

Relation between Attachment to One's Country and
Attitudes toward Immigrants
From the ISSP Survey on National Identity¹

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¹ This is the English translation of the author's article "Kuni e no aichaku to tai-gaikokujin ishiki no kankei: ISSP kokusai hikaku chosa 'Kuni e no kizoku ishiki' kara" [Relations between Attachment to One's Country and Attitudes towards Immigrants: From the ISSP Survey on National Identity], originally published in the March 2017 issue of *Hoso kenkyu to chosa*. NHK's monthly report on broadcast research. Full text in Japanese available at: http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/research/yoron/pdf/20170301_8.pdf

Abstract

The theme of the 2013 survey project carried out by the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), a cross-national survey collaboration program, was “National Identity.” The author compares the survey results from 31 countries/regions to explore the emotional attachment of Japanese to their country as well as their attitudes toward people from other countries who come to settle as immigrants to Japan.

The survey in Japan indicates that many Japanese have a strong attachment to their country, with nearly 90 percent of respondents saying, “I would rather be a citizen of Japan than of any other country in the world” and “Generally speaking, Japan is a better country than most other countries,” respectively.

On the other hand, not many Japanese have negative feelings about immigrants. Those who think “Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in Japan” and “Japan’s culture is generally undermined by immigrants” account for less than 20 percent, respectively, a figure that is lower than in other parts of the world. This is presumably due to the fact that acceptance of immigrants in Japan is very low compared to Western countries.

Multiple regression analysis shows that although factors contributing to anti-immigrant sentiment differ slightly from country to country, the attitude toward “ethnic homogeneity” is an influential factor in all member countries/regions analyzed. Thus, the survey results suggest a possible common background for factors determining the level of anti-immigrant sentiment, regardless of the actual number of immigrants in the country in question.

1. INTRODUCTION

The International Social Survey Programme, of which the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute is a member, conducted a survey on national identity in 2013. This paper compares the results of the survey for Japan and other countries. ISSP is a cross-national survey collaboration program, and its approximately fifty member institutions, each representing one country/region, conduct annual surveys on specific topics using the same questions in all member countries/regions. The 2013 survey on national identity was designed to find out the extent to which people are emotionally attached to their country and learn about their attitudes toward immigrants.

In Japan the survey period coincided with the time when increasing attention was focused on the issue of patriotic sentiment, due in part to the policy of fostering attachment to one’s hometown and country following the inauguration of the second Abe Shinzo administration in December 2012. Japan’s relations with Korea and China were strained because of territorial issues over the Takeshima Islands and the Senkaku Islands and there were many cases of hate-speech (anti-Korean/anti-foreign) marches around the country.

There was a growing sense of caution among member countries of the EU, within which movement of people is quite free, against a likely sharp increase in the number of immigrants

as work permit requirements for the nationals of Romania and Bulgaria, countries that became EU members in 2007, were to be removed in 2014.

In various parts of the world, an upsurge of right-wing and populist rhetoric calling for exclusion of immigrants was gaining increasing public support. This paper analyzes the results of the survey conducted under those circumstances to find out people's attitudes toward immigrants and analyze the relationship between strong patriotic feelings and anti-immigrant sentiment.

Previous Studies

A study conducted by Shunsuke Tanabe on national identity compared four countries, Japan, Germany, the United States, and Australia.² Tanabe found that, in Japan and Germany the elderly, as well as people of low educational level and people with a strong attachment to their country tended to have exclusionist attitudes toward immigrants. In the United States and Australia such a tendency was not especially marked among the elderly; in those countries, people of "cultural pride," such as being proud of their country's achievements in the arts and sports, were more likely to harbor anti-immigrant sentiments than those of "political pride," those who take pride in their country's democracy or influence in the world.

Another study, employing the method of a social survey, verified that strong patriotic feelings and insistence on "ethnic homogeneity" demanding that strict conditions be imposed for qualifying as a Japanese national, such as citizenship and place of birth, were linked to anti-immigrant sentiment.³ The study showed a close connection between strong insistence on "ethnic homogeneity" and anti-immigrant sentiment.

This paper seeks to determine whether that connection can also be confirmed by the 2013 ISSP survey data. It first examines differences among the countries surveyed in the distribution of responses to survey questions regarding patriotic feelings, insistence on "ethnic homogeneity," and prevalence of anti-immigrant attitudes. It then discusses what effects people's patriotic feelings and insistence on homogeneity have on anti-immigrant attitudes.

Data

The 2013 ISSP survey on national identity consisted of about 60 questions; 17 of those related to patriotic feeling and anti-immigrant sentiment were used for analysis⁴ in this paper.

The survey was conducted in 33 countries/regions; of these, 3 countries with a valid response rate of less than 30 percent were dropped from the analysis.⁵ In the case of Germany, data was collected separately for the former West and East Germany, which were also treated

² Shunsuke Tanabe, 2010. "Nashonaru aidentiti no kokusai hikaku" [National Identities in a Comparative Perspective] (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai).

³ Shunsuke Tanabe, 2011. "Nashonarizumu: Sono tagensei to tayosei" [Nationalism: Its Multiplicity and Diversity], in Shunsuke Tanabe ed., *Gaikokujin e no manazashi to seiji ishiki: Shakai chosa de yomitoku Nihon no nashonarizumu* [Political Awareness and Attitudes toward People from Other Countries: Nationalism in Japan as Revealed in a Social Survey] (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo). pp. 21–42.

⁴ The data used are those made public in 2015 by the Data Archive of the Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (GESIS), a German research institution. ISSP Research Group, 2015. International Social Survey Programme: National Identity III - ISSP 2013. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5950 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12312.

⁵ Ireland, India, and Estonia, where a valid response rate was below 30 percent, were excluded from the analysis.

separately when data was analyzed. Thus, the number of countries to be analyzed is “31 countries/regions.” Because survey methods differed among countries and because some bias may have occurred when questions were translated, it would be problematic to make a straightforward comparison of response distributions. Keeping those problems in mind when making comparisons, this paper aims to attain a rough grasp of the distinctive features of each country. Details on survey methodology, numbers of valid responses, and the like can be found on page 21 and the questions and answer options used in the analysis are on page 20. To facilitate identifying answer trends in each country, analysis was conducted excluding answer options “don’t know” and “no answer.”

2. NATIONAL IDENTITY

Japan as the Best

Several questions were asked to determine the extent of people’s emotional attachment to their country. Results are shown in Figure 1.

In response to the question “How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?” nearly 90 percent of Japanese agree (either “agree strongly” or “agree”) with both of the statements “I would rather be a citizen of Japan than of any other country in the world” and “Generally speaking, Japan is a better country than most other countries.” Of the 31 countries, Japan has the largest proportion of people who think that their country is “a better country than most other countries.” Although not shown in the figure, Japan also occupies a high place for such statements as “When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be Japanese” and “The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the Japanese.” On the other hand, less than 20 percent of Japanese think “People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong,” a low proportion along with people in Northern European countries.

