Effect of Imagined Contact in Reducing Explicit Prejudice toward Outgroups in Japan

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Abstract: The feasibility of the imagined contact approach on reducing prejudice toward Koreans was tested on Japanese samples. Two studies were conducted to probe into the effectiveness of this method. In study 1, participants ($N = 96$) were asked to respond to social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat perceived toward Koreans and Chinese, in order to determine if indeed, they exhibit prejudice against these ethnic groups. Results showed that social distance and intergroup anxiety predict outgroup evaluation and acceptance. Also, Japanese hold more negative images toward Koreans. In Study 2, participants ($N = 160$) were randomly divided into three groups: positive imagined contact condition; negative imagined contact condition; and control condition. They read and imagined about a scenario, describing intergroup contact between themselves and someone of Korean background. Results indicated that those who imagined a positive contact showed greater positive attitude toward Koreans, while those in the negative and control groups were less favorable. The latter two groups did not significantly differ in any measure, suggesting that negative imagined contact did not affect outgroup attitudes. These finding suggest that imagined contact has potential in reducing prejudice toward outgroups in a relatively ethnically homogeneous society, such as Japan.

Keywords: Intergroup attitude, prejudice, imagined contact, intergroup anxiety

1. Introduction

The aim of this study was to experiment with the method devised by Crisp and Turner (2009), who have shown that intergroup attitudes can be improved by simply having people imagine a satisfying contact with an outgroup member. Their series of studies on imagined contact have been successful in inducing a more positive intergroup attitude, but their sampling has been limited to highly multicultural societies, whose people have frequent intercultural contact on a daily basis. However, their targets have not been directed toward people in relatively ethnically homogeneous countries, like Japan. This study targets the Japanese people, and investigates whether the imagined contact method is viable in a society in which inter-ethnic contact is rare, and it focuses on attitudes toward arguably the most stigmatized group, the Koreans.

Within the last decade, Japan, which had not had a prominent history of hate speech issues has been plagued by widespread, and regularly scheduled gatherings by nationalist groups, who express outright hatred toward Koreans, creating a pressing social issue. Japanese attitudes toward Koreans and Chinese, the two largest non-Japanese ethnic groups in the nation, have

been relatively negative compared to attitude toward other ethnic groups (Japanese Ministry of Justice, 2016; Japanese Ministry of Justice, 2017). The history of prejudice toward these two groups perhaps started during the Japanese occupation of the respective countries. During that period, the Japanese government imposed mandatory education of the Japanese language toward the Koreans and Chinese, demanding them to assimilate the Japanese culture and language, while at the same time, oppressing their own. In particular, thousands of Koreans were forced to relocate to Japan, as part of fortifying the labor force (Lie, 2008). Koreans were given statutory Japanese citizenship as *teikokushinmin* (帝国臣民) who were distinguished from true Japanese by limited rights (Park, 1973). The Chinese, in contrast, were not forced to come to Japan, perhaps because of the physical distance. After Japan surrendered in WWII, the Koreans were free to return to Korea, but many of them remained as Korean-Japanese, or *zainichi* （在日）, which had long reigned as the largest non-Japanese ethnic group. However, in contemporary times, the Chinese have become the majority foreign national group in Japan, accounting for 28.8% of non-Japanese population (Japanese Ministry of Justice, 2017). These Chinese mainly immigrated to Japan, making a huge leap in number upon the return of Hong Kong to China, and continuing this steady upward flow since. While Koreans are disrespected for their being pseudo-Japanese, Chinese are discriminated against as immigrants. The treatment of the Japanese toward these two groups had been negative throughout their history, and a United Nations special rapporteur warned Japan against the mistreatment of Korean and Chinese because of their heritage (Diene, 2005).

While Japanese citizens had been relatively blind toward their racial and ethnic discrimination, a movement toward expression of free speech by nationalistic groups began since the new millennium. These groups have been engaging in regularly scheduled hate speech demonstrations taking place in some of the most populated areas of Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, and other metropolitan centers. Freedom of speech had been allotted throughout post-war history, but it would appear that recent economic and political threats have led to this type of political movement (Arudou, 2018). Intergroup psychology explains this type of behavior by the *realistic threat theory*, which has since become the *integrated threat theory*. Stephan and Stephan (2000) assert that ethnic outgroups with political and economic power pose a significant threat to the status quo of the majority, and are likely to become the target of prejudice. In particular, the fall of Japan as an economic and political power within Asia, has prompted such a reaction in an attempt to reinstate the Japanese sense of superiority, bringing about nationalism and overtly racist behavior toward the aforementioned ethnic groups. The issue of discrimination has not received as much attention in Japan as is warranted, perhaps because minority groups compose only a small ratio of the population. Minority groups do not have as much of a loud voice as in other countries, merely because of their size. Many Koreans even go as far as to assume Japanese names, to hide their ancestry. This passive attitude on the part of minorities gives Japanese people the false impression that their country is ethnically homogenous, and that they are not racially prejudiced. The feeling of ethnic homogeneity leads to the Japanese failing to see any urgency to tend to their racial prejudice, which they may not even recognize they have (Mackey, 2017). The non-Japanese ethnic groups persevered as subjects of discrimination, adapting to the issue of prejudice, thus resulting in the Japanese being unaware of any problem (Mackey, 2017). However, today, the Japanese government

is luring international residents to increase their shrinking labor force (Bureau of Citizens and Cultural Affairs, 2015). The increasing number of foreign residents, due to globalization, is an impetus for facing the reality of racial prejudice within the current Japanese society. Overcoming such negative societal phenomena is important for Japan, since it is facing sharp decline in birth rate, and an increasingly aging population, resulting in the need for foreign workers and international students as a supplement to the labor force. In addition, with the 2020 Tokyo Olympics on its way, there has been a sudden influx of foreign visitors to the country, a country which is in dire need of tourism revenue, so immediate action toward mitigating the negative attitudes of Japanese people is warranted.

