

# Specific Xenophobia? Japanese Acceptance Attitudes toward Chinese Immigrants

Jie Zhang<sup>\*</sup>

特定の排外主義？在日中国人に対する日本社会の意識

張 潔<sup>\*</sup>

## Abstract

This study aims to examine the attitudes Japanese citizens have toward accepting Chinese immigrants, and discuss the predictors of those attitudes. It mainly addresses whether the Japanese people are likely to accept immigrants from mainland China, and identifies the factors that shape their attitudes. Using Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) 2008, this paper analyzes the level of acceptance among Japanese toward immigrants in Japan by comparing their attitudes toward immigrants from China with those from South Korea, Southeast Asia, Europe and North America. The results show that Japanese people are more likely to accept Chinese immigrants as colleagues or neighbors rather than close relatives. Japanese females tend to have more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants than males, while older Japanese express strong anti-immigrant attitudes toward the Chinese. Moreover, positive correlation between education and acceptance attitudes are found. However, neither the population size of immigrant minority nor the household income bears significant effects on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese migrants. The implications of these findings are used to discuss Chinese immigrant incorporation and ongoing multiculturalism in contemporary Japan.

Keywords: Acceptance, Japanese, Chinese, Immigrants.

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<sup>\*</sup>早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究科博士後期課程 Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, Doctoral Program.

## 1. Introduction

Xenophobia, defined as “an attitudinal orientation of hostility against non-natives in a given population” (Boehnke 2001), has been frequently mentioned and linked to Japanese society in recent studies (Diène 2006; Ishiwata 2011). Although migration into Japan has gone for many decades, research still suggests that Japanese government officials do not see Japan as an immigrant country (Pak 1998). It is common for foreign students to be told by housing managers that no foreigners would be allowed to rent apartment, some of those students believed it could be construed as racial discrimination by a foreign customer (Scott 2013).

However, there are some indications that the government might be willing to countenance increased immigration. The most notable indicator is the proposal presented by members of the Liberal Democratic Party to accept 10 million foreigners by 2050 (Roberts 2012; Ito and Kamiya 2008). In May 2012, a points-based system that provides highly skilled foreign professionals with preferential immigration treatment was introduced by Immigration Bureau of Japan to promote entry of highly skilled foreign professionals.<sup>1</sup> Despite its open and lenient policies for highly skilled migration, Japan has not been successful in attracting many professionals from overseas. Japanese corporations have also found it difficult to retain migrant professionals (Oishi 2012). There is strong pressure on Japan to become a global society, while adaptation difficulties of immigrants will obstruct the way. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the reason Japanese citizens hold negative attitudes toward immigrants.

Providing explanations as to why xenophobia exists in Japan, some researchers believe this is because Japanese people are afraid of foreign cultures, which may lead them to lose “Japanese identity” (Befu 2001; Ishiwata 2011). Other scholars argue that economic threat is an important reason because Japanese people fear losing jobs to foreigners in the labor market (Fetzer 2000; Nukaga 2006). Yet, there are other significant questions left unanswered in extant discussions of Japan’s xenophobia: first, anti-immigrant attitudes are present in Japan, but who holds them and toward whom do they hold them? Second, in order to better understand xenophobia, this study seeks to identify what objective and subjective indicators cause the negative attitudes among Japanese citizens toward immigrants, including demographics and personal experience. Data from the Ministry of Justice in 2009 show that one-third of those who were refused border entry in 2008 were from China (Liu-Farrer 2010). Anti-immigrant sentiment is a sensitive topic of discussion, especially with respect to the relationship between China and Japan, for which the word “anti-immigrant sentiment” implies specific histories, attitudes toward governments, policies, and voices of the people.

