Exploring the Relationships between Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination among Japanese University Students: A Survey Study

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Abstract: This study examines the relationship between stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination as they show up in the teaching of cross-cultural communication to Japanese college students. The study draws on a social psychology framework that relates affect, behavior and cognition to each other, and then applies this framework to teaching the more emotionally laden aspects of Yashiro's (2001) culture iceberg. Specifically, it examines the relationship between stereotype and prejudice, based on the premise that intercultural miscommunication starts from stereotypes (in the cognitive level), which are translated into strong feelings of prejudice (in the affective level) and in turn manifested in various forms of discriminatory actions (in the behavioral level). This study finds a relationship between prejudice (affect) and discrimination (behavior) that Japanese students have toward countries in particular, in a sample of 155 college students in Japan. Through studying the relationship between discrimination (behavior), prejudice (affect) and stereotyping (cognition) among Japanese college students, this study extends and deepens the literature on cultural awareness and processing as it relates to teaching culture in Japan.

Keywords: Affect/feelings, behavior, cognition, cross-cultural communication, discrimination, Japanese students, prejudice, stereotyping

1. Introduction

Social psychology research has shown that cognition, affect and behavior are linked (e.g. Jackson, 2011; Fiske et al., 2002; Stangor, 2014), specifically that cognition drives affect, and that affect drives behavior. However, little is known about how the relationship between cognition, affect and behavior might be applied to teaching cross-cultural communication to Japanese college students. Specifically, little research in the field of cross-cultural communication has explored the relationship between stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination in teaching cross-cultural communication in Japan. This paper aims to apply the social psychology research on cognition, affect and behavior to the teaching of culture, by examining these relationships in the context of cognitive stereotypes, feelings of prejudice, and discriminatory behavior among Japanese students. The study of stereotypes, prejudice and discriminatory behavior is important, because stereotypes and prejudice may play a major role in Japanese students' behavior abroad or to foreigners in Japan.

The underlying goal of this paper is to deepen our understanding of students' intercultural awareness by starting from students' awareness of themselves, and from a deeper understanding of the process of how their own set images and feelings affect their decisions and actions. Theorists have long noted that social-structural relationships among groups are responsible for observed patterns of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination (Allport, 1954; Fiske, et al., 2002). How do our own stereotypes and judgments limit our openness and receptivity to others? How do our own perceptions and judgments of others influence our behavior and the actions that we take in life? In exploring the relationship between stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, this paper also hopes to shed light on how stereotypes ---students' perceptions of things and people--- are translated into strong feelings of bias and prejudice, particularly in the affective level, and then ultimately into the choices and the decisions they make, as manifested in the behavioral level.

This paper is organized as follows. It starts by reviewing theory relating cognition, affect, and behavior. The paper then applies this theory to teaching cross-cultural studies to Japanese college students, by operationalizing cognition, affect, and behavior in the context of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. Specifically, it operationalizes these constructs using the Self-Assessment Manikin (SAM) adapted from Morris (2002) and Bradley (1994) to assess prejudicial feelings, the Social Perception Scale (SPS) to assess stereotypes adapted from Ryan (2006) Stewart, Weeks & Lupfer (2003), and Wittenbrink, Judd & Park (1997), and the Social Distance Scale (SDS) adapted from Bogardus (1933) to assess discriminatory behavioral tendencies.

2. Theoretical Framework: Affect, Cognition and Behavior

Social psychology has found that in order to effectively maintain and enhance successful interactions with others, we rely on three basic and interrelated human capacities: (1) affect (feelings), (2) behavior (interaction), (3) cognition (thought) (Stangor, 2014). The phenomena and processes associated with one's beliefs about members of other social groups (stereotypes), feelings, attitudes and evaluative responses toward group members (prejudice), and behaviors toward members of another social group based on their group membership (discrimination) have been an immediate concern of research in social psychology and intercultural communication (e.g. Caprariello et al., 2009). Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination in a process involving affect, behavior and cognition operating in human relationships (Jackson, 2011). Each element of Jackson's (2011) model is addressed below.
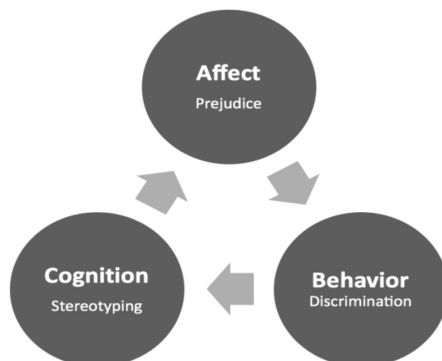
Figure 1. The Relationship between Cognition, Affect and Behavior (Stangor, 2014)

Cognition. Cognition here refers in its simplest form to thinking and other information processes in the brain (Sternberg & Sternberg, 2009). Jackson (2011) proposes that our feelings toward things and people are influenced largely by the cognitive images we have of them which in turn translates into the behavior and actions they take for or against them.