2. Theoretical Background of the Research

The typical Japanese may lack experience in interacting with non-Japanese, due to the relatively homogeneous indigenous population composition. This lack of experience in dealing with ethnically outgroup members may lead to high levels of anxiety when they actually engage in interaction. This lack of experience leads to uncertainty in how they should act, or how the other will act toward them, in an intercultural interaction, and hence, they may experience high levels of anxiety and fear of negative psychological or behavioral consequences (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Intergroup anxiety leads to a defensive reaction, causing negativity bias so as to minimize risk, therefore, they may tend to take on an avoiding, or otherwise passive stance in such forms of interaction (Gudykunst, 2005). Plant and Devine (2003) proposed that lack of positive experiences with outgroup members results in unstable self-representation during intergroup contacts, due to an air of uncertainty leading to anxiety. Having had a positive prior experience, however, eases the individual, allowing him/her to anticipate a successful and satisfying interaction, further giving him/her confidence in his/her behavior toward the outgroup person (Gudykunst & Mody, 2002). In support of this assumption, Plant and Devine (2003) discovered that Caucasian-American subjects who reported having past positive contacts with African-Americans had lower outcome expectancies of a negative contact experience in future interactions. Reducing intergroup anxiety leads to prejudice reduction (Voci & Hewstone, 2003), and imagined contact may have the potential to reduce intergroup anxiety and fear (Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007), subsequently freeing people of the resistance toward direct contact with outgroup others.

Researchers in the field of prejudice and stereotypes have concocted various methods to investigate how such negative attitudes can be reduced. Prejudice is a negative stereotype toward outgroup members based on social category groups. Allport (1954) suggested prejudice could be reduced through intergroup contact under situations that include four essential conditions: equal status, common goal, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities toward contact. Equal status assures that no power discrepancy exists between group members, and this assumption of equality assures fairness (Cohen & Lotan, 1995). Having a common goal assures that the interests of the two groups are mutually held, and hence, it will be to their best interest to collaborate with each other, rather than compete (Pettigrew, 1998). Collaboration fosters a cooperative atmosphere, which lends to cooperation between members to achieve their mutual goal (Bettencourt, Brewer, Rogers, & Miller, 1992). Support of authorities toward

groups working together is naturally facilitative of contact, and members have no resistance toward collaboration (Pettigrew, 1998). If a person has opportunity to interact with an outgroup member, they will be able to understand each other more appropriately, so having positive intergroup contact through process of recognizing each other's different point of view would lead to prejudice reduction.

Early studies in the contact hypothesis dealt with direct contact, i.e. personal interaction between members of diverse groups (see Cook, 1970; Amir, 1976). However, the recent trend in this research paradigm leans toward indirect contact, i.e., contact not directly experienced by the subject. In particular, extended contact, vicarious contact, and imagined contact have been widely experimented with. Extended contact refers to the mere knowledge that one's significant others (family and friends) enjoy a satisfactory relationship with an outgroup member, which contributes to a more positive attitude toward the outgroup in question (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997). Vicarious contact involves observation of a successful interaction with an outgroup member, often in the form of a video scenario (Mozzaiotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011). Finally, imagined contact provides a stimulus in which people mentally image a positive contact event with an outgroup member. Turner, Crisp and Lambert (2007) contend that mentally simulating a contact event is sufficient to bring about the intended consequences of an actual contact under the desired conditions.

Amongst these, the imagined contact method has shown great potential in application. It is rare that all four essential conditions of Allport (1954) coincide in a real life setting, and attempts to enact them in a face-to-face interaction in a laboratory experiment are difficult, while simply imagining an episode is highly convenient. Turner, Crisp and Lambert (2007) demonstrated that intergroup attitudes are improved through imagined contact, the episodes of which they constructed based on Allport's conditions. Imagined contact has been proven to foster positive attitudes toward the outgroup, increasing the subject's willingness for actual social contact, and improved group dynamics with the outgroup. Crisp and Turner (2009) claimed that this method is useful as preparation for direct contact with a particular outgroup target. This method has potential to be used within not only the educational setting, but in community settings, being applied to a large number of people simultaneously. The essence of imagined contact is to positively orient the subjects before they engage in actual contact with the outgroup.

Various targets have been experimented by this paradigm. For example, Turner, Crisp and Lambert (2007) have conducted imagined contact experiments with two types of targets: elders and LGBT. In both conditions, participants showed improvement in attitude and reduced intergroup bias than those who were not subjected to imagined contact. More extensive research has been done in the racial context, particularly on attitudes held toward black people by white people. Crisp and Turner (2009) found that imagined contact fostered positive intergroup communication confidence, positive attitudes toward blacks, stereotype dissolution and mitigation of intergroup anxiety. Likewise, Stathi, Cameron, Hartley and Bradford (2014) examined imagined contact on prejudice reduction of white children toward Asians. They adopted the method, devising original scenarios for children so that they can handle the task at their level. In this case, children were asked to create a happy story about playing with a child with a Chinese name, and confirmed that children respond just as positively as adults. These studies attest to the fact that imagined contact has much potential for prejudice reduction and intergroup attitude facilitation.