Therefore, this study selects Chinese immigrants in Japan as research subjects to explore the prevalence of xenophobia in Japan. Compared with other immigrant minorities, the

Chinese have become the largest immigrant group in Japan in recent years. According to statistics from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 683,412 Chinese residents were living in Japan as of 2012, accounting for 30.38 percent of all immigrants. In recent decades, many scholars have focused on Chinese immigrants in Japan. Previous studies analyzed Chinese immigrants as forming diverse groups, foreign students, workers, business owners and others (Ma 2003; Liu-Farrer 2011). Some researchers have focused on the increasing presence of Chinese immigrants in Japan, by looking into the ways in which this presence has been growing (Maher 1995; Chen 2008). As their number rapidly increases, more and more Chinese engage in various economic and social activities in Japan, and present strong intentions to integrate into Japanese society (Liu-Farrer 2012).

Yet, Japan does not seem to welcome those Chinese immigrants (Ying, Samaratunge and Hartel 2011; Birrell and Healy 2008). In 2006, Credit Lyonnais Securities Asia's (CLSA) survey of the major difficulties faced in Japan by some 250 Chinese and Nikkei Brazilian low-skilled workers shows that, most Chinese respondents felt greater difficulty in communicating with Japanese people than Nikkei Brazilians. In addition, Japanese attitudes toward foreigners ranked second among all major difficulties. These difficulties affecting Chinese residents may easily generate conflicts and inappropriate administration practices in Japanese society. Do Chinese immigrants face stronger xenophobia than other minority groups in Japan? What are the determinants of Japanese attitudes toward the Chinese?

This study examined Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants by using quantitative method. Data analysis of Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS 2008) is committed to answering the research questions, and this study aims to draw attention to the attitudes of Japanese people towards Chinese immigrants in comparison with other immigrant groups including South Koreans, Southeast Asians, Europeans and North Americans. To gain insight into Japanese attitudes, the key questions asked whether they would like to accept Chinese immigrants as colleagues, neighbors and family members. The results first show that Japanese people would like to accept the number increasing of immigrants from North America, Europe, Southeast Asia and Korea rather than immigrants from China. Thus, Japanese females tend to have more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants than males, while older Japanese express strong anti-immigrant attitudes toward the Chinese. Moreover, positive correlation between education and acceptance attitudes are found, whereas neither the population size of immigrant minority nor the household income bears significant effects on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese migrants.

This study makes a significant contribution in two ways. First, it identifies the predictors of Japanese attitudes in accepting immigrants, especially the Chinese, which can provide information for organizations to develop effective programs to assist immigrants with adaptation to Japan as a host society. Second, such information can foster improved communication between immigrants and host society, and understanding Japanese attitudes

toward immigrants can help improve existing services and mechanisms for social adaptation, reduce barriers to social integration and cultivate positive acceptance of immigrants from China and other countries.

## 2. Literature Review

Although it has been more than two decades since the local government initiated the implementation of multiculturalism as a mode of incorporating migrants, “Japanese multiculturalism” remains controversial. Previous studies in Japan argue that while multiculturalism is generally favored by the public, many “who demand cultural homogeneity within a nation approve of multiculturalism but are unwilling to grant equal rights” (Nagayoshi 2011; Burgess 2004; Tai 2007). At the same time, anti-minority sentiment still exists in Japan. In an analysis by Semynov *et al.*, they argued that negative attitudes toward out-group populations are shaped by the relative population size of the out-group, and the changes in economic conditions (Semynov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky, 2006). Also, some comparative studies that have examined cross-national variation in anti-minority attitudes relied mostly on the population size of a minority group and their economic conditions (Kunovich, 2004; Quillian, 1995; Scheepers *et al.*, 2002) in a receiving society. In the case of Japan, previous studies have found that foreign resident populations tend to be in competition with the host residents (Nagayoshi 2009), and the former’s widening presence tends to create varied social impact, depending on the nationality of the migrant (Nukaga 2006).

