

Affinity with a Neighbor Approaching from Afar: The Japanese Attitude toward Mongolia Seen from Survey Data

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Abstract: Mongolia, which had very little contact with Japan over periods of hundreds of years, has been establishing its presence in Japan since the country abandoned its socialist system in 1990. Then, how do the Japanese feel about this “new” neighbor? Do they have positive or negative attitude toward Mongolia, and what factors are associated with the attitude? To answer these questions, the author examined favorability of Mongolia through analyses of nationwide social survey data in Japan. The result of the analyses can be summarized as follows. First, the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia is relatively favorable, compared with those toward other East Asians except Taiwan. Second, the amount of reading books has significantly positive effect on the attitude of female respondents, which might reflect the popularity of Japanese literatures featuring Mongolia or the Mongols. Third, males are more likely to have favorable attitude toward Mongolia than females. Fourth, residents in Kanto area shows more favorable attitude toward Mongolia than those in other areas. At the same time, more than half of the respondents answered that they had neither positive nor negative attitude toward Mongolia, which indicates Mongolia’s relatively little impression to the Japanese. In addition to this, Japanese literatures featuring Mongolia or the Mongols are sometimes criticized that they distort the image of Mongolia. The more one is acquainted with such literatures, the more one is exposed to the risk of misunderstanding or being caught up in a fantasy regarding Mongolia. Exploring a way to avoid such risks is one of the major issues for true understanding of Mongolia by the Japanese.

Keywords: Mongolia, East Asia, Attitude Toward Foreign Countries, Multivariate Analysis, Social Survey

I Introduction

People’s attitude toward foreign countries influences their country’s diplomatic conduct. Studies reveal that public opinion has played a role in diplomacy and international relationships (Holsti, 2004; Mendel, 1961; Sobel, 2001). This indicates the importance of understanding people’s attitudes toward foreign countries, as well as understanding the factors behind those attitudes.

The study of attitudes toward foreign countries has been conducted through two approaches. One is by analyzing media reports, which has a major affect on public opinion;

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the other is by analyzing social surveys or opinion poll data. In Japan, to be specific, development of social surveys and the emergence of a dataset available for micro-analysis in recent decade made it possible to analyze factors behind Japanese people's attitudes toward foreign countries. At the same time, it became possible to analyze attitudes toward countries that were not focused on but those that are becoming more familiar and growing important to the Japanese.

Mongolia is a good example of such country. Until the end of 20th century, Japan had almost no contact with Mongolia except *Genko*, the two attempts by the Mongol Empire to attack Japan, and military conflicts between the Kwantung army of Japan and the Soviet-Mongolian allies, including the Battle of Khalkhin Gol (*Khalkh golyn baildaan* in Mongolian, and *Nomonhan jiken* in Japanese). Even after that, Mongolian People's Republic, the second oldest socialist country and (probably the most) obedient *protégé* of the former Soviet Union, was hardly accessible from Japan.

However, the dismantling of the Mongolian socialist regime removed the barrier between the two countries, and since then they have been gaining presence and importance in each other's affairs. To Japan, Mongolia is one of the valuable countries to show strong affinity to her. According to the "Opinion Poll on Attitudes toward Japan in Mongolia" conducted in 2004, Mongolians consider Japan the first country that their government should have a friendly relationship with, the second country that they like the most, and the second country that they would love to visit the most¹. Japan is the most generous donor of development aid: In 2008, for instance, actual figure of Japanese aid amounted to 60.70 million USD, higher than those offered by other countries and international aid agencies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, n.d.). In addition, the success of Mongolian *sumo* wrestlers provided the opportunity for people in two countries to become more familiar with each other².

Thus, it follows to question the attitude of the Japanese toward Mongolia. Do the Japanese have favorable attitude, as Mongolians have toward Japan and what are the factors linked to their attitude? Exploring the attitude of the Japanese toward Mongolia will help the Mongolians gain deeper understandings of not only Japan but also their own country. Besides, there have already been studies on attitude toward foreign countries and people (Ito and Kohno, 2008; Kasama, 1992; Nukaga, 2005; Ohtsuki, 2005; Tanabe, 2004; Wanta, Golan and Lee, 2004 etc.), and examining whether their findings apply to Japanese attitude toward Mongolia also have significant implication.

This article describes the structure of the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia by using the Japanese General Social Surveys 2006 data (JGSS-2006), the first nationwide survey to investigate the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia. The article is organized as follows. Section II examines previous studies on Japanese attitudes toward Mongolia. Section III constructs analytical hypotheses regarding the attitude by examining the relationship history and the mobility of people between the two countries. Section IV analyzes the attitude and verifies the hypotheses through cross-national comparisons with other East Asian societies and multivariate analysis. Section V presents the conclusion.

II Previous Studies on the Japanese Attitude Toward Mongolia

The Japanese attitude toward Mongolia was first investigated by series of Kusu's survey (1939, 1946, 1951). In these surveys, the respondents were asked to rank the 15 ethnic groups including *Mokojin* (an old Japanese term for Mongols) based on how favorably they felt toward the groups. Among the 15 groups, *Mokojin* ranked 6th, 9th, and 13th in the first, second, and third surveys, respectively. However, those surveys were conducted when the Japanese had far less access to the Mongolians or information on the country, and *Mokojin* was thought to refer to the Mongols in Manchuria and South Mongolia rather than those in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Another approach to the attitude toward Mongolia is critical examination of the depiction of Mongolian land and people in Japanese literatures. A series of studies by Shibayama (1998, 2007, 2008) revealed the gap between such descriptions and the historical facts in Mongolia. The gap, Shibayama argued, was a product of "Orientalism," an illusion that the Japanese created and imposed on Mongolia. According to Sibayama, the Japanese do not see the reality of the country and its people, but "Mongolia that the Japanese desire to see" (1998: 45). The concept of Orientalism was also used by Suzuki (2007). Her study criticized the descriptions of Chinggis Khan in Japanese literature, which according to her, distorted the reality of his life in order to portray one of the most significant historical figures in a manner that suited the writers' wish or demand. In order to attest the existence of the Japanese version of Orientalism, not only written text but also the attitude of the readers should be explored. In addition, it is necessary to examine whether the Japanese do have favorable attitude toward Mongolia.