The majority of imagined contact studies have been conducted mainly in predominantly white societies, and these tend to focus on the white-black racial divide. Meanwhile, this method is yet to be probed for its utility in ethnically non-diverse locales, such as East Asia. Perhaps researchers in these countries do not see any immediate need to address racism due to their perception of their culture as being homogeneous. However, any society consists of diverse groups, although they may vary to the degree, and imagined contact, by virtue of its simplicity, should be considered a valuable resource for educating people toward stereotype and prejudice mitigation. Given the recent trend toward nationalism in Japan, as witnessed by increasing hate speech movements, it is timely for us to seek for methods in which we may be able to reverse this unfortunate phenomenon.

3. The Studies of This Research

We conducted a series of studies leading to test whether imagined contact would be successful within the Japanese context, targeting their prejudice toward the largest two ethnic groups in this country: the Chinese and the Koreans. Study 1 sought to uncover the negative images held by Japanese of these two groups. While they have had a common historical background regarding their relationship with Japan, we sought to determine whether their images held by Japanese are equally negative, or if one is seen as more negative than the other. From this result, we aimed to decide the target of prejudice for Study 2, which applied the imagined contact method to establish its utility toward mitigating prejudice held by Japanese.

3.1. Study 1

Study 1 was exploratory in nature, with the purpose of determining if indeed, Japanese hold negative attitudes toward foreign nationals. Study 1 had two purposes: 1) to determine the effect of social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat on outgroup evaluation and acceptance; 2) to determine the image held by Japanese of Koreans and Chinese ethnic groups. This study also shall serve as a determinant of the target of the subsequent Study 2 in which imagined contact shall be administered. Chinese and Koreans images will be compared to see who has a more negative impression, hence more prone to imagined contact benefits. As aforementioned, these two ethnic groups were chosen to be the subject of this study because they are the two largest non-Japanese ethnic groups.

The hypothesis and research question for Study 1 are as follows:

H1: Social distance, realistic threat and intergroup anxiety will negatively affect outgroup evaluation, acceptance and image toward outgroup.
RQ1: Do Japanese hold differing images about Chinese and Koreans, and if so, which would be more negative?

3.1.1. Method

Respondents were collected through crowd sourcing via the Internet site, *Lancers*. A total of 96

participants responded to an online questionnaire (46 male, 50 female, M_{age} = 38.8, SD = 9.67 ranging from 21 to 63).

A questionnaire was formed from scales constructed to evaluate social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat. The targets of evaluation were Koreans, and Chinese, done on seven-point Likert scales, following Turner, Crisp and Lambert (2007). All scales were translated into Japanese by the researchers through back-translation, involving two bilinguals, who conferred with each other when a back-translated item did not perfectly match. Finally, participants were asked to write candid impressions about Koreans and Chinese through an open-ended question.

3.1.2. Measures

To measure the social distance between Japanese versus Koreans and Chinese, six items were used, adapted from Wark and Galliher (2007). Example sentences included acceptance of relationships such as, 'close kinship by marriage,' and 'citizen in my country.' Participants rated a seven-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (definitely accept) to 7 (definitely not accept).

Realistic threats were defined as the feeling of harm to the ingroup (Stephan, 2014), including physical, politic and economic threats. Seven items were included, asking participants how much threat they feel toward each outgroup. For example, 'immigration from Korea (China) is undermining Japanese culture,' and 'the value and beliefs of Koreans (Chinese) immigrants regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most Japanese.' A seven-point scale was used, ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

For intergroup anxiety, participants were asked: 'If you were to meet a Korean (Chinese) in the future, how do you think you would feel?' There were five items such as 'awkward', 'happy' (reversed), 'self-conscious', 'relaxed' (reversed), and participants were asked to rate it by using a seven-point scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). These items were adapted from Voci and Hewstone (2003).

Outgroup evaluation was done by asking participants to evaluate their feelings toward the outgroup. They were asked to, 'describe how you feel about Koreans (Chinese) in general.' Six items were adapted from Voci and Hewstone (2003), rated on seven-point semantic differential scales, with examples being cold-warm, positive-negative, suspicious-trusting.

Acceptance toward the outgroup was asked through one item, worded, 'My attitude toward Koreans (Chinese) is:' on which participants were asked to rate how amiable they felt toward the target on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very unfriendly) to 7 (very friendly).

An open-ended question asked participants about their candid impression of Koreans and Chinese. They were asked the question, 'Give your candid impression of Koreans (Chinese). Write down anything that comes up in your mind. There is no right or wrong answer.' Responses were analyzed through the KJ technique of content analysis (Kawakita, 1967), which is the prevalent method employed by social scientists in Japan for categorizing qualitative data. The procedure for this method begins by inputting each independent idea that a particular respondent has mentioned. The ideas are then grouped into coherent subcategories based on similarity (for details, see Martin and Hanington, 2012), through three raters working independently. These subcategories were further grouped into main categories consisting of positive, neutral and negative, depending on the nuance of the subcategory, with neutral being allotted to one

which is merely descriptive, and not inherently positive nor negative. A Chi-square test of the frequency of descriptions in each category was conducted to see if there was any difference between Koreans and Chinese. Inter-rater reliability analysis using the *Kappa* statistic was performed to determine consistency among raters.

3.1.3. Results

A multiple linear regression analysis was conducted three times to predict outgroup evaluation, acceptance and impression, by social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat. For impression, an open-ended item was used, and three coders categorized descriptions independently, and then matched against each other to determine consistency. The inter-rater reliability was $\kappa = .67$, $p < .001$ for Koreans, and $\kappa = .73$, $p < .001$ for Chinese.

First, multiple regression with social distance, realistic threat and intergroup anxiety as predictors of outgroup evaluation for both Koreans $F (3, 93) = 87.69$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .74$, and Chinese $F (3, 93) = 35.14$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .53$ were significant. Significant β coefficients were confirmed, first for Koreans all three prejudice indicators, including social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat, and for Chinese the indicators of social distance and intergroup anxiety.