For instance, South Americans positively affect anti-immigrant attitudes while the Korean population does not strengthen anti-immigrant attitudes (Nagayoshi 2009; Nukaga 2006). To explain this phenomenon, Nagayoshi (2009) states that ethnicities of immigrants relate to host residents’ perceptions about group positions, while social and economic positions of immigrants relate to perceptions of threat. She further asserts that the occupational status and increased numbers of foreign residents affect anti-immigrant attitudes, immigrants who belong to unskilled working class may face stronger hostility from Japanese citizens (Nagayoshi 2009). Following this argument, it can be assumed that Chinese immigrants face stronger hostility than other minority groups from Japanese citizens for being the largest group of foreign residents in recent years<sup>2</sup> despite acquiring varied occupational statuses in Japan. Nukaga, on the other hand, underscores that economic threat is positively associated with xenophobia, whereas education and contact factors are positively associated with pro-foreign attitudes (Nukaga 2006).

According to statistics from the Ministry of Justice, there is a large number of Chinese students and family members in Japan, besides, there are also many Chinese residents who have engaged in the field of Humanities, International Business, and Engineering<sup>3</sup>. Among Chinese residents who are looking forward to achieving economic success in Japan, Chinese

newcomers who have moved to Japan since the 1980s show high involvement in multiple business activities (Liu-Farrer 2011). However, Japanese attitudes toward those Chinese residents are still unclear. If Japanese citizens generally advocate multiculturalism as much as they would like to maintain their own national identity, are they willing to accept close contact with foreigners? Whereas previous studies have highlighted nationality and socio-economic positions as factors contributing to anti-immigrant attitudes, determining which nationality and what socio-economic roles tend to be negatively viewed remains an unfulfilled research task.

Compared to simply asking Japanese people whether they would like to accept the increasing number of foreigners in Japan, the current study approaches the issues surrounding immigrants' incorporation by raising more specific questions that reflect Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. For instance, co-presence in a household, neighborhood and workplace may involve intimate contact between them. Some scholars suggest that close personal interaction with foreigners such as building family ties as well as friendship in the neighborhood and workplace promote positive attitudes toward foreigners (Nukaga 2006). The willingness of Japanese locals to accept Chinese newcomers as colleagues or families presumably indicate their thoughts of multiculturalism. Therefore, this study investigates Japanese attitudes toward Chinese residents through this perspective, and the determinants of such attitudes. Building on Kunovich (2004), aside from migrant population size and economic situation, demographic characteristics such as age, gender and education may also equally significant potential indicators of immigrant perception and awareness.

### **3. Data and Method**

By employing quantitative analysis, this study uses data from Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS 2008) to examine the acceptance attitudes of Japanese toward Chinese immigrants. Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) Project is a Japanese version of General Social Survey (GSS) project which closely replicates the original GSS of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. It provides data for analyses of Japanese society, attitudes, and behaviors, which makes possible international comparisons. JGSS 2008 is a nationwide survey, which involves 4, 220 respondents including males and females aged 20-89 years old<sup>4</sup>. To understand the acceptance attitude of Japanese respondents, this study establishes four models: 1). General acceptance towards immigrants; 2). Willingness to accept Chinese immigrants as neighbors; 3). Willingness to accept Chinese immigrants as close relatives; 4). Willingness to accept Chinese immigrants as colleagues.

For the first model, this survey asks the question, "*Do you approve or disapprove of the increasing number of foreigners in your community?*" Second, a series of questions have answers divided according to nationality: Mainland China, South Korea, Southeast Asia, Europe, and North America. To understand Japanese attitudes more specifically, willingness

to accept foreigners as neighbors, colleagues and family members are conducted as typical dependent variables to test. The questions used are the following: “*How would you feel about having neighbors/close relatives/colleagues who are from the following countries or regions? Do you accept the people who are from the following countries or regions?*” Based on these questions, the acceptance attitudes in Japanese society toward immigrants from mainland China and other countries are compared. To determine the effect of these attitudes, independent variables comprising two levels are assessed: the first level includes demographic characteristics such as gender, age and education, while the second level consists of occupational status, household income and the population size of minority.