Affect/ Feelings. Jackson (2011) further proposes that both the positive and negative feelings we have of people, places and things around ushave a direct impact on the actions and decisions we take. These feelings are the affect component of the model. Here, we use Stangor's (2014, p. 29) definition of affect, where "Affect refers to the feelings we experience as part of our everyday lives…Affect can […] lead us to engage in behaviors that are appropriate to our perceptions of a given situation. [That is why] when we are happy, we seek out to socialize [(show emotions)] with others; when we are sad or angry, we may attack; when we are fearful, we run away."

Behavior. Assuming that the feelings students have of things and people are influenced largely by the cognitive images they have of them which in turn translates into the behavior and actions they take for or against them, we refer to these actions and decisions as the behavior component of Jackson's (2011) model.

A strong negative feeling or attitude, which is usually unseen, usually manifests itself into negative action. The result is discrimination. When we allow our negative feelings against others to get out of control, we tend to act on our feelings. Action based on prejudice results in unfair treatment of people. Examples include rejecting people or denying them their due rights and privileges because of gender, physical traits, facial structure, skin color or ethnicity (Ikeguchi & Yashiro, 2008, p. 106).

3. Applying Cognition, Affect and Behavior to Teaching Cross-Cultural Studies: Stereotypes, Prejudicial Feelings and Discriminatory Behavior

The paper applies Jackson's (2011) theory of affect, behavior and cognition in social psychology to cultural studies by analyzing the relationship between stereotypes, prejudice, and behavioral choices in the context of teaching about culture. Following Fiske (1998), Eagly and Chaiken

(1998), stereotyping is viewed as the most cognitive component, prejudice as the most affective component, and discrimination as the most behavioral component of reactions to people from groups perceived to be different from one's own group. Accordingly, this paper argues that the cognitive perception of things and people, stereotypes, are translated into strong feelings of bias and prejudice, in the affective level which ultimately affect their choices and the decisions they make, manifested in the behavioral level, as illustrated in Figure 2.
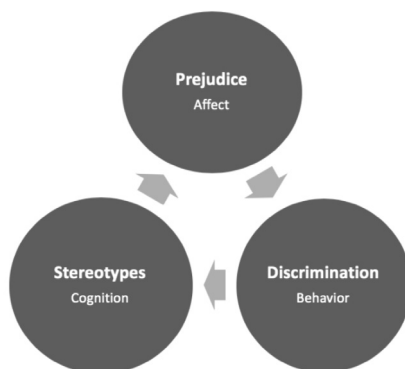

Figure 2. Relating Cognition, Affect and Behavior (Jackson 2011, Stangor 2014)

3.1. Stereotypes

By most historical accounts, Lippmann (1922) introduced the term 'stereotype' to refer to the typical picture that comes to mind when thinking about a particular social group or an individual. Stereotypes serve as schema which organize traits and associations one has with a group of people or things, and which provide a rationale for why the different traits are associated (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996).

Stereotypes are generally defined as the positive or negative images that we hold about persons and/or things. Not all stereotypes are bad, since there are positive ones too. Basic examples include "French are romantic"; "Old people are incompetent, stubborn and narrow minded." On one hand, these beliefs have been described as a guide to human actions. On the other, people also tend to develop unjustifiable negative feelings towards members of the in-group or outgroup that strongly influence their actions.

Stangor (2014, p. 201) claims that "Stereotypes are as old as human culture itself." It is normal for people to categorize things, events, and people because this helps them to mentally organize and make sense out of the world around them. This also highlights differences and helps in making important decisions.

Gaertner (1983) found that subjects, regardless of their level of prejudice, responded faster when positive attributes were paired with pictures of white people than when positive attributes were paired with black people. On the other hand, negative attributes paired with whites were responded to as quickly as negative attributes paired with blacks.

3.2. Prejudicial Feelings

Social psychology defines prejudice as an "affective component (e.g., dislike) reflecting an overall evaluation of a group or person. Prejudice is typically conceptualized as an attitude that, like other attitudes, is based on a cognitive component (e.g., beliefs about a target group) and a cognitive component (e.g., a behavioral predisposition to behave negatively toward the target group)" (Dovidio, 2010, p. 261). An individual's feelings towards members of an out-group are defined largely by his membership in a group. Allport (1954, p. 45), in his seminal work, "The Nature of Prejudice," defined prejudice as "an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed."