Japanese Not Strict on Conditions for Being Japanese

An earlier study refers to the tendency to insist on the homogeneity of a nation and avoid ethnic mingling as “purism” (*junka-shugi*).⁶ To measure the degree of importance a person places on such purism, the ISSP survey asked what things—such as nationality, ancestry, and language—are “important for being truly [country/ nationality].”

The proportion of people who think “to have [country/nationality] ancestry” is “very important” or “fairly important” ranges widely from the Philippines at 95 percent to Sweden at 23 percent (Figure 2). Japan stands at 63 percent, ranking in the middle among the 31 countries/regions.

⁶ Tanabe ed., *Gaikokujin e no manazashi*.

Figure 1. Attachment to One's Country
Proportions of people saying "Agree strongly" or "Agree"

(%)

"I would rather be a citizen of [COUNTRY] than of any other country in the world"		"Generally speaking, [COUNTRY] is a better country than most other countries"		"People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong"	
Philippines	91	Japan	86	Turkey	63
South Africa	90	South Africa	79	Switzerland	59
Japan	88	United States	73	Russia	58
Georgia	86	Norway	72	South Korea	57
United States	86	Turkey	72	Hungary	56
Denmark	81	Georgia	67	South Africa	53
Taiwan	79	Finland	66	Iceland	53
Norway	77	Taiwan	64	Israel	53
Finland	77	Denmark	64	Czech Republic	50
South Korea	76	Philippines	61	Portugal	45
Israel	75	South Korea	60	Slovakia	44
Portugal	74	United Kingdom	56	Lithuania	43
Turkey	74	Former W. Germany	55	Croatia	41
Russia	74	Belgium	54	Slovenia	40
Hungary	73	Russia	53	Denmark	39
Mexico	73	Sweden	50	Spain	38
Czech Republic	67	Israel	49	Belgium	36
Slovakia	67	Mexico	43	Georgia	36
Switzerland	66	Switzerland	43	France	33
Spain	66	Portugal	42	Philippines	33
Former W. Germany	65	Former E. Germany	41	United States	31
United Kingdom	64	Slovakia	40	Latvia	30
Sweden	62	Czech Republic	39	Mexico	28
Slovenia	61	France	35	Former W. Germany	24
France	61	Spain	35	Former E. Germany	23
Iceland	59	Croatia	34	Taiwan	22
Former E. Germany	59	Hungary	33	United Kingdom	20
Croatia	57	Iceland	33	Japan	18
Lithuania	56	Latvia	32	Finland	18
Belgium	55	Lithuania	26	Norway	16
Latvia	42	Slovenia	17	Sweden	15

As for being able to speak the language and having respect for political institutions and laws, as high as 80 percent to nearly 100 percent consider these conditions important in most countries. By contrast, the proportion who think so in Japan was around 70 percent. In his study based on the 1995 ISSP survey Shunsuke Tanabe wrote that since Japan is the only country where Japanese is the official language, "the equation of 'Japanese people' with 'being able to speak Japanese' is so self-evident that Japanese don't consider speaking Japanese an important

condition.”⁷ Speaking of the background of why fewer Japanese think it important to “respect [Japanese] political institutions and laws,” Tanabe argued that awareness of the state being a governing system was weak among Japanese, many of them thinking of the state as *okami*, a higher political authority removed from their day-to-day lives; this can be thought to shape the tendency among Japanese not to consider respect for the law as a defining factor in being Japanese.

Figure 2. Things Important to Being a National
Proportions of people saying “(Very + Fairly) important”

(%)

“To have [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] ancestry”		“To be able to speak [COUNTRY LANGUAGE]”		“To respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws	
Philippines	95	Norway	97	Norway	98
Hungary	86	France	96	France	97
Georgia	85	United Kingdom	96	Sweden	96
Turkey	83	Portugal	96	Denmark	96
Russia	82	Switzerland	96	Switzerland	96
Mexico	77	Philippines	96	United States	93
Lithuania	77	Czech Republic	95	Finland	93
Slovakia	76	Lithuania	95	Former W. Germany	93
Portugal	75	Former W. Germany	95	Former E. Germany	92
South Korea	71	Denmark	95	Taiwan	91
Czech Republic	71	Hungary	95	Philippines	90
Croatia	66	Slovakia	95	Portugal	90
Spain	65	Former E. Germany	94	Belgium	89
Japan	63	Iceland	94	Iceland	89
Latvia	56	Sweden	94	United Kingdom	87
United Kingdom	52	United States	94	Georgia	87
Iceland	51	Georgia	93	Turkey	86
Belgium	48	Spain	92	Russia	86
Norway	47	Slovenia	89	Latvia	85
France	47	Russia	88	Hungary	82
Israel	46	South Korea	87	South Korea	82
Denmark	45	Turkey	87	Czech Republic	82
Slovenia	44	Belgium	86	Lithuania	81
Former E. Germany	44	Latvia	86	Israel	81
Finland	41	Finland	85	Slovenia	80
United States	41	Croatia	84	Spain	80
Taiwan	39	Mexico	84	Mexico	80
Former W. Germany	39	Israel	77	Slovakia	75
Switzerland	35	Japan	76	Croatia	73
Sweden	23	Taiwan	73	Japan	71

Note: South Africa, which used different answer options, is excluded from analysis.

⁷ Tanabe, *Nashonaru aidentiti*.

3. ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

Notable Increase of Immigrants in Europe

From here let us look at people's attitudes toward immigrants. OECD data on the share of immigrants in total national population in its member countries in 2013 show that the share is 1.6 percent in Japan, lower than most countries (Figure 3). One reason for the small population of immigrants in Japan is that immigrant status is not permitted for unskilled foreign workers. Another reason is that Japan accepts a far lower number of refugees than European countries. In addition to these legal limits on immigration, language and other cultural barriers also discourage people from other countries from settling in Japan.

Figure 3. Changes in the Proportion of Immigrants in OECD Countries

	2003	2013	Balance (subtracting left from right column)
Norway	4.5	9.5	5.0
Iceland	3.5	7.0	3.5
Spain	7.2	10.7	3.5
Switzerland	20.0	23.3	3.3
United Kingdom	4.6	7.7	3.1
Slovenia	2.7	5.4	2.7
Belgium	8.3	10.9	2.6
Denmark	5.0	7.1	2.1
Sweden	5.3	7.2	1.9
Czech Republic	2.4	4.2	1.8
Finland	2.1	3.8	1.7
South Korea	1.0	2.0	1.0
Slovakia	0.5	1.1	0.6
France	5.8	6.4	0.6
Germany	8.9	9.3	0.4
Japan	1.5	1.6	0.1
Hungary	1.3	1.4	0.1
United States	7.1	7.0	-0.1
Portugal	4.2	3.7	-0.5

Sources: OECD Data (in descending order of increase)

Notes: The left-column figure for Slovenia is from 2006. The left-column figure for France is from 2005 and the right column for France is from 2012.

