of the outfits poses of individuals or backgrounds might have stimulated a desirable response to culturally identified pictures.

Other measures of participants reported by the demographic questionnaire showed that there is no relationship between being a part of a minority and rating people from minorities positively from the first impression. As well, religious affiliation did not have any link with first-impression attitudes, self-esteem nor empathy. However, there was a significant positive connection between self-esteem and empathy in participants.

It is critical to mention limitations of the current study to further improve it in cases of future replications. The study had a small sample size of thirty-five female participants who had to fulfil a credit to one of their courses. To acquire a more generalizable conclusion, it would be an asset to have a larger pool of participants who are both male and female. Hence, a larger sample will allow for a two-tailed study of low and high groups of empathy and self-esteem scores.
Furthermore, more participants will produce a higher range of responses towards empathy and self-esteem, hence results will be more specific, reliable and potentially have a considerable effect size. As well, having a sample from the general population rather than only university students will direct a more realistic lens to the population’s attitudes. This would be especially relevant to people from minorities and different cultures because they exist all across Canada. As Roberts, Laux and Bruck (2009) reported, education levels play a role in people’s attitudes towards others. Thus, having someone who is not in university might affect the results.

The findings of this study can be made socially relevant if the education system changed the way it teaches empathy and self-esteem in schools. Multiculturalism in Canada requires constant integration of people from minorities and different cultures to Canadian schools. Therefore, students are always exposed to people from different backgrounds, which increases their tolerance towards minorities and people from different cultures. Most schools encourage confidence by teaching students the components of leadership. Leadership education should be enhanced at a young age since it was shown in this research that appreciation for one’s self-increases that of others. However, empathy is mostly taught at home and is not directly in schools. As Miklikowska (2012) mentioned, people with higher empathy tend to care about the wellbeing of others. This research suggested that the education system should structure an empathy-centred learning component to younger students. As it was shown, empathy increased the positive cultural attitudes later-on in life.

Overall, this study helped fill a gap of research regarding first impression attitudes towards people from minorities and different cultures in relation to empathy and self-esteem personality traits. Future research should investigate this area further to get more reliable data that can help in schools and educational institutions. Given that first-impressions help build later connections
between people, it is important to understand the factors that impacted it and enhance peoples’ positive attitudes towards others.
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Appendix A

First-impressions Judgment Scale (Todorov & Porter, 2014)

Rate each person on the following traits based on your first-impression

1. This person is extraverted
   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree  disagree  neutral  agree  strongly agree

2. This person is intelligent
   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree  disagree  neutral  agree  strongly agree

3. This person is devious
   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree  disagree  neutral  agree  strongly agree

4. This person is attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree  disagree  neutral  agree  strongly agree

5. This person is mean
   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree  disagree  neutral  agree  strongly agree

6. This person is trustworthy
   1  2  3  4  5
   strongly disagree  disagree  neutral  agree  strongly agree

7. This person is creative
   1  2  3  4  5
FIRST IMPRESSION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES IN RELATION TO EMPATHY AND SELF-ESTEEM

<table>
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<th>disagree</th>
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<th>agree</th>
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8. This person is competent

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<th>strongly disagree</th>
<th>disagree</th>
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Appendix B

Test Subject #1
Cultural identification (ID)

(Photo taken by author)
Non-cultural identification (ID)

(Photograph taken by author)
Test Subject #2
Religious ID

(Photo taken by author)
Non-religious ID

(Photo taken by author)
FIRST IMPRESSION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES IN RELATION TO
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Distraction photo 1

(Faruque, n.d.)
DISTRACTION PHOTO 2

(Paraschiv, 2016)
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Distraction photo 3

(Schanin, 2017)
FIRST IMPRESSION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES IN RELATION TO EMPATHY AND SELF-ESTEEM

Distraction photo 4

(Vaghasiya, 2017)
FIRST IMPRESSION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES IN RELATION TO EMPATHY AND SELF-ESTEEM

Distraction photo 5

(Yang, 2016)
FIRST IMPRESSION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES IN RELATION TO EMPATHY AND SELF-ESTEEM

Distraction photo 5

(Bitte, 2017)
Test Subject #3
Cultural ID

(Photo taken by author)
Non-cultural ID

(Photo taken by author)
Test Subject #4
Cultural ID

(Photo taken by author)
FIRST IMPRESSION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES IN RELATION TO EMPATHY AND SELF-ESTEEM

Non-cultural ID

(Photo taken by author)
Test Subject #5
Non-religious ID

(Photo taken by author)
Religious ID

(Photo taken by author)
TEST SUBJECT #6
Non-cultural ID

(Photo taken by author)
Cultural ID

(Photo taken by author)