Thus, generally defined, prejudice is a negative attitude towards another person, object or a group of people or a group of things based on comparison with your own group. Ikeguchi and Yashiro (2008, p. 99) describe "prejudice as a negative feeling resulting from a negative or false stereotype." Prejudice is an emotion and manifests itself in our behavior. Unlike its resulting behavior, feelings of prejudices are not manifested. We cannot see them and therefore we cannot judge what prejudice people have. For example, there may be some Japanese girls who fear black men in general (regardless of ethnic origin) because they hold certain negative stereotypes of them. When by chance, they encounter a black male student for the first time at university, they may immediately avoid him rather than taking the opportunity to test their stereotype by getting to know him better. Ikeguchi and Yashiro (2008) refer to prejudice as being a kind of cultural blindness and a barrier to communication.

When we see something different or someone ---an outsider---follow a different norm or behave differently, we often feel unpleasant and threatened. Our antagonism towards outsiders often helps to intensify our feeling of belongingness and loyalty to our group. As human beings, we prefer and value the familiar, in part because the familiar tends to provide the indispensable basis for our existence. Our membership in a group: the family, school, community, ethnicity defines who we are. "The self cannot be itself without them" (Allport, 2002, p. 30). This sense of belongingness is a personal matter. Each individual sees in his in-group a pattern of security required to survive. Thus, our categorization of self and others puts the in-group situation in perspective.

3.3. Discriminatory Behavior

Dovidio (2010, p. 8) defines discrimination as follows: "Discrimination may involve actively negative behavior toward a member of a group or, more subtly, less positive responses than those toward an in-group member in comparable circumstances." Earlier, Allport (1954, p. 51) claimed that discrimination involves denying "individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish." Jones (1972a, p. 4) defined discrimination as "those actions designed to maintain own-group characteristics and favored position at the expense of the comparison group." More recent investigations point out that discrimination includes not only actions that directly harm or disadvantage another group. It also refers to those that unfairly favor one's own group (creating a relative disadvantage for other groups). Generally understood, discrimination is a biased social behavior resulting from a negative and ungrounded

feeling which is based on categorization.

Some of the few studies involving Japanese individuals include the work of Bonazzo and Wong's (2007) qualitative research which examined four Japanese female college students' experience of discrimination, prejudice and stereotype in a predominantly white university. The research is important in two ways. First it shows different types of discrimination ranging from blatant discrimination to more subtle assaults. Japanese were found to deal with discrimination through avoidance. The paper also sheds light into stereotypes common to Asians and stereotypes unique to Japanese as well as stereotypes Japanese have of Americans. For example, American professors perceived Japanese students as more academically conscientious. Americans were also found to stereotype Japanese culture based on its culture symbols like the samurai, and thought that everyone in Japan is carrying a sword.

Tanaka (1962) conducted a cross cultural study comparing Japanese and American students' stereotypes of each other in relation to linguistic relativity. The results showed that semantic difference between Japanese and American students was smaller when they judged concepts they were familiar with (p. 75).

Abrams and Myers' work (2013) offers some insights regarding Japanese stereotypes in an international context. Although the paper aims to provide support for group justification theory by showing Japan - North Korea – South Korea relationship, it shows that the images that Japanese have of North Koreans are different from those of South Koreans. There appears to be overspill between stereotypes and prejudice towards different, but related, outgroups, which is fueled by intergroup threats.

Intermittent and unstructured surveys give an idea of young Japanese people's stereotypes of the U.S. When Japanese students were asked in class, what they think about the U.S., or would they like to go to the U.S., they would say they would very much like to go to the U.S. In general, Japanese students in class perceived Americans as open, friendly, sociable and not shy. However, there is a dearth of research on stereotypes, prejudice and discriminatory behavior among Japanese (Japan Today, 2018).

3.4. Relating Cognitive Stereotypes, Prejudicial Feelings and Discriminatory Behavior

The influence of feelings on cognition and behavior is presumed to be causal, suggesting a similar relationship between prejudice (feelings), stereotypes (cognition) and discriminatory behavior. Research on the social implications of stereotypes has shown that stereotypes promote discrimination by systematically influencing perceptions, interpretations, and judgments. Diekman and Eagly (2005) demonstrated how stereotypes also arise from and are reinforced by discrimination, justifying disparities between groups. In particular, people infer the characteristics of groups based on the social roles they occupy (Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Jost & Banaji, 1994). As a consequence, people view members of groups with lower socioeconomic status (even if caused by discrimination) as less competent and/or less motivated than high-status group members.