As demographic characteristics and economic status show different effects in previous research (Semynov *et al.* 2006; Hjerm 2001), these variables are tested again in the present study. Considering the effects of political environment on anti-immigrant attitudes, the age of the respondents ranges from 20 to 90 years old. To explore the gender variable, responses are classified as either male or female. Previous studies examined that gender has an effect on attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Hello *et al.* 2004; Hjerm and Nagayoshi 2011), therefore this study also includes gender in analysis models (male = 0, female = 1). Since education is frequently examined as strongly correlated with anti-immigrant attitudes (Hjerm 2001; Nukaga 2006), this study considers looking into respondents’ range of educational experience from junior high school, high school, professional school to university. Thus, as labor market theory argues, immigrants who obtain job opportunities are more likely to pose a threat to host residents (Boswell 1986). Therefore, to examine whether economic status of Japanese citizens would affect their acceptance attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, this paper incorporates occupational status and household income as crucial factors for evaluating acceptance attitudes, which include various work experiences such as professional manager, sales, self-employment, skilled worker, unskilled worker, and non-standard employment. Moreover, since the composition of the immigrant population is of utter importance for the size argument to be valid for cultural threats (Hjerm and Nagayoshi 2011), this study also includes Chinese population size in Japanese prefectures to examine its influence on Japanese acceptance attitudes towards Chinese immigrants.

#### **4. Findings**

In order to explain the extent to which Japanese society accepts foreign minorities, this study first delves into Japanese general attitudes toward the increasing population of foreigners, as presented as shown in Figure 1. Based on the question: “*Do you approve or disapprove of the increasing number of foreigners in your community?*”, only 37.7 percent of 4,220 respondents answered “Approve”, 56.3 percent answered “Disapprove”, and 6 percent gave no answer. More than half of respondents presented negative attitudes toward foreigners. The next question is: *Do Japanese citizens hold negative attitudes toward all*

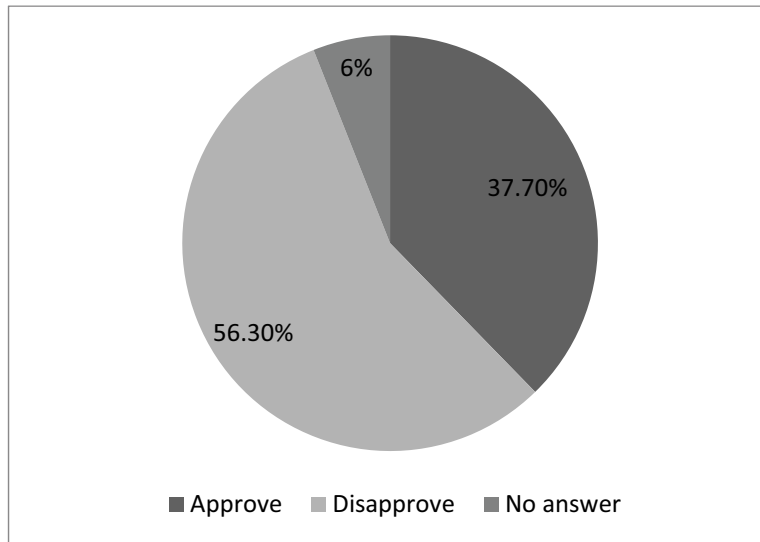


Fig 1. Japanese attitudes toward the growing number of foreigners (JGSS-2008,  $N = 4, 220$ )

*foreign residents in Japan?*

Figure 2 presents the acceptance attitudes among Japanese toward immigrants from China, South Korea, Southeast Asia, Europe and North America. First, on the question: “*How would you feel about having neighbors who are from the following countries or regions? Can you accept the people who are from each of the following countries or regions?*”, results showed that 36.54 percent of respondents showed a welcoming attitude towards immigrants from North America, over 33.46 percent of them would like to accept South Korean immigrants as neighbors, while 32.42 percent of respondents would like to accept immigrants from Southeast Asia. However, only 30.88 percent of respondents said they can accept Chinese immigrants in the neighborhood.