There are also studies based on historical approach by Katakura (1998, 2004). The former study (Katakura, 1998) argued that the Japanese attitude toward the Mongols was colored by *Genko*. He conducted a survey across Japan about the usage of the terms *Mukuri* and *Kokuri*, which are derived from *Mouko* (the old Japanese term for Mongolia) and *Koukuri* (*Goguryeo* Kingdom) and which also indicate objects of dread. Based on the survey, he revealed that those words are not only used in the northern part of Kyushu, which was attacked by the troops of the Mongol Empire, but also generally used in all over Japan. He also showed that monuments dedicated to the victims of *Genko* could be found in the regions that were totally free from attack by Mongol troops. According to Katakura, these traces of *Genko* have till date sustained the fear and discrimination against the Mongols. The latter study (Katakura, 2004) offered another factor that contributes to the Japanese sentiment toward Mongols: the effect of sinocentrism, which includes ethnocentrism and the contempt for nomadic pastoralists. Because the Japanese had been influenced by the Chinese culture and thought for centuries, the Japanese harbor a slight prejudice against the Mongols. However, in regards to the former study, it is unclear whether the origins of *Mukuri* and *Kokuri* are generally recognized by the Japanese today. *Genko* is a historical event more than 700 years ago, and it is doubtful that these words still promote the fear for the Mongols. In regards to the latter study, no evidence is shown to support his argument.

Although these previous studies dealt with how the Japanese viewed Mongolia or the Mongols, it is not until Minato (2009) that the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia was directly revealed and analyzed. Using the JGSS-2006 data, the study compared the average score of attitude toward Mongolia, South Korea, North Korea, China, and Taiwan, and features of the associations between attitude and other variables, such as age, gender, media exposure, contact with foreigners or foreign culture, etc., in each country or region. However, only bivariate analyses were conducted as part of the study; multivariate analysis investigating attitude toward Mongolia has not been conducted.

This article examines Minato's argument (2009) through multivariate analysis of JGSS-2006 data. Before conducting the analyses, however, it would be useful to consider the potential factors linked to attitude toward Mongolia and formulate analytical hypotheses, which will be presented in the next section. The next section also provides an overview of the contact and exchange between Japan and Mongolia, that is, the history of the relationship and the movement of people between the two countries.

III Factors of the Japanese Attitude Toward Mongolia

1 Hypotheses Based on Human Movement From Japan to Mongolia

In this article, I examine five hypotheses with regard to the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia, derived from relationship history between Japan and Mongolia and features of human exchange from Japan to Mongolia. By focusing on these hypotheses based on background unique to Japanese attitude toward Mongolia, it becomes possible to elucidate characteristics of the attitude.

The five hypotheses focused in this article are as follows:

Hypothesis I: Attitude toward Mongolia is more positive than attitudes toward other East Asian countries.

Hypothesis II: Number of reading books has a positive influence with attitude toward Mongolia.

Hypothesis III: Men are more favorable toward Mongolia than women.

Hypothesis IV: Attitude toward Mongolia is more positive in younger generations than in older generations.

Hypothesis V: Attitude toward Mongolia is more positive in the Kanto area than other areas.

Hypothesis I is elicited by comparing Japan-Mongolian relations with the relations between Japan and other East Asian countries. It is true that Japan and Mongolia had military conflicts. In particular, Mongolia's entry into the war against Japan in 1945, concerted with Soviet Union, led to detention of more than ten thousands of Japanese in labor camps in Ulaanbaatar and other cities. Nevertheless, compared with South and North Korea and China, which have often been engaged in controversy with Japan over territorial

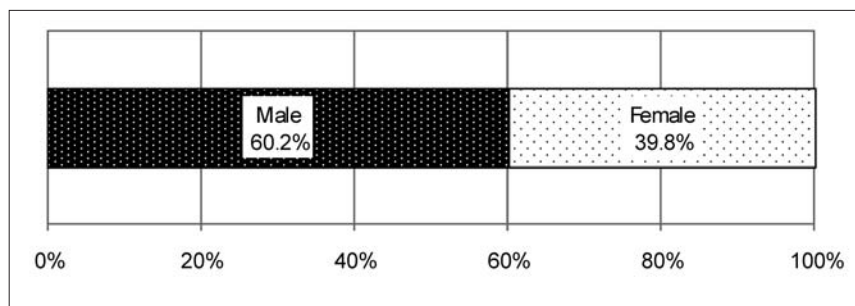
disputes or perception of history, Japan experienced a relatively mild political confrontation against socialist Mongolia. Further, the turnaround in Mongolian diplomatic policy caused by reform and collapse of the Mongolian socialist regime drastically reduced the distance between Japan and Mongolia. Judging from the above, the Japanese can be considered more favorable toward Mongolia than other East Asian countries.