Observing changes in the percentages of immigrants between 2003 and 2013, we see little change in countries like Japan and the United States, but there is a marked increase in the Western and Northern European countries, most notably Norway. The main reason for the rise

of foreign residents in these countries is that ten of them, including former Eastern European countries such as Poland, Czech Republic, and Hungary, joined the EU in 2004, as did Romania and Bulgaria—both regarded as the poorest countries among EU countries—in 2007, resulting in a large influx of immigrants looking for work. Out of concern for the rapid increase of immigrants, political parties advocating exclusionary policies have been gaining power in Norway, Denmark, France and elsewhere.

Economist Roger Bootle points out that there are four aspects to popular apprehensions about immigrants in European countries.⁸ First, immigrants take jobs away from local workers. Second, their country's culture and traditions are being undermined by the immigrants. Third, immigrants, who do not pay taxes, receive free medical benefits and child benefits. And fourth, there are too many immigrants. In line with these four issues of concern let us look at the ISSP survey results.

Few Japanese Think Immigrants Take Jobs Away

Asked the degree to which they agree or disagree that immigrants—people who come to settle in their host countries—take jobs away from local workers, the proportion who agree (either “agree strongly” or “agree”) is only 15 percent for Japan, the fourth lowest figure among the 31 countries/regions (Figure 4) in the survey. In Japan applications for immigrant status by unskilled foreign workers are as a rule not accepted and the share of immigrants in the total population is very low, as mentioned earlier. This may be why few Japanese indicate concern about the effect people from other countries may have on employment. In Germany, too, where, with the working-age population in decline, people tend to consider immigrants a valuable asset to the work force, few think immigrants take jobs away.

Is there any relationship between the unemployment rate and people's thinking about immigrants taking jobs away? Let us compute the correlation coefficient between the two. The OECD data about unemployment rates treat people aged 15–64, so the ISSP data were calibrated to align with that age group. The results of the calculation demonstrate a fairly high correlation coefficient ($r = 0.67$)⁹ (Figure 5). This is apparently because, in countries with a high unemployment rate, competition between local workers and immigrants is likely to occur and responses may strongly reflect wariness about immigrants on that score.

⁸ Bootle, Roger, 2014,2015. *The Trouble with Europe: Why the EU Isn't Working - How It Can Be Reformed - What Could Take Its Place* (Nicholas Brealey Publishing). Translated by Atsuo Machida, 2015. “Oushu kaitai-Doitsu ikkyoku shihai no kyofu”(Tokyo: Toyo Keizai shinpousha).

⁹ Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Calculation was made excluding Spain, which was an outlier. ($r = 0.50$ if Spain is included)

Figure 4. How Much Do You Agree or Disagree that Immigrants Take Jobs Away?

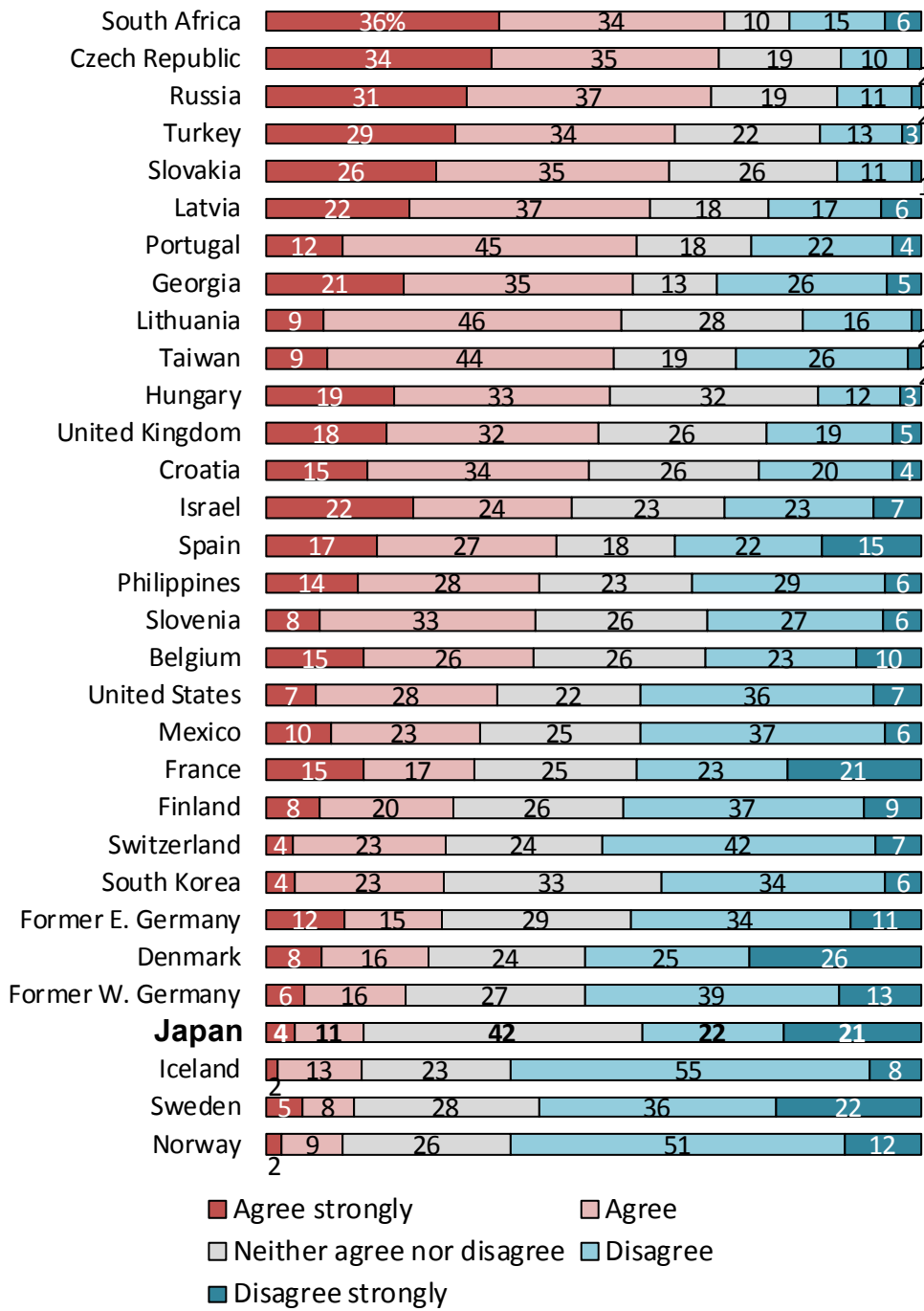
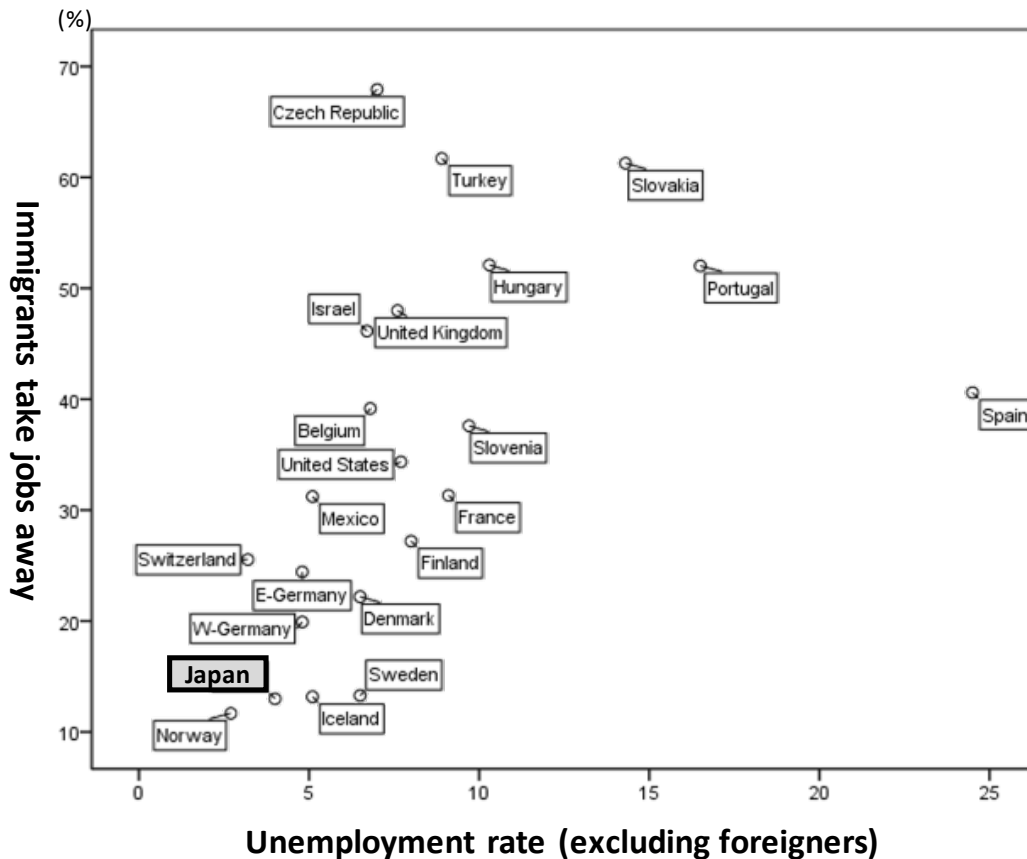