Some of the harmful and prejudicial effects of stereotypes are described by Fiske (1998). They act as self-fulfilling prophecy in that they prevent stereotyped groups/ individuals from succeeding in activities. They cause inability to rethink one's attitude and behavior towards

a stereotyped group or individual. They are erroneous and judgmental. "Stereotypes are not only harmful in their own rights. They do damage by fostering prejudice and discrimination" (Fiske, 2008, p. 381). Ikeguchi and Yashiro (2008, p. 92) describe the process of stereotyping as a barrier to communication, especially to intercultural communication. "When we stereotype people, we put them in a box or a category, and we interpret their behavior based on the images we have." These "boxed images," however, are usually unfair and misleading.

Further, prejudicial feelings can lead to discriminatory behavior. Ikeguchi and Yashiro (2008. p. 99) provide the example of Bill. Bill doesn't like his co-worker Dan because Dan speaks with a Southern accent. Bill's affect (feeling) about people with a Southern accent is negative; he doesn't like them. As a result, Bill refuses to be friends with Dan (because of membership in a group), a form of discrimination. Ikeguchi and Yashiro (2008, p. 99) also point out the example of a hot spring owner who refused entrance to foreigners because of his belief that the latter would make the place dirty.

Research Hypothesis. The work of Ryan (2006) confirmed the role of prejudice as a mediator between stereotypes and discrimination among American college students. However, little research in this area has been conducted beyond the U.S., particularly in countries such as Japan. Thus, this study extends Ryan's work beyond American students to Japanese students, by proposing that:

> Hypothesis: Cognitive Stereotyping and Prejudicial Feeling will be positively related to Behavior among Japanese college students.

4. Methods

4.1. Participants

A total of 155 Japanese students from three classes taking Culture and Communication Courses in Japan participated in the study (mean age =20). Of the 155 participants, 71 were male and 84 were female. The three sets of questions were personally administered by the authors within the class hour in order to accommodate questions from participants, if necessary. Five responses were excluded from analysis due to incomplete responses to the questions.

4.2. The Survey Instruments

Three sets of survey instruments were administered in sequence: The Self-Assessment Manikin (SAM) adapted from Morris (2002) and Bradley (1994), the Social Perception Scale (SPS) adapted from Ryan (2006), Stewart, Weeks & Lupfer (2003), and Wittenbrink, Judd & Park (1997), and the Social Distance Scale (SDS) adapted from Bogardus (1933). First, the Self-assessment Manikin (SAM) was intended to measure students' affect/feelings towards places, people and things. Second, the Social Perception Scale (SPS) was intended to measure the kind of stereotypes students have on the items in the SAM. Third, the Social Distance Scale (SDS) was intended to measure students' behavioral tendencies toward items shown in the two scales.

4.2.1. Measuring Emotion: SAM, the Self-Assessment Manikin

Defining "affect" or "emotion" is a challenging problem, which involves trying to measure a conceptual variable by using a particular method to measure this variable of relevance to the research. Scherer (2005) suggests an initial step in defining and measuring emotion through "liking." Scherer (2005) then proposes that it is necessary to first provide an operational definition of emotion such as "liking." We operationalized "liking" by adapting Bradley's (1994) and Morris's (2002) approaches to measure students' feelings about certain objects and persons, using the Self-Assessment Manikin (SAM) adapted from Morris (2002) and Bradley (1994). The Self-Assessment Manikin (SAM) is a non-verbal pictorial assessment technique that directly measures the pleasure, arousal, and dominance associated with a person's affective reaction to a wide variety of stimuli. Figure 3 provides an example of the Self-Assessment Manikin (SAM) pictorial assessment technique. A similar approach was first used by Bradley (1994) to compare reports of affective experience; correlations were high across the two rating methods indicating reports of experienced pleasure and felt arousal. Bradley's (1994) research suggests that the SAM assessment may better track the personal response to an affective stimulus.

Student subjects were shown 12 photos, which were later used in the SPS questions. Photos included: a beautiful girl, a handsome man, a dirty looking beggar, a fat girl, street children, Asian athletes, an African athlete, names of European countries, names of Asian countries, a name of an African country. Students were asked to report their feeling from 1 (very unpleasant) to 9 (very pleasant) as they looked at each of the photos.
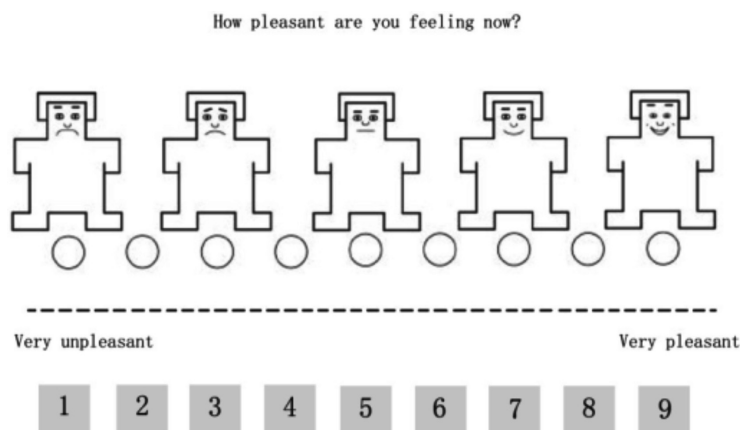