Second, multiple regression with social distance, realistic threat and intergroup anxiety as predictors of acceptance toward Koreans $F (3, 93) = 43.73$, $p < .001$, with an $R^2 = .57$ and Chinese, $F (3, 93) = 19.40$, $p < .001$, with an $R^2 = .39$ were significant. Significant β coefficients were confirmed, for Koreans social distance was a prejudice indicator of acceptance but not intergroup anxiety or realistic threat, and for Chinese the indicators of social distance and intergroup anxiety but not realistic threat.

Finally, we conducted a multiple regression with social distance, realistic threat and intergroup anxiety as predictor of negative impression toward Koreans, $F (3, 93) = .03$, $p < .99$, with an $R^2 = .001$ and Chinese, $F (3, 93) = 2.23$, $p < .01$, with an $R^2 = .07$. None of the three factors affected the impression for Koreans, while social distance was the only significant factor for Chinese, $p < .05$.

Table 1. Summary of multiple regression analyses for social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat predicting outgroup evaluation, attitude and image toward Koreans (N = 96)

Variable	Outgroup Evaluation			Attitude			Impression		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Social Distance	.55	.07	.64 **	.11	.02	.73 **	.004	.03	.02
Intergroup Anxiety	.37	.15	.20 †	.01	.03	.04	.004	.05	.01
Realistic Threats	.21	.12	.11 *	.01	.03	.03	.001	.04	-.003
R^2	.74			.59			.001		
F	87.69 **			43.73 **			.03		

*†p< .1. *p< .05. **p< .01.*

The images of the two outgroups were probed through open-ended descriptions. After coding was conducted, Chi-square tests were done to compare the number of negative image words toward Koreans versus Chinese. Results indicated a significantly more negative image toward Koreans than Chinese, $\chi^2(4) = 77.21$, $p < .001$.

Table 2. Summary of multiple regression analyses for social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat predicting outgroup evaluation, attitude and image toward Chinese (N = 96)

Variable	Outgroup Evaluation			Attitude			Impression		
	B	$SE\ B$	β	B	$SE\ B$	β	B	$SE\ B$	β
Social Distance	.49	.09	.53 **	.07	.02	.46 **	.06	.03	.32 *
Intergroup Anxiety	.53	.18	.27	0.07	.03	.22	.06	.06	.07
Realistic Threats	.02	.02	.06 **	.004	.004	.09 *	.004	.006	.15
R^2	.53			.39			.07		
F	35.14 **			19.40 **			2.23 *		

*†p< .1. *p< .05. **p< .01.*

Furthermore, less positive and less neutral images were held toward Koreans compared to Chinese. The KJ technique (Kawakita, 1967) was utilized to categorize responses into positive and negative images. Thirteen categories (102 words) were found for the negative image of Koreans, along with one neutral category (five words), and six positive categories (20 words). The top three categories for Koreans were ill manners (16 words; loud, bad manners and annoying), anti-Japan (15 words; hatred toward Japan, anti-Japan and aversion), selfishness (11 words; selfish, extreme self-consciousness, non-accommodating toward people around them), and insistent (11 words; insistent, vindictive and obsessed about Japan-Korea history). The list of words is included in Appendix 1, Table 3.

Six categories for negative image (87 negative words), one category for neutral (six neutral words), and six categories for positive image (42 positive words) were derived from the image of Chinese. The top three frequent categories were ill manners (44 words; bad manners, noisy, neglect of rules), selfish (22 words; selfish, extreme assertion, self-centered) and competent (13 words; hardworking, enthusiastic, determined). The list of words is included in Appendix 1, Table 4.

3.1.4. Discussion

These results of the exploratory Study 1 suggest that prejudice toward Koreans was stronger than toward Chinese. While the size of the Korean population in Japan is not small, because of the similarity in physical features to the Japanese, many people believe they have had little or no direct contact experience in daily life. Perhaps if Japanese had more opportunities and greater intent to have direct contact with Koreans, the level of their prejudice toward them may be at a certain magnitude so as to be sensitive to our experimental treatment. In the meantime, it is important to determine ways to reduce prejudice with indirect contact and then, leading to

engage in direct contact. We hypothesized that social distance, intergroup anxiety, and realistic threat would predict intergroup attitude, consisting of outgroup evaluation, outgroup acceptance, and impression of Koreans and Chinese. Outgroup evaluation was predicted by all three factors of intergroup attitude (social distance, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat). Acceptance was predicted by social distance. Negative impression was not predicted by any of the three factors. These results indicate that social distance strongly affects the Japanese' prejudice toward Koreans. Outgroup evaluation and acceptance were significantly predicted by social distance and intergroup anxiety, while negative image was slightly predicted by social distance. This hints that social distance and intergroup anxiety are crucial factors behind intergroup behavior. Japan has a small ratio of minority group population compared to other countries, so they might lack closeness and acceptance to other ethnic groups. Once social distance is decreased, and intergroup anxiety reduced, these improvements in intergroup attitudes would lead to prejudice reduction.

Comparison of the images between targets indicated that Japanese have a more negative image toward Koreans than toward Chinese. Although Chinese are the largest non-Japanese group by population, Koreans are regarded as the main target of discrimination (Japanese Ministry of Justice, 2016), as evidenced by the locale of hate speech movements.

Given that Japanese do indeed hold a negative image of both Chinese and Koreans, but more toward the latter, our next step involves implementing the imagined contact hypothesis to see if this indirect contact method has any potential in accomplishing the improvement of intergroup attitudes and reducing prejudice.