Figure 5. Relation between Unemployment Rate and “Immigrants Take Jobs Away” (target age group 15–64 years)

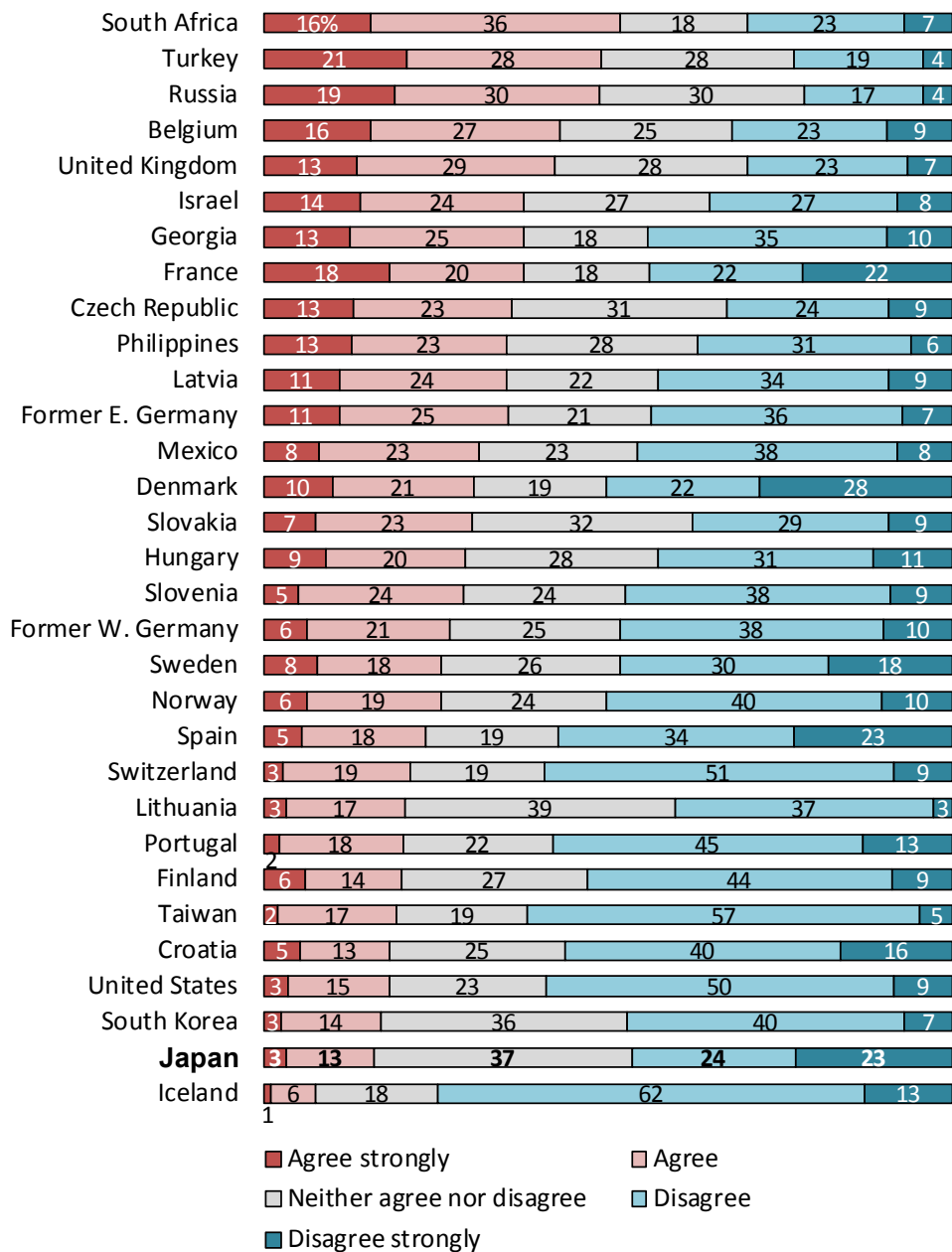


Note: Unemployment rates are from 2013 OECD data. Countries shown here are those, among the participating countries in the ISSP survey, for which the OECD data are available. (Data for Japan comes from the Labour Force Survey conducted by the Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications).

Few Have Negative View of Immigrants’ Effect on Japanese Culture

Next we will examine responses to the question asking how much people agree or disagree that their country’s culture is “generally undermined by immigrants.” Except a few countries where around 50 percent agree (either “agree strongly” or “agree”), significantly less than half agree for almost all countries/regions (Figure 6). In Japan, which eagerly adopted Chinese culture in ancient and medieval times and Western culture from the mid-nineteenth century on, the proportion is only 16 percent; in South Korea (Republic of Korea) it is only 17 percent. Few Japanese and South Koreans have a negative view of the effect of immigrants on their cultures. Even in the United States, a nation of immigrants, which has accepted many immigrants from outside since its founding, only 18 percent think immigrants “generally undermine” their culture, a figure lower than most of the other countries in the study.