Secondly, in response to the questions: “*How would you feel about having close relatives who are from the following countries or regions? Can you accept the people who are from each of the following countries or regions?*”, the results are close to Japanese attitudes toward foreign neighbors. Japanese people are likely to accept immigrants from Europe and North America as families, whereas they tend to have negative attitudes towards Asian immigrants, especially Chinese immigrants.

Similar results were found in the third set of questions: “*How would you feel about working together with people who are from the following countries or regions? Can you accept them?*” Fewer respondents would like to accept the Chinese as colleagues compared to other immigrant groups. On the question regarding accepting them as family, although 31.78

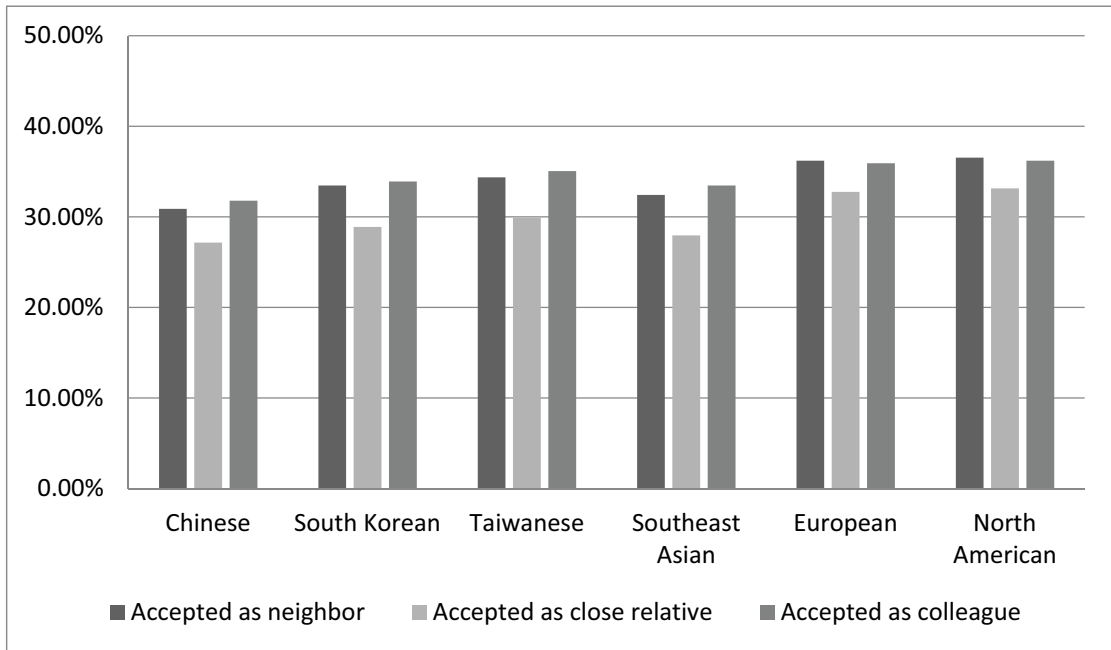


Fig 2. Japanese acceptance attitudes toward immigrants (JGSS-2008,  $N=4,220$ )

percent of respondents would like to accept Chinese immigrants as family members, the acceptance level is still lower than other immigrant groups. To examine the determinants of acceptance attitudes among Japanese respondents toward Chinese immigrants, logistic regression model was used in this study. Considering the necessary of examine factors including demographic characteristics, economic status and size of minority, logistic regression can be used to model dichotomous outcome variables, in the logit model the log odds of the outcome is modeled as a linear combination of the predictor variables<sup>5</sup>.