Figure 3. A Sample Item from the Self-Assessment Manikin, Adapted From (Morris, 2002) and Bradley (1994)

4.2.2. Measuring Stereotype: SPS, the Social Perception Scale

Several techniques have been used to measure stereotypes, including checklists, percentages,

and diagnostic ratios. Stereotypes of various target groups in longitudinal studies use multiple measurement techniques such as trait ascription (Likert scales), group differentiation (diagnostic-ratio), and deviation from group consensus (Biernat & Crandall, 1994). We used the Social Perception Scale (SPS) based on Ryan (2006) Stewart, Weeks & Lupfer, (2003) and Wittenbrink, Judd & Park (1997) to assess students' perceptions of various individuals and cultures.

Table 1 shows the social perception questions used, that were adapted from Ryan (2006) Stewart, Weeks & Lupfer (2003), and Wittenbrink, Judd & Park (1997). The questions asked the student's perception of various individuals, things and their cultures. The students were asked to rate their agreement with each statement using the 1-5 scale, 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree. Students were shown again 12 photos of Asian & European countries, and different faces of men & women from different cultures. They were asked to rate their agreement to the SPS items using the 1-5 scale, 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly disagree. The items were intended to measure stereotypes and images students have about these objects and persons.

Table 1. Social Perception Scale (SPS) Items, Adapted from Ryan (2006), Stewart, Weeks & Lupfer (2003) and Wittenbrink, Judd & Park (1997)

1. Beautiful girls are friendly.
2. Handsome men are kind.
3. Beggars are dirty and rude.
4. American businessmen are honest and intelligent.
5. Fat girls are lazy.
6. Black men are violent.
7. Asian businessmen are arrogant.
8. (Black) athletes are faster runners.
9. Asian athletes are weaker compared to _____ athletes.
10. Japanese students are good roommates.
11. Rose gardens are beautiful.
12. Street children are ignorant.
13. (European) country is a good place to study.
14. There are lots of rose gardens in England.
15. African (country) is a good place to study overseas.
16. (Asian) country is a good place to study overseas.
17. (Asian) country is a good place to do volunteer work.

4.2.3. Measuring Behavior: SDS, the Social Distance Scale

The techniques used to measure discrimination areas are as varied as the types of discrimination reported in the literature. Most people's concepts of discrimination involve explicit, direct hostility expressed towards members of a disadvantaged group. But discrimination can also include more than just direct behavior (such as denial of employment or rental opportunities). Not only that, it can be subtle and unconscious (such as nonverbal hostility in posture or tone of voice).

Laboratory studies report intentional, explicit discriminatory behavior (Hart, et al., 2000) and discriminatory behavioral impulses (Bargh & Ferguson, 2000), as well as subtle, unconscious automatic discrimination. Literature describes this phenomenon as a set of often nonconscious beliefs and associations that affect the attitude and behavior of members of the in-group towards members of the out-group. Unconscious discrimination is manifest in avoidance and ignoring behavior. Avoidance entails choosing the comfort of one's racial group (in-group) over interaction with another group. It is seen in settings where people choose to associate or not with members of the disadvantaged group. Avoidance may appear harmless in a given situation, but can lead to long-term exclusion and segregation.

This study explored the avoidance aspect of discrimination focusing on the experiences of students. Although avoidance appears seemingly harmless, people's millisecond reactions to outgroups can include primitive fear and anxiety responses in the brain (Hart et al., 2000) and discriminatory behavioral impulses (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999).

To be able to measure the existence and extent of racial discrimination of a particular kind in a particular social or economic domain, it is necessary to have a theory of how such discrimination might occur and what its effects might be. The theory or model, in turn, specifies the data that are needed to test the theory, appropriate methods for analyzing the data, and the assumptions that the data and analysis must satisfy in order to support a finding of discrimination.

A modified version of the Social Distance Scale (SDS) adapted from Bogardus (1933) was constructed. Students were asked to record their behavior using the same photos as in SAM (above). Students were asked to rate their agreement to statements in a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The items were intended to measure behavioral tendencies towards and against objects and persons. Table 2 lists items for the SDS.