3.2. Study 2

The purpose of this study was to examine just how effective the imagined contact method would be in the Japan context, in which the constituents are presupposed to have little actual contact experience with non-natives. To determine whether imagined contact is a viable method for alleviating negative cognitions and affect toward Koreans, we tested this method by examining a scenario adapted from previous research (Crisp & Turner, 2009) to the Japanese context, making sure to include the four essential conditions from contact theory (Allport, 1954). To our knowledge, this was the first trial of this method in Japan.

In this study, our target was the Koreans. The Japanese Ministry of Justice has reported that most hate speech incidents target Koreans, perhaps due to the history between the two countries, and political issues still currently arising from it (Japanese Ministry of Justice, 2016), such as the comfort women issue. Therefore, this study aimed to determine the effect of imagined contact on prejudice reduction of Japanese toward Koreans. Hoffarth and Hodson (2016) suggested that imagined contact is more effective on people who have had little or no direct contact with an outgroup, as attitudes formed on the basis of direct experience have more resistance toward change (Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007).

Study 1 had determined that prejudice was owed to social distance and ingroup anxiety toward Koreans. We hypothesized that participants who imagined a positive intergroup contact would have a more positive intergroup attitude, and less prejudice than participants in control and negative imagined contact conditions.

3.2.1. Method

Japanese respondents were collected by crowd sourcing via the Internet site, *Lancers*. A total of 161 participants responded to an online questionnaire (83 male, 77 female, 1 unknown M_{age} 38.9 SD_{age} = 10.42 ranging from 20 to 81).

Participants were randomly divided into 3 groups: 1) positive imagined contact scenario group (N = 54); 2) negative imagined contact scenario (N = 53); 3) and control group (N = 53). In studies involving attitude change, pre-post testing is the norm, however, we weighed the risk of carry-over effects from one measurement being reflected onto the second measurement to be serious, hence we opted for a post-test comparison experimental design.

The positive imagined contact group were asked to read and imagine a scenario with a Korean, which was structured to take into account all four essential conditions of the original contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954). This episode consisted of a situation in which the reader befriends a Korean traveler by coincidence at a guesthouse, and they decide to sightsee together, resulting in satisfactory time together in good company.

After spending five minutes imagining the scenario, participants were asked to answer some questions, such as, "Which country do you think you were both visiting?", "What did you and the Korean traveler talk about while sightseeing together?", and "What did you enjoy the most while you were in the Korean traveler's company?". These questions were asked in order to enhance the imagination of the scenario, to give participants a more vivid image of the interaction, as well as for the purpose of obtaining indication of the effectiveness of the manipulation. If respondents were not able to answer these questions, chances were that they did not engage in imaging the scenario seriously. The same procedure was used for negative imagined contact.

In the control condition, respondents were asked to imagine an outdoor scene such as beach, forest and trees. The topic was nothing related to ethnic groups. After imagining the scene for five minutes, participants were also asked to answer questions about, "What place did you imagine yourself to be at?" and "What would you like to do in that place?"

After the imagining task, participants responded to the questionnaire, including positive and negative affect schedule (PANAS; Kawahito, Otsuka, Kaida & Nakata, 2011), to check the mood of respondents after the imagined contact treatment. Measures of intergroup attitude were also taken, six of them carried over from Study 1, and one additional item to probe for relative preference of Japanese over Koreans. We asked participants to rate their preference of Koreans versus Japanese, on bipolar ends, with (1) being 'I strongly prefer Japanese to Koreans' and (7) being 'I strongly prefer Koreans to Japanese'. The other measurements were carried over from Study 1, including social distance (Wark & Galliher 2007), realistic threat (Stephan, 2014), intergroup anxiety (Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007), outgroup evaluation (Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007) and acceptance of Koreans.

3.2.2. Results

A one-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to examine the effect of imagined

contact, controlling for gender, age, positive PANAS, negative PANAS and direct contact. The results generally indicated that the positive imagined contact group exhibited less prejudice toward Koreans, compared to the control group. The effects of imagined contact were as follows: 1) preference of outgroup relative to ingroup $F (1, 137) = 5.20$, $p= .007$, $\eta^2=.08$; 2) social distance $F (1, 160) = 4.33$, $p= .02$, $\eta^2=.05$, intergroup anxiety $F (1, 158) = 4.44$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2= .04$, and outgroup evaluation $F(1, 160) = 4.83$, $p= .009$, $\eta^2=.06$. There were no significant differences between control and negative imagined contact ($p= .87$), nor negative and positive imagined contact ($p= .12$). There were no significant differences on realistic threat $F(1,160) = 1.14$, $p= .32$, $\eta^2=.01$, and acceptance $F(1,160) = 1.44$, $p= .24$, $\eta^2=.06$. There was no significance between imagined contact and realistic threat and acceptance, however, it showed a tendency that the positive imagined condition rated less realistic threat and better acceptance toward Koreans than the negative imagined contact condition and control condition. For all the factors, there was no significance on control vs. negative imagined contact condition and positive vs. negative imagined contact condition.
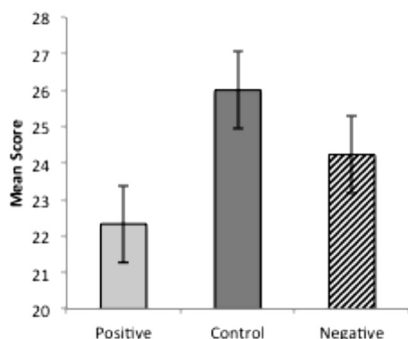