Hypothesis II is inferred from the presence of prominent literatures set in Mongolia or that focus on the Mongols. Yasushi Inoue, one of the novelists representing post-war Japan, lists *Aoki okami* (The Blue-grey Wolf) in his chefs-d'oeuvre (Inoue, 1960=1964). An edition of South Mongolian folklore by Otsuka (1967) was for many years included in a textbook of Japanese language for elementary schools, and is still familiar to the Japanese. Ryotaro Shiba's travelogue in Mongolia (1978) is included in a series of his lifework, *Kaido wo yuku* (Going Along the Highway). There are also several Japanese novels featuring Chinggis Khan as the main character and many other examples of literature that focuses on him (Suzuki, 2007). Considering the popularity among Japanese readers, it is natural to assume that the more one reads books, the more one is to have read this literature. It should be noted that as far as the novels I have examined are concerned, there are almost no works in which the Mongols are portrayed as villains. Rather, depiction of Mongolia and the Mongols are thought to promote interest and favorable attitude toward Mongolia among the Japanese.

Hypotheses III, IV, and V are based on feature of human movement from Japan to Mongolia, seen from an annual statistical report by the Ministry of Justice, Japan. The report shows figures regarding inbound and outbound movement of people to and from Japan, including the number of people relocating from Japan to Mongolia and vice versa. In particular, the report presents the number of people going to Mongolia by gender, age group, and residential prefecture from the years 1980 to 2000³. In these years 58,476 Japanese visited Mongolia, which comprises 98.5% of all Japanese visitors to Mongolia from 1972, the year when the two countries established diplomatic relationship, to 2000. Therefore, examining distribution of visitors during this period will help to find groups that are likely to have more favorable attitude toward Mongolia.

Among the three hypotheses above, Hypothesis III is derived from gender difference in the numbers of visitors to Mongolia, shown in Figure 1. Obviously, there are more male than

Figure 1. Number of Visitors From Japan to Mongolia by Gender (1980-2000)

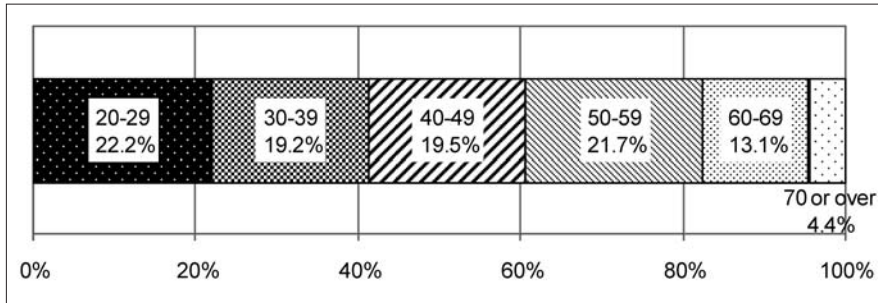


Source: Ministry of Justice. (annual).

female visitors. Throughout the period from 1980 to 2000, the number of male visitors exceeded that of female visitors.

Hypothesis IV is based on age composition of visitors to Mongolia. Figure 2 shows that the ratio of visitors to Mongolia is large in the younger generations, and small in older generations. The relatively high ratio of the fifties is due to a spurt in the number of visitors during the last three years of the period.

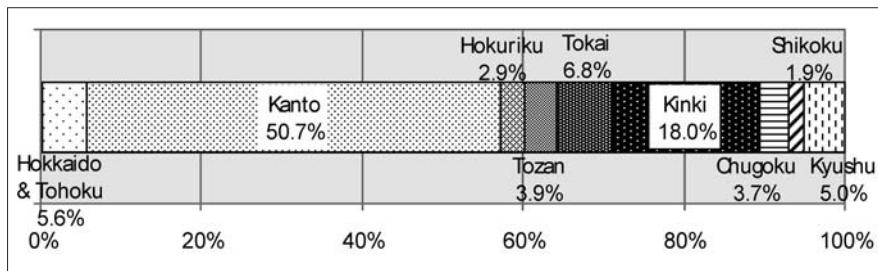
Figure 2. Number of Visitors From Japan to Mongolia by Age Groups (1980-2000)



Source: Ministry of Justice. (annual).

Hypothesis V is formulated from the composition of visitors to Mongolia by area in Figure 3⁴. The proportion of those living in the Kanto area to the total population of Japan is remarkable. Such large proportion cannot be explained only by demographic composition, because ratio of population in Kanto area to the total population of Japan is far less than the percentage shown in Figure 3. Rather, it is because the headquarters for most organizations that promote exchange between Japan and Mongolia; as well, Kanto has one of the two Japanese universities that offer Mongolian language courses.

Figure 3. Number of visitors From Japan to Mongolia by areas



Note: *Tozan* consists of Yamanashi, Nagano and Gifu prefectures.

Source: Ministry of Justice. (annual).

2 Other Possible Factors Related to the Japanese Attitude Toward Mongolia

In addition to the five hypotheses above, other factors have effect on attitude toward foreign countries and foreigners by variety of studies. Therefore, it is necessary to examine

whether such factors also have effect on the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia.

The focal factors with regard to basic attributes are educational background, occupation, and income level. Nukaga (2005) argued that people with more education tended to show more positive attitude toward foreigners; hence, it is necessary to examine whether educational background is associated with attitude toward foreign countries as well as foreigners. With regard to occupation, Kasama (1992) argued on the basis of a survey conducted in England that blue-collar workers tended to be exclusionists because they sometimes compete with immigrant workers for employment. However, such tendency was not observed in Tanabe's analysis of the first pilot survey of JGSS conducted in Tokyo and Osaka (Tanabe, 2004). It is worth focusing on whether or not blue-collar workers' exclusiveness can be confirmed through nationwide survey. In addition, Kasama (1992) listed declining income level as one of the factors contributing to anti-foreignism, suggesting that a lower income might lead one to hold negative attitude toward foreign countries.