Figure 6. How Much Do You Agree or Disagree that Immigrants Undermine Your Country's Culture?

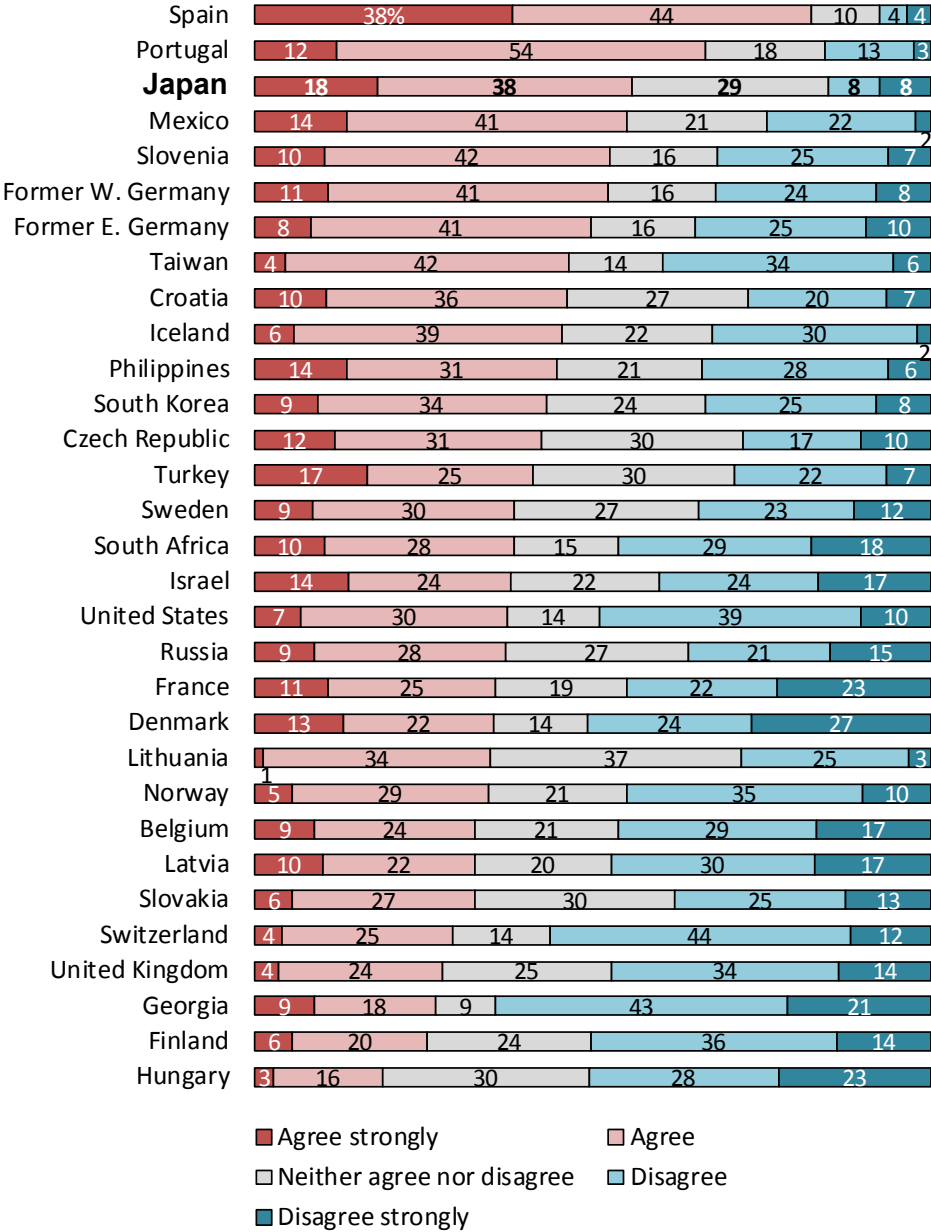


Immigrants Should Have the Same Rights

Asked how much they agree or disagree that legal immigrants who are not citizens of their country should have the same rights as they, more than half of Japanese, 56 percent, agree (either “agree strongly” or “agree”), the third highest proportion among the 31 countries/regions (Figure 7). On the other hand, in the United Kingdom and other Western European countries, where “social security tourism” (immigrants coming purely for welfare benefits), is a big issue, only two or three out of ten people agree. In the United Kingdom, as a general rule, legal immigrants regardless of nationality have almost equal access to welfare benefits as British citizens. The number of immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria sharply increased in 2012–

2013, and so did the number of people who newly registered in the state pension scheme.¹⁰ There is a possibility that the rapid increase of immigration may lead to intolerance for the rights of immigrants.

Figure 7. Do You Agree or Disagree that Immigrants Should Have the Same Rights as the Citizens of Your Country?