Table 2. Social Distance Scale (SDS), Adapted from Bogardus (1933)

1.   I would like to talk to this person (photos of people shown)
2.   If he/she comes to me, I'd talk with him/her. (photos of people shown)
3.   I would like to be friends with him/her (photos of people shown)
4.   I would be willing to date him / her (photos shown to opposite gender)
6.   I would be willing to be his / her roommate (photos of people shown)
8.   I would like to go there (photos of country names shown)
9.   I would like to go there for long –term overseas study (photos of country names shown)
10. I would like to do business with him in the future (photos of country names shown)

5. Results

5.1. Descriptive Statistics

Regarding affect, high scores on the photos indicated feelings of happiness when seeing these items, while low scores on the items indicated unpleasant feelings elicited by the photos.

Students reported highly positive feelings towards some items, and low, negative feelings towards others. For example, highly positive feelings were reported on photos #1, 2, 4, 10, and aspects of European culture. Negative feelings were reported on photos #3, 5, 6, 12 and aspects of Asian culture.

Regarding the means of Stereotypes as assessed by the SPS, high scores indicated students' strong agreement to statements, which in turn indicated strongly held beliefs (perceptions) regarding the items. Low scores indicated the reverse tendency. For example, students tended to stereotype beautiful and handsome men and women as friendly, and categorize a dirty beggar and fat persons negatively. There was also a tendency to perceive European culture as superior to Asian cultures.

Regarding discriminatory behavior, high scores given on the photos indicated students' strong agreement with the statements, which in turn reflected their strong behavioral tendencies towards those items. Low scores indicated the reverse. For example, students indicated that they would be willing to get closer to, make friends and talk with beautiful and handsome persons, but that they would avoid others such as beggars and fat girls. They showed willingness to make business deals with the European businessman rather thanwith Asian business people. More notably, they chose European countries over Asian countries for overseas study.

Table 3 sets out the means for Affect (SAM), Stereotype (SPS), and Discriminatory Behavior (SDS).

Table 3. Means for Affect (SAM), Stereotype (SPS), and Discriminatory Behavior (SDS)

PHOTO	MEAN OF SAM SCORES	MEAN OF SPS CORES	MEAN OF SDS SCORES
1. beautiful girl	8.53	4.37	4.23
2. handsome man	8.25	4.26	4.24
3. dirty beggar	2.85	2.34	2.85
4. (Am) businessman	6.15	4.52	4.41
5. fat girl	2.95	3.11	2.95
6. black man	2.71	3.37	2.38
7. (As) businessman	6.19	4.46	2.45
8. (Afr) runner	7.01	4.07	4.37
9. (As) runner	5.89	3.83	3.88
10. J student	7.89	4.91	4.78
11. rose garden	7.62	4.89	4.12
12. street children	3.2	4.16	2.11
13. European 1	7.8	4.63	4.41
14. European 2	8.7	4.83	4.57
15. Asian 1	6.2	3.21	2.24
16. Asian 2	5.4	3.3	2.53
17. African 1	4.5	4.07	3.22

5.2. Correlations

Table 4 provides the Pearson correlation coefficients for Affect (SAM), Stereotypes (SPS), and Discriminatory Behavior (SDS). There was a significant positive association between Stereotypes (SPS) and Affect/Feelings (SAM), (r (112) = .64, p<.05. There was also a significant positive correlation between Stereotypes (SPS) and Discriminatory Behavior (SDS), (r (112) = .71, p<.05, indicating a positive association between images / perception students have towards people, objects and culture, and a tendency to influence the decisions they make and actions they take. Finally, there was a significant, positive correlation between Affect (SAM) and Discriminatory Behavior (SDS), (r (112) = .81, p<.01, indicating a positive association between feelings and behavior. Meanwhile, low but significant SDS and SPS scores towards some items indicate low behavioral tendency towards items reported on low feelings. A summary of correlations is found in Table 4.

Table 4. Correlations between Affect (SAM), Stereotypes (SPS) and Discriminatory Behavior (SDS)

	SAM	SPS	SDS
SAM	1		
SPS	0.641*	1	
SDS	0.819**	0.719***	1

*p<.05,   **p<.01,   ***p<.05

5.3. Regression Analysis

Regression analysis was conducted in order to control for gender and age. We found the following. First, for England, there was a significant relationship between the Stereotype, "England is safe" and the Behavior, "I'd choose to go to England for overseas study" at the 1% significance level, controlling for affect, gender and age. Second, for Italy, there was a significant relationship between the Stereotype, "Italy is safe," the Affect, positive feeling toward Italy (p<.10), and the Behavior, "I'd choose to go to Italy for overseas study" (p<.01), controlling for gender and age. Third, for India, there was a significant relationship between the Stereotype, "India is safe" and the Behavior, "I'd choose to go to India for volunteer work" at the 1% significance level, controlling for affect, gender and age. Fourth, for the Philippines, there was a significant relationship between the Stereotype, "the Philippines is safe" and the Behavior, "I'd choose to go to Philippines for volunteer work" at the 1% significance level, controlling for affect, gender and age. Fifth, for Nigeria, there was a significant relationship between the Stereotype, "Nigeria is safe" and the Behavior, "I'd choose to go to Nigeria for volunteer work" at the 1% significance level, controlling for affect, gender and age. Sixth, for the photo of the beggar, there was a significant negative relationship between the Stereotype, "Beggars are lazy," and the Behavior, "I'd be happy to talk to her/him more," (indicating that

participants would NOT like to talk to them) at the 1% significance level, controlling for affect, gender and age. Regression results are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Regression Results:Behaviors as a Function of Affect and Stereotypes, Controlling for Gender, Age and Nationality