Media usage is another possible factor that affects people's attitude toward Mongolia. People obtain information on foreign countries through various media, such as television and newspaper, which are shown to determine attitude toward foreign countries (Wanta, Golan & Lee, 2004; Ito & Kohno, 2008).

Because the Japanese consider Mongolia to be a foreign country, their experiences with foreign countries and foreigners, as well as their attitude toward such countries and people, are likely to influence their attitude toward Mongolia. For instance, frequent contact with foreigners reduces anti-foreign attitude (Ohtsuki, 2005; Nukaga, 2005), which implies that people with more contact with foreigners have less negative attitude toward Mongolia.

Other factors which may influence attitude toward Mongolia are respondent's psychological characteristics, namely, political attitude and sense of trust. With regard to the former, those with a progressive political attitude might have more favorable attitude toward Mongolia, which has a history of approximately 70 years as a socialist country. With regard to the latter, it is expected that people's attitude toward foreign countries will be more favorable with an improved rating of human nature, and that this would extend toward Mongolia.

IV Result of Survey Data Analysis

1 Data

As mentioned above, I use the Japanese General Social Surveys 2006 (JGSS-2006) data, the first and latest nationwide dataset to show the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia. JGSS-2006 was conducted from October to December in 2006. The survey used two-stage stratified random sampling method, and targeted 8,000 people comprising men and women aged 20 through 89 living in different parts of Japan. Of those people, 4,254 provided valid responses (official response rate was 59.8%).

The survey used both interview and self-administered questionnaire methods, and two forms of the self-administered questionnaire were used. One of the self-administered

questionnaires (Form A) contained a question on attitude toward different countries/regions, to which 2,124 responses were obtained. Among these, 2,023 respondents provided an answer with respect to each country and region in question, and these respondents are the target of the analyses in this article. The question is, “How do you feel about the following countries and regions? For each country and region, please choose one of the numbers. If you don’t have any specific attitude to a country or region, choose “0””. The countries/region included are South Korea, North Korea, China, Mongolia, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, India, Russia and the USA⁵.

2 Analysis (1): Comparison of Attitude Toward Mongolia and Other East Asians

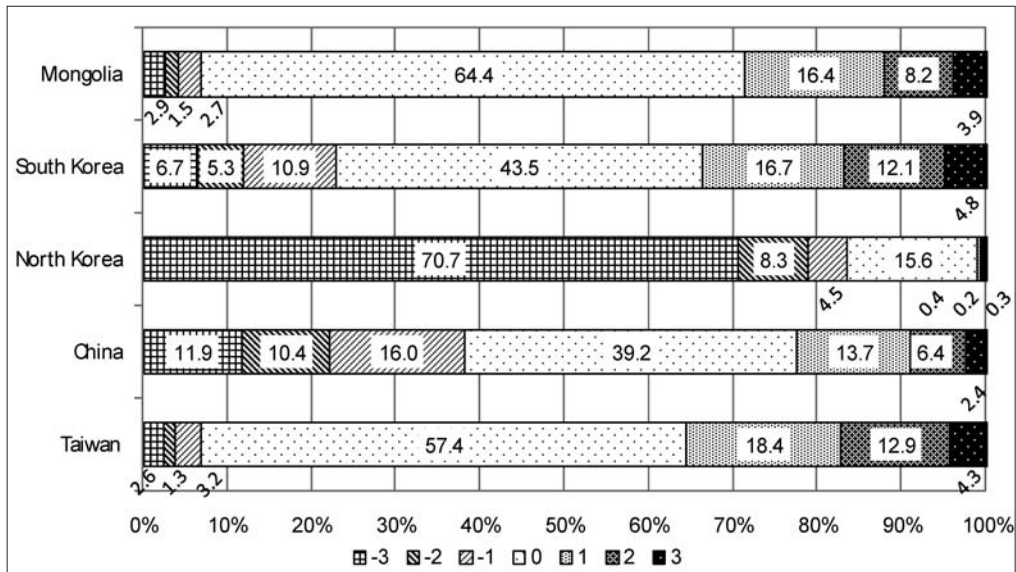
First, a comparative analysis of the attitude toward Mongolia and that of other East Asian countries was conducted, as shown in Figure 4. According to Figure 4, answers indicating positive attitude toward Mongolia (+1 to +3) constitute 28.4%, a proportion four times greater than those indicating negative one (-1 to -3, 7.1%).

When compared to South Korea, North Korea, and China, Mongolia received fewer negative responses and more positive responses. For Taiwan, however, the ratio of negative responses was slightly less than that of Mongolia, and ratio of positive responses was more than that of Mongolia.

Table 1 presents the basic statistics on attitude. The mean score of attitude toward Mongolia is the second highest after Taiwan, and coincides with the frequency observed in Figure 4.

Next, Friedman test was conducted in order to examine the rank among attitude toward East Asian countries. The results are presented in Table 2, indicating that the significant

Figure 4. Attitude Toward Mongolia and Other East Asian Countries



Source: JGSS-2006 data.

Table 1. Basic Statistic of Attitude Toward Mongolia and Other East Asians

	N	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Mongolia	2023	.30	1.040	-3	3
South Korea	2023	.14	1.408	-3	3
North Korea	2023	-2.32	1.192	-3	3
China	2023	-.38	1.447	-3	3
Taiwan	2023	.44	1.092	-3	3

Source: JGSS-2006 data.

difference is observed in attitude toward East Asian countries at 0.1% level.