Models 1 and 2 show that these determinants have shaped Japanese views of the Chinese as neighbors. In model 1, gender, age and education are employed as independent variables. All these three indicators present significant effects. Gender has a negative influence on acceptance attitude, indicating that Japanese men are more likely to accept Chinese residents as neighbors. Age also presents a strong effect on Japanese attitudes, as respondents who are older tend to have higher negative attitudes toward Chinese residents. Thus, significant association between education and acceptance attitudes are showed in model 1, in which respondents with higher education have positive attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. The results estimated in model 1 indicate that demographic status significantly shapes Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

In model 2, economic indicators and population size of a minority group were taken into account. The significant effect of demographic status and education on attitudes disappeared after controlling for other indicators. Neither household income nor the minority population



size has significantly impact on acceptance attitudes while the occupational status has. Unskilled workers demonstrated strong anti-immigrant attitudes toward accepting Chinese immigrants as neighbors.

Models 3 and 4 tested the effects of demographic status and economic factors of Japanese respondents on their acceptance attitudes toward Chinese relatives. When economic factors and minority population size were not controlled for, Model 3 showed that demographic characteristics and educational level of Japanese respondents have significant effect on their acceptance attitudes. As the results show, both Japanese women and older citizens presented negative attitudes toward accepting Chinese as close relatives. In terms of education, those respondents who graduated from universities were more likely to accept Chinese relatives. In contrast, demographic status and acceptance attitudes had insignificant correlation when economic factors and minority population size were accounted for. Whether Japanese citizens are in higher economic status or not does not bear any relevant influence on acceptance attitudes.

Table 1. Determinants of acceptance attitudes among Japanese toward Chinese Immigrants

	Accepted as neighbor		Accepted as close relative		Accepted as colleague	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
	Coef	S.E.	Coef	S.E.	Coef	S.E.
Gender ( <i>ref</i> =male)	-.156 *		-.159 <i>ns</i>		-.209 *	
Age	-.011 ***		-.018 ***		-.014 ***	
Education ( <i>ref</i> =junior high school)						
High school	.399 **		.331 *		.385 **	
Professional school	.563 **		.316 *		.557 **	
University	.887 ***		.619 ***		.956 ***	
Occupational status ( <i>ref</i> =professional manager)						
Sales		-.198 <i>ns</i>		.047 <i>ns</i>		.015 <i>ns</i>
Self-employment		-.382 <i>ns</i>		.105 <i>ns</i>		-.443 <i>ns</i>
Skilled worker		-.289 <i>ns</i>		.048 <i>ns</i>		.080 <i>ns</i>
Unskilled worker		-.961 **		-.572 <i>ns</i>		-.507 <i>ns</i>
Not standard employment		.153 <i>ns</i>		-.010 <i>ns</i>		-.106 <i>ns</i>
Household income		.000 <i>ns</i>		.037 <i>ns</i>		.000 <i>ns</i>
Size of minority		-.043 <i>ns</i>		-.100 <i>ns</i>		.057 <i>ns</i>
_cons	.635 **	1.204 **	.858 ***	1.070 *	.935 ***	.974 *
R <sup>2</sup>	.28	.26	.33	.21	.39	.31

Note: N=2,139, \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

In models 5 and 6, I examined the determinants of acceptance attitudes among Japanese citizens toward Chinese colleagues. In model 5, three indicators that measured the acceptance attitudes were age, gender and education. Japanese female were more reluctant

to accept Chinese residents as colleagues compared to their male counterparts. Older citizens, meanwhile, possessed strong anti-immigrants attitudes toward Chinese colleagues. Moreover, a positive link between education and acceptance attitudes was revealed in model 5, which implies that Japanese people who acquired higher education are more willing to work with Chinese immigrants.

Conversely, when I checked the correlation between economic factors and size of minority population, no significant association was found in model 6, whereas age presents negative effect on Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese colleagues. Thus, even though unskilled workers presented negative acceptance attitudes toward Chinese neighbors, the coefficient disappeared when acceptance attitudes toward Chinese colleagues was analyzed.