Figure 1.
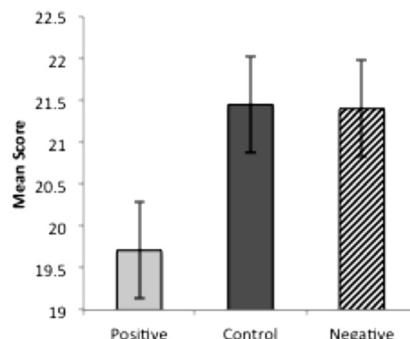*Means* for Social Distance of scenario groups

Figure 2.
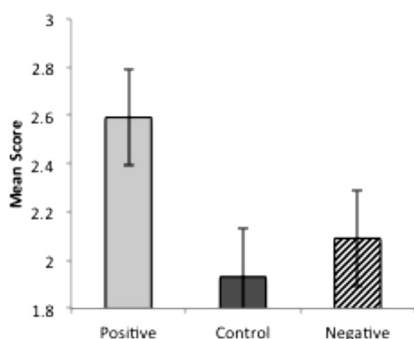*Means* for Intergroup Anxiety of scenario groups

Figure 3.
Means for Preference of outgroup relative to ingroup of scenario groups
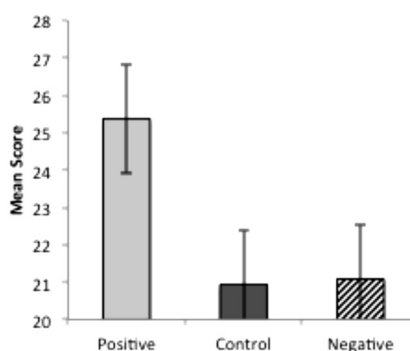
Figure 4.
Means for Outgroup Evaluation of scenario groups

3.2.3. Discussion

Positive imagined contact had significant effects toward most of our dependent variables, in line with our hypothesis that imagined contact would be effective on reduction of prejudice held by Japanese toward Koreans. The results indicated that positive imagined contact was effective in improving intergroup attitude and reducing prejudice of Japanese toward Koreans. It has indicated that reading a positive intergroup interaction scenario and imagining about it allows people to give fairer treatment, feel closer, and feel less fearful with Koreans. However, there were no differences between negative contact and control groups, nor were there any between negative contact and positive contact groups.

Logic would have it that no imagined contact (control condition) would be better than an unpleasant contact (negative imagined condition), but in our case, this was not so. In our negative contact scenario, we kept the story line consistent with our positive scenario, differing only in the description of whether the reader "had a good time" with the Korean traveler or not. Both scenarios were based on meeting a Korean traveler, with whom they become friends with, engage in sight seeing together, and are exposed to a non-Asian cultural environment. In terms of Allport (1954), all necessary conditions were present in both scenarios. Because the characters share a common *ingroup* identity as Asians in a foreign country, they share a common goal, are on equal status basis, cooperate with each other to go sightseeing, and interact on a personal level, even our negative scenario had the essence for successful intergroup contact, according to Allport.

Despite this unexpected finding, our main objective was to test whether imagined contact will have an effect in the attitudes of Japanese toward Koreans, and encouraging results were attained toward this purpose.

One issue of concern in this study could have been that a pre-post measurement of prejudice was not conducted. Previous studies involving imagined contact have not employed this measurement design either. We weighed the risk of carry-over effects from one measurement being reflected into the second measurement. If participants took the questionnaire before and after reading the imagined contact scenario, it would be too obvious for them to know about the research purpose. They might consciously answer what is expected.

Overall, creating an adapted version of a positive imagined contact scenario for the Japanese context showed some potential, with some sign of improving outgroup favorability, social distance, intergroup anxiety and outgroup evaluation. One shortcoming was, however, that our study limited the contact scenario to one single episode. It would seem essential to create various episodes to determine exactly in what conditions imagined contact would or would not work. In particular, episodes which may evoke empathy toward the outgroup might have enhanced the effect of positive imagined contact more, and future research should be dedicated to include additional variables within the episodes to identify what features facilitate the impact of imagined contact.

4. Overall Discussion

Study 1 showed that Japanese do indeed hold negative affect and cognitions toward both

Chinese and Koreans. Intergroup anxiety and social distance were influential in forming intergroup attitudes, and toward Koreans, more so than toward Chinese, social distance had greater influence on indices of prejudice, including outgroup evaluation and acceptance. From the free response image of each outgroup, it was evident that participants held a more negative view of Koreans than Chinese. For this reason, we chose to study Koreans as the targets for imagined contact in Study 2. Those who imagined a positive interaction with a Korean showed less prejudice than those in the control condition, indicating that imagined contact had yielded some positive effect in reducing negative outgroup sentiments.

Our two studies offered evidence for imagined contact to be effective in a society which has relatively little interethnic contact on a daily basis, whose people are not accustomed to interacting with non-natives. Still, there are incidences of ethnic conflict within Japanese society, albeit isolated, so this approach could be useful for mass administration of racism mitigation, should need arise.

4.1. Future Directives

While this study measured intergroup attitudes via self-report, perhaps a more unconscious measure would be warranted. Social desirability effects, and feelings of obligation toward the researcher may have prompted participants to react positively to the measurements. Perhaps physiological indices, or a less conscious measurement, such as the implicit association test, would be able to assess the participants' outgroup attitudes more accurately.

The site of the data collection may have had created extraneous variables having been done online. Because of the at-your-leisure atmosphere of the online response, participants may have been performing other tasks whilst responding, and may have not completed the responses at one time. A laboratory experiment would have assured more control over the environment, and participants could concentrate on the imagining task. As a matter of fact, Husnu and Crisp (2010) noted that imagined contact works better when participants closed their eyes and concentrated on their imagination, more than if they had their eyes open. Conducting research in a laboratory setting is crucial for getting a sincere response to the measurements.