DISCRIMINATION (BEHAVIOR)	PREJUDICE (AFFECT)	STEREOTYPES (COGNITION)	GENDER	AGE	R^2
Beautiful Girl F1B2PGL	F1PGL -.05	F1S1PGL .00	.09	-.12***	.06
Handsome Man F2B2HM	F2HM .01	F2S2HM -.07	-.01	.00	.01
Dirty Beggars F3B2DBEG	F3DBEG .00	F3S4DBEG -.26***	.03	.05923	.07
American Business Man F4B4AMBM	F4AMBM .04	F4S7AMBM .04	-.09	.03	.02
Fat Girl F5B2FTGL	F5FTGL .00	F5S5FTGL -.02	.17	-.04	.01
Black Man F6B2BLKM	F6BLKM -.03	F6S6BLKM .01	.04	.07*	.03
Asian Businessman F7B4ASBM	F7ASBM .03	F7S8ASBM .08	-.01	.14***	.10
Asian Runner F9B5ASRN	F8AFRN -.01	F8S9AFRN .01	-.01	.01	.00
Asian Runner F9B5ASRN	F9ASRN -.01	F9S10ASR .04	-.02	.02	.01
European Country 1 F13B6CN1	F13EUC1 -.01	F13S11C1 .48***	-.05	.02	.23
European Country 2 F14B6CN2	F14EUC2 .03*	F14S11C2 .47***	-.05	.02	.24
Asian Country 3 F15B7CN3	F15ASC3 .02	F15S12C3 .74***	.02	.02	.60
Asian Country 4 F16B7CN4	F16ASC4 .01	F16S12C4 .63***	-.03	-.07***	.48
African Country 5 F17B7CN5	F17AFC5 -.01	F17S12C5 .47***	-.03	.01	.21

***, **, * ==> Significance at 1%, 5%, 10% levels, respectively.
Nationality is naturally controlled for, in that all Respondents are Japanese.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

This purpose of this paper was to explore the relationship between three important aspects of social interaction: stereotype, prejudice and discrimination as they relate to the teaching of culture. The results of this study indicate a relationship between students` tendency to make decisions and the stereotypes they have.

Theoretically, this study translated the social psychological relationship between Cognition, Affect and Behavior in intercultural awareness and interaction in the form of Stereotypes, Feelings, and Discriminatory Behavior. Consider the following examples:

1. In terms of cognition (stereotypes):
   The students believe that studying abroad is important.
   Students believe European countries are better than Asian countries.

2. In terms of affect (feelings and prejudice):
   The students have more positive feelings for the former over the latter.

3. In terms of behavior (discriminatory tendencies):
   They decide to choose the former over the latter for overseas study.

6.1. Implications of This Research for Theory and Directions for Future Research

This research attempts to make several contributions to teaching culture. First, this is the first research to use photographs and people's faces as primes for targeting stereotype words. Further research should be pursued using more sophisticated instruments like ecologically-relevant stimuli (faces) and examining their promise as markers of stereotype activation (Ryan, 2006).

Second, this study is one of a few that have examined the relationship between stereotypes and prejudice among university students in Japan. In future research, it will be essential to begin collecting demographic information regarding their social context to begin to understand the variation in participants' experiences with their cultural context.

The end goal of this study was to inspire students to think about their own areas of bigotry, to identify how we develop our attitudes about others, and empower them to take action to reduce bigotry in their own lives and in society. It is more hypothesis-forming rather than hypothesis-testing.

6.2. Implications for Teaching about Culture

Stereotypes are formed by the behaviors or behavioral artifacts we see at the tip of Yashiro's (2001) Iceberg: the songs, dances, food and festivals, all the visible elements of a culture, as illustrated below in Figure 4. Students do not always see the underlying elements of culture, the relationships and values that shape the affective and cognitive elements of culture, because these elements are less visible to the eye.