In order to determine which of the differences was statistically significant, Scheffé's method of multiple comparisons was also performed. Table 3 shows the result. Significant differences were observed between attitude toward Mongolia, North Korea, China and Taiwan. However, difference between Mongolia and Taiwan is the opposite of what was assumed in Hypothesis I; attitude toward Mongolia is significantly *lower* than toward Taiwan. In addition, Table 3 shows that there is no significant difference between Mongolia and South Korea.

Judging from this result, Hypothesis I is partially supported; attitude toward Mongolia is significantly higher than toward North Korea and China, but not toward other East Asian countries.

Table 2. Result of Friedman Test on the Attitude Toward Mongolia and Other East Asians

	Mean rank
Mongolia	3.54
South Korea	3.43
North Korea	1.44
China	2.89
Taiwan	3.70
X ²	4102.91 ***
DOF	4

*** p<0.001

Source: JGSS-2006 data.

Table 3. Multiple Comparison of Attitude Toward Mongolia and Other East Asians by Scheffé's Method

		S _{ij}			S _{ij}
Mongolia	: South Korea	7.0	South Korea	: North Korea	2385.2 ***
Mongolia	: North Korea	2650.2 ***	South Korea	: China	179.3 ***
Mongolia	: China	257.0 ***	South Korea	: Taiwan	42.8 ***
Mongolia	: Taiwan	15.2 **	North Korea	: China	1256.6 ***
			North Korea	: Taiwan	3066.8 ***
			China	: Taiwan	397.2 ***

*** p<0.001 ** p<0.01 * p<0.05 + p<0.1

Source: JGSS-2006 data.

3 Analysis (2): Correlation Between the Attitude Toward Mongolia and Independent Variables

The next analyses examined the relationship between attitude toward Mongolia and

Table 4. Definition of Variables

Variables	<i>Dependent Variable</i>	Note
Attitude toward Mongolia	How much/little favorable the respondent feels toward Mongolia, ranging from -3 to +3	
Variables	<i>Independent Variables</i>	Note
Amount of Reading Books per Month	Ranging from 0 "I rarely read books." to 4 "Four or more"	
Gender	=1 if the respondent is male	
Age Groups	The respondent's age sorted by ten years increment	
Area Block	The respondent's residence sorted by regional division used in "Opinion Poll on Foreign Diplomacy"	
Education	The school last attended (or attended now) by the respondent; "Junior high" includes ordinary or higher elementary school in the old system, or junior high school in the new system; "High" includes junior high, girl's high school, occupational, commerce or normal school in the old system, or high school in the new system; and "University" includes higher, vocational, higher normal school, university or graduate school in the old system, or college of technology, junior college, university or graduate school in the new system	
Occupation	The respondent's occupation classified into "Upper-white", "Lower white", "Blue-collar", "Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery", "Unemployed". Responses which are not classifiable are excluded from the analyses.	
Income Level	Level of the respondent's family income compared with Japanese families in general, ranging from 1 "Far below average" to 5 "Far above average" ¹⁾	
Frequency of Reading Newspaper	Coded from 0 "Never" to 4 "Almost everyday"	
Hours of Watching TV per Day	Hours the respondents watch TV on an average day	
Searching Information on the Internet	=1 if the respondent has ever searched for information by the Internet or cellular phone ²⁾	
Frequency of Seeing Foreigners	Coded from 1 "Not at all" to 4 "Frequently"	
For or Against an Increase of Foreigners	=1 if the respondent answered "For"	
Occasions of Using English	Sum of the occasions the respondent chooses when he/she has ever read, listened, or spoken English, from the following activities: "Business", "Socializing with foreign friends or acquaintances", "Watching movies, listening to music or reading a book", "The Internet", "Overseas trips", and "Others"	
Willingness of Learning English	Coded from 1 "No, I'm not." to 4 "Yes, positively"	
English Proficiency	Self evaluation of the ability of speaking and reading English, ranging from 2 to 103	
Foreign Language of Interest Except English	= 1 if the respondent are intersted in learning foreign language other than English	
Political Attitude	Placement of the respondent's political views on the 5-point scale from 1 "Conservative" to "Innovative"	
Sense of Trust (1-7)	The respondent's view on human nature measured from 1 "Human nature is basically evil." to 7 "Human nature is basically good."	

Note: 1) Actual amount of income is not used because of its high non-response rate.

2) JGSS-2006 asked the respondents whether he/she has ever done "Searching for information", "Internet shopping", "Internet banking", "Making Web pages" by the Internet. Among these items, "Searching for information" is considered most appropriate to measure degree of the Internet access to news from abroad including Mongolia.

3) In JGSS-2006 abilities of speaking and reading English were asked separately, and the respondents were asked to rate their ability on the 5-point scale in both question. Here sum of the answers are used for the analyses.

other variables hypothesized or presumed to correlate with the attitude. Definition of variables in the analyses is indicated in Table 4.

First, bivariate relation between attitude toward Mongolia and independent variables was examined. Table 5 shows the result of the one-way analysis of variance and correlation analysis.