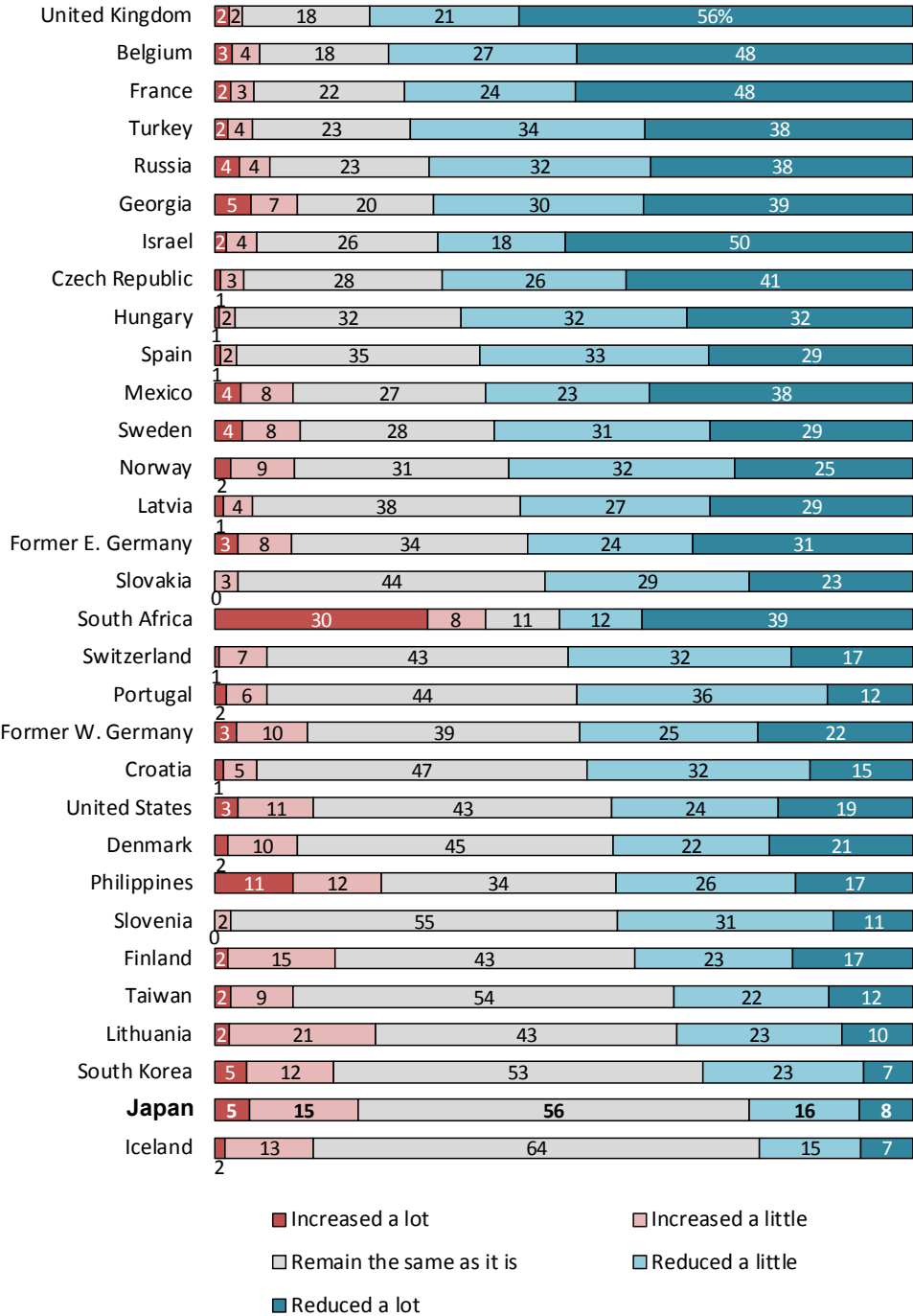
Immigrants Should Be Reduced

Asked about the number of immigrants, only 8 percent of Japanese say their number should be “reduced a lot” while more than half, 56 percent, of people in the United Kingdom say so (Figure 8). If combined with “reduced a little,” we see that two out of ten Japanese support

¹⁰ Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 2015. *Shuyokoku no gaikokujin rodosha ukeire doko: Igrisu* [Trends in Acceptance of Foreign Workers in Major Countries: The United Kingdom].

reduction while as many as nearly eight out of ten do so in the United Kingdom. In June 2016, three years after the ISSP survey, a referendum was held in Britain to decide whether the United Kingdom should leave or remain in the European Union and the anti-EU camp, calling for restrictions imposed on the entry of immigrants, won. Concern about the increase of immigrants, as shown in the survey results, is presumed to have been a factor behind the decision to leave the EU. The second and third highest shares, after the United Kingdom, support the reduction of immigrants in Belgium and France, both with high shares of immigrants in the total national population.

Figure 8. Do You Think the Number of Immigrants Should Be Increased or Reduced?



4. BACKDROP OF ANTI-IMMIGRANT SENTIMENT

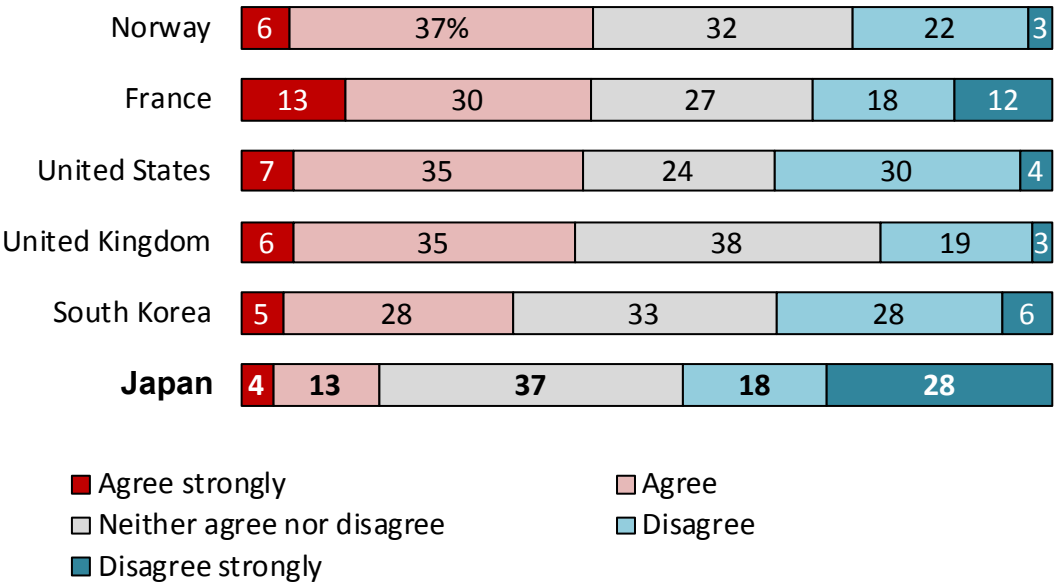
Do Patriotic Feelings Lead to Anti-immigrant Attitudes?

This section discusses the relationship between emotional attachment to one’s country and anti-immigrant sentiment. The aforementioned study showed a strong connection between anti-immigrant sentiment and patriotic feeling, especially the insistence on ethnic homogeneity, calling for strict conditions for qualifying as a Japanese. Let us examine whether this tendency can be observed in the ISSP survey results.

To show the country-to-country comparisons more clearly, we narrowed down the target countries for analysis. Besides Japan, we focused on five other countries: South Korea, where the number of immigrants is low, as in Japan; the United States, a nation of immigrants; the United Kingdom, where the anti-EU group won in the recent referendum; France, where there is a growing presence of political forces advocating restrictions on the entry of immigrants; and Norway, which has experienced a sharp increase in the population of foreign residents over the last decade.

In response to the question how much people agree or disagree that “strong patriotic feelings” lead to “negative attitudes toward immigrants,” more than 40 percent agree (either “agree strongly” or “agree”) in Norway and France, while more than 30 percent agree in South Korea and less than 20 percent in Japan (Figure 9). There are probably many people whose patriotic feelings are linked to anti-immigrant sentiments in countries—such as Norway and France—where there are many immigrants and where right-wing anti-immigrant political forces are gaining momentum in the parliament.¹¹

Figure 9. Do Strong Patriotic Feelings Lead to Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants?



¹¹ Nearly 60 percent agree in Denmark, too, where the presence of right-wing parties has been showing marked growth.

Factors Contributing to Anti-immigrant Sentiment

With attitudes toward immigrants as the dependent variable, multiple regression analysis was made to probe whether factors contributing to anti-immigrant sentiments in Japan differ from those in other countries.

The dependent variables used for analysis are principal component scores obtained from a principal component analysis of the aspects of three anti-immigrant sentiments: “[immigrants] take jobs away,” “undermine culture,” and “should have same rights,” as discussed in section II. (See the tables following the text of this paper.) Another aspect, approval or disapproval of the increase of immigrants, is excluded from the analysis because its answer options are different from those for the other three aspects.

The independent variables are gender, age, educational background, and income as well as emotional attachment to one’s country and strong insistence on ethnic homogeneity. Component scores obtained from the principal component analysis are also used for “attachment” and “homogeneity.”