Similarly, it is easy to teach the tip of Yashiro's (2001) Iceberg: the songs, dances, food

and festivals, all the visible elements of a culture. Teaching Culture and Communication goes beyond, or deeper, than the Ice berg. Focusing on the tip of the iceberg runs the risk of creating stereotypes. The task of intercultural teaching and learning starts from checking one's own stereotypes. Intercultural Communication classes are a good place to start checking stereotypes. Since stereotypes theoretically drive prejudice and discriminatory behavior, changing stereotypes will likely change prejudice and discriminatory behavior as well.
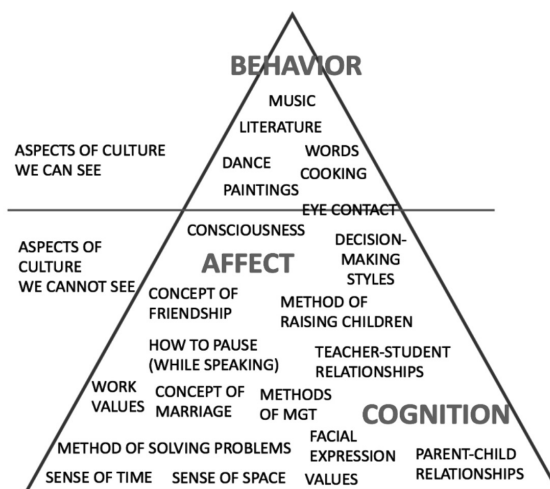
Figure 4. Yashiro's (2001) Culture Iceberg

Applying the social psychology principles of affect, behavior and cognition to culture studies (Jackson, 2011) has implications for teaching the more intense and emotionally laden aspects of Yashiro's (2001) Culture Iceberg. In general, most people perceive discrimination as involving explicit, direct hostility expressed towards members of a disadvantaged group, as seen in the long history of racial discrimination, or direct behavior against a smaller out-group, such as denial of employment or rental opportunities. But discrimination includes both the explicit as well as the subtle and unconscious behavior against another person of the out-group, such as nonverbal hostility in posture or tone of voice. Avoidance is seen on a smaller scale, when people choose the comfort of their own group (in-group) over interaction with others from an out-group. This is social discrimination in a microscopic form. It is seen in the behavior of students who choose to associate or not with members of another group because of color, physical and regional attributes. The results also indicate that negative images play a great role in the subtle, automatic discriminatory tendencies when students choose European countries over Asian countries for overseas study. The literature describes this phenomenon as a set of often nonconscious beliefs and associations that affect the attitude and behavior of students. Students' millisecond reactions to outgroups can include primitive fear and anxiety responses (Glick & Fiske, 2000). This is a frequently neglected aspect of culture training in the classroom that needs to be given more attention.

Stereotypes cannot be overlooked in the inter-cultural communication process because they prevent us from knowing the true people (Ikeguchi, 2008). Students' stereotypes influence their feelings and attitudes towards people and things which in turn manifest themselves in their behavior. Stereotypes are not only harmful; they are dangerous as well. They are dangerous because they develop into negative feeling called prejudice. Negative feelings in turn translate into negative actions called discrimination. One important aspect of teaching culture and communication is to make students aware of the cognitive images they have, and have them control over negative feelings so as to avoid negative implications on the decisions they make in life. The task of intercultural communication studies is to check on these three components by focusing on the interaction of stereotypes, prejudice and discriminatory tendencies of the students.

> *"Although there is variability across people and across cultures, our life and social relationship is made up of cognitive, affective and behavioral component. Consider the following example"* (Stangor, 2014, p.161)

- In terms of behavior: They regularly recycle their bottles and cans.
- In terms of affect: They feel happy when they recycle.
- In terms of cognition: They believe recycling is the responsible thing to do.

A large volume of data has been provided by research on the process, structure and relationships between stereotype, prejudice and discrimination in several social and cultural situations. Together with research from social psychology, these data help explain why these phenomena are evident and continue to exist. While there is substantial information from racial, cross-racial, cross-cultural research, there is a dearth of material on the individual level, particularly of young university students from outside the U.S.

As educators it is essential that we continue to address bias and discrimination and to help spark critical, compassionate, and creative thought and action among students about these issues. The history of mankind is wrought with countless forms of discrimination involving conflicts between members of one group against those of another. In the context of intergroup relations, discrimination implies more than simply distinguishing among social objects, but refers also to inappropriate and potentially unfair treatment of individuals due to group membership. Discriminatory behavior is generally understood to be biased behavior, and includes not only actions that directly harm or disadvantage another group, but those that unfairly favor one's own group (creating a relative disadvantage for other groups).

Even at this late date, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination persist. Category-based images, emotions and actions certainly abound in postmodern life. Despite considerable change in the status of various historically excluded groups, and despite social scientists' "ever deepening understanding of these processes, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination persist" (Fiske, 1998, p. 357).

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