Here, the amount of reading books, gender, age, and area of residence are used to verify Hypotheses II, III, IV, and V, respectively. According to the table, reading books is related with the positive attitude in general, as presumed by Hypothesis II. The table also presents results that validate Hypotheses III and V: Males are more likely to have favorable attitude toward Mongolia than females. Regarding area of residence, the attitude is the most positive

Table 5. Result of One-way ANOVA and Correlation Analysis

	Mean/R	N	F	η^2		Mean/R	N	F	η^2
Amount of Reading Books per Month			4.582**	0.009	Income Level			3.111*	0.006
I Rarely Read Books	0.23	1007			Far below average	0.12	995		
About One	0.30	570			Below average	0.25	558		
About Two	0.43	236			Average	0.37	231		
About Three	0.43	100			Above average	0.36	98		
Four or More	0.56	132			Far above average	0.23	129		
Gender			11.668***	0.006	Frequency of Reading Newspaper			1.893 n.s.	0.004
Male	0.38	1002			Never	0.21	136		
Female	0.23	1035			Less Than Once a Week	0.16	82		
Age Groups			4.850***	0.012	About Once a Week	0.35	65		
20-29	0.43	209			Several Times a Week	0.45	236		
30-39	0.37	365			Almost Every Day	0.29	1496		
40-49	0.46	306			Hours of Watching TV per Day			2009	-0.032 n.s.
50-59	0.28	429			Searching Information on the Internet			3.762+	0.002
60-69	0.25	378			Selected	0.41	1008		
70-	0.11	336			Not Selected	0.30	539		
Area Block			2.544**	0.011	Frequency of Seeing Foreigners			8.245***	0.012
Hokkaido	0.25	93			Not at All	0.15	547		
Tohoku	0.27	136			Rarely	0.28	645		
Kanto	0.45	611			Sometimes	0.43	597		
Hokuriku	0.24	113			Frequently	0.42	233		
Tozan	0.23	94			For or Against an Increase of Foreigners			57.862***	0.030
Tokai	0.28	229			For	0.51	841		
Kinki	0.26	286			Against	0.14	1055		
Chugoku	0.15	135			Occasions of Using English			2023	0.115***
Shikoku	0.42	79			Willingness of Learning English			2020	0.112***
Kyushu	0.17	247			English Proficiency			2017	0.128***
Education			12.147***	0.012	Foreign Language of Interest Except English			18.776***	0.011
Junior High	0.07	349			Selected	0.39	1600		
High	0.31	977			Not Selected	0.01	146		
University	0.41	684			Political Attitude			3.334**	0.007
Occupation			3.702**	0.007	1: Conservative	0.39	146		
Upper White-collar	0.45	256			2	0.28	395		
Lower White-collar	0.37	533			3	0.25	1052		
Blue-collar	0.31	427			4	0.48	320		
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	0.15	59			5: Progressive	0.33	70		
Unemployed	0.21	743			Sense of Trust			2023	0.057*

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.01

Source: JGSS-2006 data.

in the Kanto area. Hypothesis IV, however, is not supported by the results in the table. Although the mean score generally declines with an advance in age, a sudden spike is observed for respondents in their forties but not in their fifties, which constitutes the age demographic of many visitors to Mongolia.

Table 5 also shows whether factors listed in the previous section influence attitude toward Mongolia. As was observed in Nukaga's analysis, attitude toward Mongolia improves as education level improves. In addition, Kasama's argument also applies to attitude toward Mongolia: Blue-collar workers and low-income earners have less favorable attitude toward the country.

It is noteworthy that there is no significant relation between attitude toward Mongolia and media usage, i.e. watching television and reading newspapers. Searching for information on the Internet has a positive association with attitude, but only at 10% level. Such a result

might be attributed to the fact that the media reports both the positive and negative aspects of foreign countries, including Mongolia, and this has a complex effect on viewers, which cannot be judged as either positive or negative.

As was inferred from Ohtsuki (2005) and Nukaga (2005), positive relation is found between attitude toward Mongolia and frequency of exposure to foreigners, although the score shows a slight decline between those pertaining to the frequencies “sometimes” and “frequently.” Attitude toward Mongolia is also related to attitude toward an increase in foreigners in the local community and variables regarding English and foreign languages.

Table 5 shows perplexing relation between attitude toward Mongolia and political attitude, contrary to prediction in the previous section. There are two reasons for this. First, the survey was conducted more than 15 years after Mongolia abandoned its socialist regime. Second, Mongolia may well be favored by the conservatives because, as mentioned in previous sections, there is no controversy over territorial rights and the interpretation of history. At the same time, Table 5 also shows that the better the respondents rate human nature, the more favorable their attitude toward Mongolia tends to be.

4 Analysis (3): Multivariate Analysis of Attitude Toward Mongolia

In order to test whether the bivariate relationships seen in table 5 will remain significant when other conditions are controlled, I conducted a General Linear Model analysis of attitude toward Mongolia and the independent variables. The results are shown in Table 6⁶.

With regard to Hypotheses III, IV, and V, the result of the analyses are the same as those obtained from bivariate analysis in Analysis (2). Males tend to have more favorable attitude toward Mongolia than females, and residents of the Kanto area show more favorable attitude than those of other area. There is no significant relation between the attitude and age groups, as was seen in the previous analysis.

The analysis results are not totally consistent with Hypothesis II, however. Although a significantly positive relation between attitude toward Mongolia and amount of reading books is found in analysis of all the respondents and female respondents, there is neither positive nor significant relation in male respondents.

Judging from the above, we can conclude that Hypotheses III, and V are verified, and Hypothesis IV is not verified by the analysis. Hypothesis II is verified in female respondents but not in male respondents.