## 5. Discussion

This paper has explored the level of Japanese attitudes toward immigrants, and discussed the indicators of their attitudes. By employing quantitative data from a survey of Japanese citizens to measure various predictors, the following results are underscored. First, Japanese attitudes toward immigrants vary depending on nationality. Japanese people are more likely to accept the numerical growth of immigrants from Europe and North America rather than those from other Asian countries. Moreover, they find it easier to accept foreigners from Southeast Asia and Korea than those from China, which denotes that Japanese generally have a negative image of Chinese immigrants. During recent years, not just the number of Chinese visitors ranked first in Japan than visitors from other countries, but also the number of Chinese students, skilled workers and family members are ranked first in Japan than other immigrant groups. Based on the interviews I did with 52 Chinese residents in Japan since 2012 to 2014, over 30 informants have experienced being discriminated against by Japanese people. When talking about the reasons, some informants believe the high crime rate done by Chinese residents during recent years<sup>6</sup> caused negative impressions among Japanese citizens. Also, a lack of understanding of Japanese culture let Chinese residents perceived discrimination by Japanese citizens, even though some of impressions were left by Chinese travelers. With a large number of Chinese travelers coming to Japan, their behaviors also been marked with “Chinese way of doing things”. It is easy to see Chinese travelers don’t stand in the line when they shop, speak loudly in public places, and throw garbage everywhere. As “outsiders”, these behaviors left negative impressions among Japanese citizens and, may also increase their negative impression of Chinese immigrants.

Secondly, for Chinese immigrants, Japanese citizens are more likely to accept them as colleagues or neighbors rather than as close relatives (see Figure 2). This result implies that working or living with the Chinese in the same neighborhood can still allow Japanese people to maintain social distance, so that they can individually decide whether to establish personal

networks with Chinese immigrants. However, accepting Chinese immigrants as family members is extremely different, entailing as it does close and daily contact with another who may be culturally and linguistically distinct. Based on the statistics from Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare<sup>7</sup>, by 2003, the number of Chinese wives in Japan was 6, 253, ranked first in international marriage; the number of Chinese husbands was 718, ranked third followed Pilipino and Korean. Yet, the divorce rate of Chinese-Japanese families climbed to over 45 percent (Qu 2009), which implies high risk of international marriage among Chinese residents in Japan. Even though there might be some economic benefits, the lack of understanding of each other's culture, and the difficulty of language may eventually lead to a failed marriage.

Third, the result shows that demographic characteristics and education are important determinants when economic status and size of minority were not controlled for. Regardless of being neighbors, relatives or colleagues, Japanese females tend to have more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants than male citizens, as much as the older Japanese tend to express strong anti-immigrant sentiments toward Chinese residents, and their negative attitudes are especially toward Chinese colleagues. Hierarchy is extremely important in Japanese society, especially at the workplace. Japanese are very conscious of age and status, the oldest person in a group is always revered and honoured. Yet during recent years, Chinese employees are always challenging Japanese hierarchy, they advocated that personal ability should be the criteria of promotion (Liu-Farrer 2011). This attitude may becoming a threat to elder Japanese colleagues. Moreover, there is a positive association between education and acceptance attitudes. Japanese people with higher education are more accepting of Chinese immigrants as neighbors, colleagues, even as close relatives. Previous studies of Japanese attitudes toward foreigners argued that greater years of schooling significantly reduce xenophobia among Japanese citizens in the labor force (Nukaga 2006). A similar result has been found in this study as positive acceptance attitudes are held by Japanese citizens who have higher education. Although most of these predictors lost significance when economic factors and size of minority were included into model 2, 4 and 6, demographic status is still an important factor to reflect Japanese respondents' socio-economic status, and to some extent reflects their political attitudes and growth environment. Finally, the significant effect of demographic status and education on acceptance attitudes disappeared after controlling for economic factors and population size of immigrants. Whereas unskilled workers tend to possess a strong negative disposition toward Chinese people as neighbors, the significance of these factors disappeared when examining Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants as colleagues. This result partly confirms the findings from previous studies, which found that employers show weaker anti-immigrant attitudes than unskilled employees do (Nagayoshi 2009, Iyotani 1992). Yet, neither the minority population size nor the household income brings significant effects on Japanese attitudes toward accepting Chinese immigrants. Previous studies on group threat theory