Figure 10 shows the results of a multiple regression analysis. Although the factors contributing to anti-immigrant sentiment differ somewhat from country to country, the attitude toward ethnic homogeneity is an influential factor in all the 6 countries/regions—a shared background regardless of the actual size of the population of immigrants. The strong insistence on homogeneity is the most influential factor behind anti-immigrant sentiment in Japan and the other four countries except South Korea. This confirms that the aforementioned finding derived from the data on Japanese alone is applicable to these four countries as well. The figure also indicates that attachment to one’s country is linked to anti-immigrant sentiment in Japan, the United Kingdom, France, and Norway. Low income in Japan likely leads to anti-immigrant sentiment, while in the other five countries low educational level is the more influential factor.

Adjusted R-squared values, a barometer of the validity of the multiple regression model, are greater in the United Kingdom, France, and Norway than in Japan, South Korea, and the United States. Using variables corresponding to popular apprehensions in Europe as shown by Bootle, the model used is better suited to predicting anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe.

Some researchers argue that experiences of living overseas, degree of contact with foreigners, and other factors not dealt with in the ISSP survey can also be factors determining the level of anti-immigrant sentiment. We cannot say the independent variables we used here are enough to fully explain people’s negative attitudes toward immigrants. The ISSP survey did not take into account the nationalities of the immigrants, their religious faith, or the like, so there will be limitations to our understanding of the anti-immigrant attitudes involved. Even so, the survey showed that strong insistence on ethnic homogeneity and patriotic feelings are common influential factors that link to anti-immigrant sentiment in many countries, and this finding can provide crucial keys to analyzing people’s attitudes toward foreigners.

Figure 10. Multiple Regression Analysis of Anti-immigrant Sentiment

Independent variable		Remarks	Japan	South Korea	USA	UK	France	Norway
demographic	gender	1: female	-0.04	0.03	0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.11**
	age		0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.07	-0.03	-0.08**
	educational level	1: high school graduate or under	0.06	0.10**	0.11**	0.26**	0.19**	0.11**
	income	1: low household income ¹	0.09**	0.03	-0.06	-0.01	0.04	-0.01
Attachment to one's country		component score	0.14**	0.02	0.03	0.08*	0.12**	0.12**
Insistence on homogeneity		component score	0.22**	0.06*	0.32**	0.40**	0.52**	0.46**
Adjusted R-squared value			0.11	0.01	0.13	0.34	0.44	0.32
F-value			33.15**	9.99**	71.75**	101.13**	236.13**	97.02**
No. of persons			826	1,229	949	590	905	1,037

p < 0.01** p < 0.05*

¹ Lower than median household income in each country

Notes: Values are standard partial regression coefficients.

Since the VIF is below 2.0 for all the countries, the multicollinearity among the independent variables is negligible.

5. CONCLUSION

According to the OECD, the total number of people who have submitted applications for recognition of their refugee status in 2015 was a record high of 1.65 million, and of this, some 1.3 million applications were submitted to European countries.¹² Worried about a mass influx of refugees from Syria, where civil war has raged since 2011, right-wing political parties upholding anti-immigrant policies have been rapidly gathering momentum in France, Austria, and other European countries. Even Germany, which had been actively accepting refugees, has adopted a policy of restricting the number of refugees and immigrants. The 2013 ISSP survey was conducted before the upsurge of Syrian refugees, and if a similar survey were conducted now, it would most likely show even stronger anti-immigrant sentiment in European countries.

What we see from the results of the analysis regarding Japan is that Japanese, despite their strong patriotic feelings, are rather tolerant to foreign immigrants. Although there are increasingly many cases of hate speech marches and Internet hate speech, most Japanese do not seem to have negative feelings toward people from other countries. The number of immigrants accepted in Japan is by far smaller than in Europe and the United States, and that is probably why few attribute the reasons for unemployment and economic stagnation to immigrants. It is

¹² OECD, 2016. *International Migration Outlook 2016*.

unlikely, for the moment, that the immigrant-related problems that Europe and the United States are facing, will become the focus of attention in Japan.

On the other hand there is some data suggesting a decline in the proportion of Japanese who are tolerant toward people from other countries.¹³ In 2014, 27 percent of Japanese “strongly agreed” that foreign residents in Japan should have equal access to welfare programs and health care as Japanese, a decline from 37 percent in 2004. Even if combined with “agreed,” the proportion who either “agreed” or “strongly agreed” decreased from 84 percent in 2004 to 78 percent in 2014. The share of immigrants in the total population in Japan changed little over the ten years, but the proportion of Japanese who have positive attitudes toward them decreased. Society as a whole needs to pay close attention to whether this tendency continues and to how Japanese attitudes toward immigrants change should the country come to accept as many as European countries.

* * *

Principle Component Analysis of Anti-immigrant Sentiments

Japan		South Korea		United States	
Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component
Take jobs away	0.82	Undermine culture	0.79	Take jobs away	0.80
Undermine culture	0.82	Take jobs away	0.76	Undermine culture	0.76
Should have same rights	0.53	Should have same rights	0.59	Should have same rights	0.57
Eigenvalue	1.63	Eigenvalue	1.54	Eigenvalue	1.55
Contribution rate	54.37	Contribution rate	51.32	Contribution rate	51.70

United Kingdom		France		Norway	
Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component
Take jobs away	0.85	Undermine culture	0.87	Undermine culture	0.84
Undermine culture	0.84	Take jobs away	0.85	Take jobs away	0.79
Should have same rights	0.60	Should have same rights	0.69	Should have same rights	0.64
Eigenvalue	1.80	Eigenvalue	1.96	Eigenvalue	1.74
Contribution rate	59.87	Contribution rate	65.33	Contribution rate	58.09

Notes: Values are principle component loadings. For “Take jobs away” and “Undermine culture,” values were inverted so that the values for “Agree” (including “Agree strongly”) would be higher.
 Take jobs away: “Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in [country]”
 Undermine culture: “[Country’s] culture is generally undermined by immigrants”
 Should have same rights: “Legal immigrants to [country] who are not citizens should have the same rights as [country nationality] citizens”

¹³ Data for Japan from 2004 and 2014 ISSP surveys on citizenship. For 2004, self-completion with interviewer involvement method used, 1,800 men and women aged 16 and over from across Japan surveyed, with 1,343 valid responses (74.6%); for 2014, self-completion with interviewer involvement method used, 2,400 men and women aged 16 and over from across Japan surveyed, with 1,593 valid responses (66.4%).