With respect to variables pertaining to the above hypotheses, the results of the multivariate analysis are substantially different from what was shown by the previous analysis: Most of the significant relations observed in Analysis (2) turned out to be not significant. One possible reason for this is that the dispersed correlations are actually mediated by another factor. As mentioned in section III, educational attainment and frequency of contact with foreigners have influence on the attitude toward an increase of foreigners (Nukaga, 2005; Ohtsuki, 2005). Actually, The significant correlation of the two variables above and attitude toward Mongolia was mediated when the attitude toward an increase of foreigners was controlled. Other correlations seen in table 5 but not in table 6 are supposed to mediate

Table 6. Result of General Linear Model Analysis

		Total (N=1598)		Male (N=799)		Female (N=799)	
		B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Intercept		-0.761 ***	0.212	-0.840 **	0.308	-0.356	0.300
Amount of Reading Books per Month (1-4)	Covariate	0.049 *	0.023	-0.015	0.033	0.108 **	0.032
Gender (Female)	Male	0.172 **	0.054	-	-	-	-
Age Groups (20-29 years of age)	30-39	-0.022	0.093	0.095	0.142	-0.116	0.124
	40-49	0.056	0.099	0.097	0.146	0.035	0.135
	50-59	-0.055	0.096	0.031	0.144	-0.123	0.130
	60-69	-0.080	0.102	0.130	0.150	-0.319 *	0.141
	70-	-0.089	0.121	-0.139	0.178	-0.105	0.169
Area Block (Kyushu)	Hokkaido	0.104	0.140	0.094	0.214	0.137	0.182
	Tohoku	0.179	0.121	0.419 *	0.181	0.029	0.162
	Kanto	0.273 **	0.089	0.269 *	0.134	0.310 **	0.119
	Hokuriku	0.095	0.133	0.006	0.183	0.302	0.194
	Tozan	0.151	0.139	0.192	0.201	0.117	0.191
	Tokai	0.158	0.106	0.312 +	0.162	0.075	0.139
	Kinki	0.054	0.102	0.067	0.153	0.106	0.134
	Chugoku	0.079	0.125	0.127	0.180	0.025	0.173
Education (Junior High)	Shikoku	0.220	0.143	0.033	0.216	0.378 *	0.188
	High	0.091	0.085	0.026	0.120	0.133	0.121
Occupation (Unemployed)	University	-0.005	0.100	-0.090	0.139	0.071	0.143
	Upper-white	0.050	0.089	-0.049	0.152	0.082	0.116
	Lower-white	-0.036	0.073	-0.022	0.135	-0.100	0.087
	Blue-collar	-0.003	0.079	-0.034	0.132	-0.028	0.108
Income Level (1-5)	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	0.026	0.169	0.264	0.219	-0.226	0.285
	Covariate	0.018	0.031	0.123 **	0.045	-0.082 +	0.043
Frequency of Seeing Foreigners (1-4)	Covariate	0.018	0.029	0.018	0.042	0.021	0.039
For or Against an Increase of Foreigners (Against)	For	0.293 ***	0.052	0.300 ***	0.077	0.278 ***	0.072
Occasions of Using English (0-6)	Covariate	-0.014	0.032	-0.064	0.045	0.036	0.046
English Proficiency (2-10)	Covariate	0.013	0.022	0.072 *	0.031	-0.056 +	0.033
Willingness of Learning English (1-4)	Covariate	0.019	0.030	0.063	0.045	0.002	0.040
Foreign Language of Interest Except English (Not Selected Selected)		0.231 *	0.101	0.002	0.154	0.368 **	0.134
Political Attitude (5: Innovative)	Covariate	0.010	0.029	0.024	0.038	-0.027	0.045
Sense of Trust (1-7)	Covariate	0.061 **	0.019	0.042	0.028	0.081 **	0.027
F-value		3.599 ***		2.187 ***		2.856 ***	
adjusted R2		0.048		0.043		0.077	

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.01

Source: JGSS-2006 data.

by the respondent's interest in foreign language other than English, because those correlations dissolved when the respondent's interest in foreign language other than English was controlled.

Nevertheless, there are significant relations between the attitude and some variables. First, the attitude toward an increase in the number of foreigners in one's community is positively related to the attitude. The variables of interest in a foreign language and a sense of trust, which showed positive linkages in the previous section, proved to have positive relations except in the case of male respondents. In the analysis of male respondents a significantly positive relation with the attitude can be found on the income level, area block (Tohoku), and English proficiency. Alternatively, in the analysis of female respondents, Shikoku residents proved to have more favorable attitude toward Mongolia.

V Conclusion and Discussion

Japan and Mongolia are expected to continue to strengthen ties in broad areas such as economy, politics, and culture. In order to develop a deeper mutual understanding between the two countries, this article explored the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia. From the analyses of JGSS-2006 data, four characteristics of the attitude have been determined. First, the Japanese attitude toward Mongolia is relatively favorable, compared with those toward other East Asians except Taiwan. Second, regarding females, the amount of reading books has a significantly positive linkage with attitude, which might reflect the popularity of Japanese literature featuring Mongolia or the Mongols. Third, males are more likely to have favorable attitude toward Mongolia than females. Fourth, residents in the Kanto area show more favorable attitude toward Mongolia than those in other areas.

What follows are recommended areas for further research on attitude toward Mongolia. The first suggestion relates to the response “0” to questions pertaining to attitude. Although attitude toward Mongolia is favorable in general, it should be noted that more than 60% of the respondents indicated “0” in their answers. This response was not only provided by respondents who do not have favorable or unfavorable attitude toward Mongolia, but also a response provided by those who have no idea of the country (Tanabe, 2009). Further study is required on this group of people with no specific attitude toward Mongolia in order to broaden the understanding of Mongolia in Japan, and thus to preserve and expand the relationship between the two countries.