4.2. Shortcomings

In this study, the imagined contact scenario took on the setting of a trip to a foreign country. In such a setting, a Korean would be a fellow foreigner, as well as a fellow Asian. This in itself may have induced a more positive image of the target by view of their shared race. Consequently, participants may have mentally regrouped the Korean to be part of his/her ingroup, given the situation at hand. From the self-categorization theory perspective, we can say that perhaps re-categorization could have occurred, bringing the Korean into a redefined ingroup circle. All scenarios included Allport's (1954) four essential factors of contact hypothesis including conditions of common goal, equal status, cooperation with each other to go sightseeing, and interacting on a personal level. This might have mitigated the effect of negative imagined contact scenario.

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Appendix 1

Table of KJ Technique of Content Analysis on Imagined Words of Koreans and Chinese Study 1.

Table 3. List of imagined words about Koreans, categorized by using KJ technique

Korean

Negative (102)

Ill manners (16)
- Loud (5)
- Annoying (3)
- Insolence
- Ill manners
- Rude
- Unrelenting
- Break rules
- Freedom of expression
- Incoherent
- Do not feel shame

Anti-Japan (15)
- Hate Japan(4)
- Anti-Japan(5)
- Aversion
- Severe to Japan
- Feel resentful to Japan
- Have prejudice
- Hostility

Selfishness (11)
- Selfish (4)
- Extreme self-conscious (3)
- Do not adjust to others
- Extremely proud
- Extreme self-assertion
- Bragging

Insistent (11)
- Persistent about history (3)
- Insistent (3)
- Vindictive (2)
- Obsession for money
- Complaint
- Obsessed

Emotional (9)
- Angryish (2)
- Emotional (4)
- Fury
- Extreme
- Radical
- Violent when they are angry

Arrogance (9)
- Bossy (2)
- High pride (2)
- Claim speriority
- Arrogant
- Looking down on Japanese
- Wicked
- Obstinacy
- Strong

Untrustworthy (6)
- Untrustworthy (2)
- Intoxicate others
- Liar
- Fooled
- Unfair

Value Conflict (6)
- Different value
- Live in small world
- Hard to treat
- Do not understand what others say
- Can not read atmosphere
- Difficult to approach

Immoral (5)
- Copy (2)
- Corruption
- Inferior goods
- High crime rate

Thick skin (4)
- Impudent (3)
- Condescension

Rivalry against Japan (4)
- Conscious about Japan
- Want to beat Japan
- Strong hostility

Depressed (3)
- Negative
- Dark
- Exhaustion

Nationalistic (3)
- Nationalistic
- Do not accept other country
- Competitive

Neutral (5)

Emphasis on physical appearance (5)
- Many plastic surgery (2)
- Only care about outward appearance
- Sensitive about appearance
- High aesthetic sense

Positive (20)

Pro-Japan (7)
- Close to Japan(3)
- Friendly (2)
- Like Japan
- Comprehensible

Amicability (5)
- Diligent (2)
- Passionate
- Caring
- Good manner

Active (5)
- Active
- Powerful
- Expressive (2)
- Good at business

Caring for family (3)
- Caring for family (2)
- Conscious for fellow

Table 4. List of imagined words about Chinese, categorized by using KJ technique

Chinese

Neutral (6)

Population (6)
Group (2)
Many
Everywhere
Multi-ethnic
Gather as large group

Positive (30)

Competent (13)	Active (10)	Friendly (7)
Diligent (2)	Speak out clearly (4)	Friendly (3)
Passionate (2)	Active (2)	Understandable (2)
High ability	Clear self-assertion (2)	Nice
Legitimate	Powerful	Say greetings
Have beliefs	Free	
Have pride		
Powerful		
Going their way		
Smart		
Work fast		
Have sharp mind		

Amicability (5)	Rich (4)	Good manners (3)
Caring for family	Rich	Have common sense (3)
Conscious for fellow	Has money	
Priority relatives	Good at making money	
Nice to close people		
Thick to humanity		

Negative (77)

Ill manners (45)	Selfish (21)	Messy (11)
Bad manner (11)	Extreme self-assertion (7)	Rough (3)
Loud (8)	Self-centered (6)	Miscellaneous
Noisy (8)	Selfish (2)	Do not care about public eyes
Don't follow rules (5)	Indulgence	Not thoughtful
No manner (2)	Self priority	Lazily
Culturally immature (2)	Egoistic	Messy
Lack of moral	Arrogance	Slobish
Break moral	Rough temperament	Dirty
Savage	Egoism	
Don't know manner		
Low sociality		
Insolence		
Do not stay in line		
Annoying		

Immoral (4)	Value Conflict (3)	Thick skin (3)
Scam	Do not make common sense (2)	Impudent (2)
Stealing	Different social norm	Condescension
Copy		
Copyright is not recognized		

Appendix 2

Questionnaire from Study 1

Demographics
1 Gender
2 Nationality
3 Are you older than 20?
4 Age
5 Academic Background
6 Occupation

Preference of outgroup:

7 Which statement best describes you?
- I strongly prefer Japanese to Korean. (1)
- I moderately prefer Japanese to Korean. (2)
- I slightly prefer Japanese to Korean. (3)
- I like Japanese and Korean equally. (4)
- I slightly prefer Korean to Japanese. (5)
- I moderately prefer Korean to Japanese. (6)
- I strongly prefer Korean to Japanese. (7)

8 Which statement best describes you?
- I strongly prefer Japanese to Chinese. (1)
- I moderately prefer Japanese to Chinese. (2)
- I slightly prefer Japanese to Chinese. (3)
- I like Japanese and Chinese equally. (4)
- I slightly prefer Chinese to Japanese. (5)
- I moderately prefer Chinese to Japanese. (6)
- I strongly prefer Chinese to Japanese. (7)

Social Distance:
9 Question below is asking about distance between you and Chinese.