Principle Component Analysis of Emotional Attachment to One's Country

Japan		South Korea		United States	
Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component
Country better than others	0.77	Rather be citizen of this country	0.77	Country better than others	0.76
Rather be citizen of this country	0.74	Country better than others	0.76	Rather be citizen of this country	0.71
Be more like this country	0.71	Be more like this country	0.65	Be more like this country	0.65
Proud of country doing well in sports	0.64	Support country even if in the wrong	0.65	Proud of country doing well in sports	0.62
Support country even if in the wrong	0.48	Proud of country doing well in sports	0.61	Support country even if in the wrong	0.52
Eigenvalue	2.28	Eigenvalue	2.37	Eigenvalue	2.16
Contribution rate	45.53	Contribution rate	47.30	Contribution rate	43.12

United Kingdom		France		Norway	
Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component
Rather be citizen of this country	0.75	Be more like this country	0.77	Country better than others	0.70
Be more like this country	0.74	Country better than others	0.74	Be more like this country	0.69
Country better than others	0.74	Rather be citizen of this country	0.69	Rather be citizen of this country	0.69
Proud of country doing well in sports	0.60	Support country even if in the wrong	0.65	Proud of country doing well in sports	0.62
Support country even if in the wrong	0.57	Proud of country doing well in sports	0.59	Support country even if in the wrong	0.49
Eigenvalue	2.34	Eigenvalue	2.39	Eigenvalue	2.07
Contribution rate	46.90	Contribution rate	47.87	Contribution rate	41.49

Notes: Values are principle component loadings. To make the values for “Agree strongly” higher, values were inverted.

Rather be citizen of this country: “I would rather be a citizen of [country] than of any other country in the world”

Be more like this country: “The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like [country nationality]”

Country better than others: “Generally speaking, [country] is a better country than most other countries”

Support country even if in the wrong: “People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong”

Proud of country doing well in sports: “When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be [country nationality]”

Principal Component Analysis of Strong Insistence on Ethnic Homogeneity

Japan		South Korea		United States	
Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component
Living	0.77	Birth	0.79	Ancestry	0.81
Language	0.77	Citizenship	0.79	Living	0.80
Birth	0.75	Language	0.76	Birth	0.78
Ancestry	0.75	Living	0.74	Religion	0.67
Citizenship	0.66	Ancestry	0.72	Citizenship	0.65
Religion	0.66	Feeling	0.62	Language	0.63
Feeling	0.53	Religion	0.59	Feeling	0.61
Eigenvalue	3.46	Eigenvalue	3.61	Eigenvalue	3.54
Contribution rate	49.46	Contribution rate	51.54	Contribution rate	50.57

United Kingdom		France		Norway	
Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component	Variable	1st component
Living	0.79	Ancestry	0.79	Birth	0.81
Ancestry	0.78	Birth	0.77	Ancestry	0.81
Birth	0.77	Living	0.73	Living	0.79
Citizenship	0.71	Citizenship	0.65	Citizenship	0.67
Feeling	0.63	Language	0.62	Religion	0.66
Religion	0.59	Religion	0.58	Feeling	0.51
Language	0.58	Feeling	0.50	Language	0.51
Eigenvalue	3.43	Eigenvalue	3.13	Eigenvalue	3.34
Contribution rate	48.96	Contribution rate	44.70	Contribution rate	47.72

Notes: Values are principle component loadings. To make the values for “Very important” higher, values were inverted. “To respect [country nationality] political institutions and laws” was excluded from analysis because principal component loadings were too low in some countries.

Birth: “To have been born in [country]”

Citizenship: “To have [country nationality] citizenship”

Living: “To have lived in [country] for most of one’s life”

Language: “To be able to speak [country language]”

Religion: “To be a [religion]”

Feeling: “To feel [country nationality]”

Ancestry: “To have [country nationality] ancestry”

ISSP Survey Questions Used for Analysis

— Attachment to One's Country—

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line)

- "I would rather be a citizen of [country] than of any other country in the world"
 - "The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the [country nationality]"
 - "Generally speaking, [country] is a better country than most other countries"
 - "People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong"
 - "When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be [country nationality]"
- 1 Agree strongly
 - 2 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Disagree
 - 5 Disagree strongly

— Things Important to Being a National—

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [nationality]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is? (Please check one box on each line)

- "To have been born in [country]"
 - "To have [country nationality] citizenship"
 - "To have lived in [country] for most of one's life"
 - "To be able to speak [country language]"
 - "To be a [religion]"
 - "To feel [country nationality]"
 - "To have [country nationality] ancestry"
- 1 Very important
 - 2 Fairly important
 - 3 Not very important
 - 4 Not important at all

—Anti-immigrant Sentiment—

There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in [country]. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (Please, check one box on each line.)

- "Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in [country]"
 - "[Country's] culture is generally undermined by immigrants"
 - "Legal immigrants to [country] who are not citizens should have the same rights as [country nationality] citizens"
- 1 Agree strongly
 - 2 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Disagree
 - 5 Disagree strongly

—For or against Increase of Immigrants—

Do you think the number of immigrants to [country] nowadays should be...(Please, check one box on each line.)

- 1 increased a lot
- 2 increased a little
- 3 remain the same as it is
- 4 reduced a little
- 5 reduced a lot?

Survey Outline by Country

	Survey year	Age range	No. of valid responses	Survey method*
Belgium	2013-14	Age 18-	2,196	Mail
Croatia	2014	Age 18-	1,000	Face-to-face
Czech Republic	2013-14	Age 18-	1,909	Face-to-face
Denmark	2013-14	Age 18-79	1,325	Web, etc.
Finland	2013	Age 15-75	1,243	Mail, Web
Former E. Germany	2014	Age 18-	309	CASI (partially CAPI)
Former W. Germany	2014	Age 18-	1,408	CASI (partially CAPI)
France	2013	Age 18-	2,017	Mail
Georgia	2013	Age 18-	1,498	Face-to-face
Hungary	2013	Age 18-	1,007	Face-to-face
Iceland	2013-14	Age 15-	1,082	Face-to-face (partially CASI)
Israel	2014	Age 18-	1,029	Face-to-face
Japan	2013	Age 16-	1,234	Self-completion with interviewer involvement
South Korea	2013	Age 18-	1,294	Face-to-face
Latvia	2013	Age 18-75	1,000	Face-to-face
Lithuania	2013	Age 18-	1,194	Face-to-face
Mexico	2015	Age 18-	1,062	Face-to-face
Norway	2014	Age 18-79	1,585	Mail, Web
Philippines	2014	Age 18-	1,200	Face-to-face
Portugal	2014-15	Age 18-	1,001	Face-to-face (CAPI), etc.
Russia	2012	Age 18-	1,516	Face-to-face
Slovakia	2014	Age 18-	1,156	Face-to-face
Slovenia	2013	Age 18-	1,010	Face-to-face (CAPI)
South Africa	2013	Age 16-	2,739	Face-to-face
Spain	2014	Age 18-	1,225	Face-to-face
Sweden	2013	Age 18-80	1,090	Mail
Switzerland	2013	Age 18-	1,237	Face-to-face (CAPI)
Taiwan	2013	Age 18-	1,952	Face-to-face (CAPI), etc.
Turkey	2014	Age 18-	1,666	Face-to-face
United Kingdom	2013	Age 18-	904	Self-completion with interviewer involvement, etc.
United States	2014	Age 18-	1,274	Face-to-face (CAPI), etc.

* CAPI: Computer Assisted Personal Interview. CASI: Computer Assisted Self-administered Interview.