The second suggestion relates to the effect of reading books. As seen in previous sections, a positive linkage is found between the number of books read and attitude toward Mongolia among the female respondents. There is Japanese literature on Mongolia or the Mongols, and this literature is considered to contribute toward cultivating a favorable image. However, the criticism by Shibayama and Suzuki, which claims that the literatures sometimes distort the image of Mongolia, should not be forgotten. The more one is acquainted with such literature, the more one is exposed to the risk of misunderstanding or being caught up in a fantasy regarding Mongolia. The analyses in this article reveal that how such risks can be avoided is one of the major issues to deepen understanding of Mongolia by the Japanese.

The third suggestion is the need for another approach of research that is complementary to quantitative analysis. Attitude toward a country is one of the aspects of sentiments toward countries, which can be measured in quantitative term. However, the attitude has other aspects, some of which are suitable to approaches other than quantitative analysis. Additionally, low coefficient of determination in multivariate analysis shown in Table 6 implies that there could be another relating to the attitude toward Mongolia. In order to obtain greater insight into the attitude toward foreign countries, including Mongolia, further studies that combine various approaches are required. Such studies will contribute to the development of a mutual understanding between Japan and Mongolia.

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[Notes]

- 1 “Opinion Poll on Attitude Toward Japan in Mongolia” was conducted in Ulaanbaatar and rural areas in 2004, by means of face-to-face interview to 2000 Mongolians. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2005) for further details.
- 2 In 2007, Yokozuna Asashoryu was reported to play soccer in Mongolia although he was excused from the summer regional *sumo* tour because of injury. This incident attracted criticism regarding Yokozuna’s behavior and possibly gave adverse impact on Mongolia’s image. However, the incident occurred after JGSS-2006, and has no effect on the discussion in this article.
- 3 The statistics relating to people leaving Japan before 1980 is only sorted by countries and regions of their destination. There are no statistics on people leaving Japan after 2001 owing to the abolishment of the immigration card and embarkation/disembarkation card in Japan in July of that year.
- 4 The statistics by the Ministry of Justice divides visitors to Mongolia by prefectures. In this article I sorted the prefectures by the regional division used in the “Opinion Poll on Foreign Diplomacy” by the Cabinet Administration Office of Japan.
- 5 For further details of JGSS-2006 refer to the website of the JGSS Research Center (<http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp>).
- 6 VIF of each independent variable is lower than 10, and condition indices are below 30. Based on this, multicollinearity is not considered to occur.

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モンゴル国が日本人に与える好感度 —社会調査データ分析からの検討—

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1990年にモンゴル国が民主化・市場経済化を開始して以来、日本とモンゴルとの関係は急速に拡大を続けている。特に、近年では大相撲でのモンゴル人力士の活躍により、モンゴルという国の存在は一般にも認知されつつある。そのような中で、日本人がモンゴルにいかなる抱いている印象はどのようなものであろうか。本稿ではモンゴル国の印象のうち、好感度、すなわち印象がどの程度好ましいか、あるいは好ましくないかという程度を数量化したものに焦点を当て、日本版総合的社会調査の2006年データ(JGSS-2006)を用いた分析を行った。JGSS-2006にはモンゴルを含む各国・地域の好感度についての設問が組み込まれており、モンゴルの好感度について尋ねた全国規模の社会調査としては、本稿執筆時点で唯一のものである。日本人のモンゴル観に関する既存研究や日本・モンゴル両国の交流の歴史、日本からモンゴルへの訪問者の統計から、モンゴルの好感度については以下の5つの仮説が想定される。すなわち、(1)モンゴルの好感度は他の東アジア諸国・地域(韓国・北朝鮮・中国・台湾)よりも高い、(2)回答者の読書量がモンゴルの好感度に対して正の影響を有する、(3)女性よりも男性の方がモンゴルに対して持つ好感度が高い、(4)モンゴルの好感度は高年齢層になるほど低くなる、(5)モンゴルの好感度は関東地方において特に高い、という5つである。本稿ではこれらの仮説を検証すべく、まずモンゴルおよび東アジア諸国・地域における好感度平均値の比較分析を行い、次いで上記各国地域における好感度と他の変数との相関について分析し、最後に上記の変数を独立変数として、モンゴルの好感度を従属変数とする多変量解析を行った。以上の分析の結果、上記5つの仮説のうち、(1)は一部のみ支持された。すなわち、モンゴルの好感度は台湾よりは低く、韓国との有意差はないものの、中国・北朝鮮よりは有意に高いという結果が出た。残る仮説のうち、(3)、(5)は支持された一方、(2)は女性のみにおいて支持され、(4)は支持されなかった。ただし、回答の集計結果を見ると、過半数が“0”、すなわちモンゴルに対して好ましい印象も好ましくない印象も持っていないというものであり、日本人にとってモンゴルの印象が依然として薄いことが考えられる。また、読書量の影響を考える際、日本の文学作品におけるモンゴルやモンゴル人が、現実のそれらから乖離しているという批判がしばしばなされている点に留意すべきである。読書量が多いということは、そのような乖離を有する作品に接する機会が多いことにもつながり、したがって現実のモンゴルやモンゴル人とは関係のない幻想や誤解が助長される恐れも拡大する。今後モンゴルへの理解を広める・深めるためには、モンゴルの現実に忠実な情報を、さまざまな書物を通じて発信することが必要となろう。

キーワード：モンゴル、東アジア、外国観、多変量解析、社会調査

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