have argued that the working class is more threatened by a larger share of manual workers among the immigrant population (Hjerm and Nagayoshi 2011), yet the survey used in this study only asked the occupational status among Japanese respondents. Even though those Japanese respondents who are unskilled workers present negative attitudes toward Chinese neighbors, it could not examine whether they are working with Chinese manual workers, thus we were unable to verify whether those Japanese respondents were actually threatened on job opportunities. Moreover, size of minority was classified by prefectures in this study, but could not distinguish size of minorities between urban and rural areas, which may also caused the insignificance of Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

The explanation as to why Japanese have negative attitudes toward China has been discussed by many scholars and in the media, which is also related to the reason why Japanese citizens are holding negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. First, a fluctuating political relationship between China and Japan has continued over decades. The socio-historical issues, especially the dispute over islands in the East China Sea, have inflamed Sino-Japanese relations over the past few years, and the dangers of accident and conflict are real, and if an accident occurred, reconciliation between China and Japan could be delayed for decades or even longer (Vogel 2013). Therefore, Sino-Japanese relations may also effect on Japanese attitudes toward China and Chinese immigrants in Japan.

Meanwhile, as previous studies on multiculturalism in Japan point out, Japanese people support the idea of multiculturalism while drawing strict borders between the Japanese nation and “others”, and homogenizing the Japanese nation (Nagayoshi 2011; Burgess 2004; Tai 2007). If immigrant minorities have to assimilate into the ethnic Japanese culture in order to gain equal rights (Nagayoshi 2011), then the question for future study is how Chinese immigrants should do this? At the same time, despite the fact that the number of immigrants in Japan continues to increase, how to accept immigrants as citizens and give them full rights remains a challenge for Japan. By discussing the predictors of Japanese attitudes currently held toward immigrants, this study has affirmed the need to deeply understand the dynamics of contemporary Japanese society, which entails knowledge and information sharing between Japanese and immigrants out-groups’ culture and identities.

There are still limitations existing in this study. One concern limitation is the lack of examining networks of Japanese citizens. When checking the predictors of acceptance attitudes, this study did not take into account social capital. Previous studies argued that “the better educated tend to be more pro-foreigners not so much because they have less fears of labor market competition, but rather because they have more cosmopolitan networks and contacts” (Nukaga 2006). However, the quantitative data in this study did not ask Japanese respondents’ detailed experiences of contact with Chinese immigrants, therefore further research is necessary to examine with greater depth the linkage between social capital and acceptance attitudes.

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## Notes

- (1) Points-based System for Highly Skilled Foreign Professionals, Immigration Bureau of Japan: [http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/newimmiact\\_3/en/system/index.html](http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/newimmiact_3/en/system/index.html). (May 7, 2012)
- (2) Statistic sources from the Ministry of Justice: [http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei\\_ichiran\\_touroku.html](http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html). (November 20, 2014)
- (3) The population of registered Chinese immigrants in Japan by visa status: <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?lid=000001111138>. (September 17, 2014)
- (4) The introduction of JGSS is described with reference to JGSS Research Center: <http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/>. (June 25, 2012)
- (5) Stata Data Analysis Examples: Logistic Regression: <http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/dae/logit.htm>. (July 5, 2015)
- (6) Statistic sources from the Ministry of Justice:平成 25 年版犯罪白書のあらまし：外国人犯罪者の実態: [http://www.moj.go.jp/housouken/housouken03\\_00070.html](http://www.moj.go.jp/housouken/housouken03_00070.html). (April 12, 2015)
- (7) Statistic sources from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 国籍（出身地）別在留資格（在留目的）別外国人登録者の「日本人の配偶者等」の在留資格を持つ外国人数: <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?lid=000001074828>. (April 10, 2015)

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