	Degree of agreement (1=Strongly agree, 7=Strongly disagree)						
To close kinship by marriage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
To my club as personal chums	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
To my street as neighbors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Employment in my occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Citizenship in my country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10 Question below is asking about distance between you and Koreans.
Same questions as #9

Realistic threat: (Korean version was same with Chinese ver. Only word "Chinese" was replaced with "Korean" (1=Strongly agree, 7=Strongly disagree)
Q11 Chinese immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of Japanese society as soon as possible after they arrive.
Q12 Immigration from China is undermining Japanese culture.
Q13 The values and beliefs of Chinese immigrants regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most Japanese
Q14 The beliefs and values of Chinese immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most Japanese.
Q15 The beliefs and values of Chinese immigrants regarding social relations are not compatible

with the beliefs and values of most Japanese.

Q16 Chinese culture threatens to overwhelm Japanese culture if immigration continues at its present rate.

Q17 Chinese immigrants should not have to accept Japanese ways.

Korean

Q18 Korean immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of Japanese society as soon as possible after they arrive.

Q19 Immigration from Korea is undermining Japanese culture.

Q20 The values and beliefs of Korean immigrants regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most Japanese

Q21 The beliefs and values of Korean immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most Japanese.

Q22 The beliefs and values of Korean immigrants regarding social relations are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most Japanese.

Q23 Korean culture threatens to overwhelm Japanese culture if immigration continues at its present rate.

Q24 Korean immigrants should not have to accept Japanese ways.

Intergroup Anxiety

Q25 If you were to meet a Chinese person in the future, how do you think you would feel?

Q26 If you were to meet a Korean person in the future, how do you think you would feel?

	Not at all						very
Awkward	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Self-conscious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Outgroup Evaluation

Please describe how you feel about Chinese in general.

Please describe how you feel about Korean in general.

Cold						*Warm*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Positive						*Negative* (reversed)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Friendly						*Hostile* (reversed)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Suspicious						Trusting
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Respectful						*Contempt* (reversed)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Admiration						*Disgust* (reversed)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Image of Chinese and Koreans

Q39 What do you imagine when you think of Chinese?
_____
Q40 What do you imagine when you think of Koreans?
_____

Attitude toward outgroups
Which one represents you the most?
41 My attitude toward Chinese immigrants is…
42 My attitude toward Korean immigrants is…
43 My attitude toward Chinese international students is…
44 My attitude toward Korean international students is…
Not friendly at all   *Very friendly*
1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Direct Contact
45 How often do you meet each ethnic group in daily life?

	Not at all	1-2 per year	1-2 per few months	1-2 per one month	1-2 per one week	3-4 per one week	everyday
Chinese	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Korean	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix 3 (participants read one of the scenario)

Positive Imagined Contact Scenario

Please read the scenario below and imagine about it for 5 minutes.
You went to a country abroad and in that country, people do not speak your local language. It is somewhere you have never been. You thought you want to make non-Japanese friends, so you decided to stay in a guest house. In the guest house, you met a person Kim, who is Korean. After talking to Kim, you realized that both of you wanted to go to the same sightseeing spot. Kim and you made travel plan together and experienced many things together. Such as, helped each other in reading the map, asking local people for direction with body language and so on. It was a great time for both of you. While traveling together, you found out that Kim and you had a lot in common, because of that Kim and you became good friends. Even after going back to each other's country, you are still keeping in touch with Kim.
In this situation, where do you think you went? And what do you think you and Kim talked about?

Please answer questions about the scenario you just read. (open-ended)
In the imagined scene, which country did you and Kim visit?
In the imagined scene what kind of sightseeing spot did you and Kim go to?
From the sightseeing spot you wrote, what was the greatest and interesting memory?

During the trip, what specifically did you and Kim talk about? There is no right or wrong answer, so please answer honestly.

Negative Imagined Contact Scenario

You went to abroad country and in that country, people do not speak your local language. It is somewhere you have never been. You wanted to make the accomodation fee as cheap as possible, so you decided to stay in a guest house. In the guest house, you met a person Kim, who is Korean. After talking to Kim, you realized that both of you wanted to go to same sightseeing spot. Kim and you decided to travel together, however, you and Kim had many different opinions during making traveling plan and you and Kim had a fight. You tried to help each other on reading map but it did not go well because of the mood. You ended up getting lost with Kim, but local people do no speak same language with you, so there were no way to ask for direction. Because of the struggle, you and Kim had a fight again. While traveling together, you found out that Kim and you had nothing in common, because of that Kim and you never contacted each other ever again, even after you went back to your country.
In this situation, where do you think you went? And what do you think you and Kim talked about?

Please answer questions about the scenario you just read. (open-ended)
In the imagined scene, which country did you and Kim visit?
In the imagined scene what kind of sightseeing spot did you and Kim go?
From the sightseeing spot you wrote, what was the worst memory?
During the trip, what specifically did you and Kim talk about? There is no right or wrong answer, so please answer honestly.

Control Scenario

Please imagine about traveling to overseas. Also imagine about what you want to do at the destination.
(Example: beach, forest, is there tree or not, hill and what is on the horizon etc.)

Please answer questions about the scenario you just read. (open-ended)
In the imagined scene, which country did you visit?
In the imagined scene what kind of sightseeing spot did you go to?
From the sightseeing spot you wrote, what would be in your traveling memory? There is no right or wrong answer, so please answer honestly.

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