

Comparative Analyses of Exclusionism East Asian Societies Including Mongolia

Minato Kunio*

Abstract

This study explores East Asians' attitudes, including the attitude harbored by the Mongolians, toward people with a different culture by using cross-national survey data. Although empirical studies of exclusionism have been accumulated, two issues remain to be solved: exclusionism in non-Western societies, and groups of people tend to be targeted for exclusionism. This study aims to address the issues by focusing on six societies in East Asia (China, Hong Kong, Japan, Mongolia, South Korea, and Taiwan), where examples of exclusionism are not hard to find. In addition to that, this study includes Mongolia into the analyses because of its uniqueness in East Asia and its inseparability in the area. Comparative analyses of cross-national survey data, namely the sixth wave of the World Values Survey and the Life in Transition Survey II, reveals the following two findings: First, among the four groups with different culture listed in the questionnaire ("people of a different race," "immigrants / foreign workers," "people of a different religion," and "people who speak a different language"), "immigrants / foreign workers" was the most mentioned group that people would not like to have as neighbors. Nevertheless, the least unwelcome group differs among societies. Second, cluster analysis of the degree of exclusionism shows that the majority of the respondents are less likely to avoid people with different cultures as neighbors. Nevertheless, in Mongolia, Japan, and South Korea the percentage of respondents with exclusionist attitude is higher than in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Keywords: exclusionism, East Asia, Mongolia, Cluster analysis, World Values Survey, Life in Transition Survey

* Associate Professor, Faculty of Regional Collaboration, Kochi University

Introduction

Xenophobia and an exclusionist attitude toward people with different cultural backgrounds have been repeatedly analyzed for the past two decades. Since Quillian's pioneering study was published (Quillian, 1995), numerous cross-national analyses have focused on what types of people are more or less likely to harbor an exclusive attitude.¹⁾

However, there are two issues yet to be solved. The first is exclusionism in non-Western societies. As far as I examined, studies of exclusionism tend to focus on Europe and/or North America, and sometimes on Japan. However, exclusionism is not a local movement in Western societies. And the second is which groups of people tend to be targeted for exclusionism. Of course, the actual target of exclusionism usually differs among societies, and the point of the question is whether there is any general tendency in those phenomena. The plausible answer is that the difference from majority groups is often attracted and targeted by exclusionism. However, this answer raises another question: Difference in what? In other words, what difference is likely to trigger exclusionism more than anything else? In order to answer the question, we need to focus on the point of differences, such as race, religion, and language.

In this study East Asians' attitudes toward people with a different culture is analyzed by using cross-national survey data. In this area, it is not hard to find examples of exclusionism. In Japan campaigns demonizing the Koreans, Chinese, and *Zainichi Koreans* (Korea-origin people and their descendants in Japan) above all, have regularly been conducted and supported by so-called *kusanone hoshus* (grass-root conservatives) and *netto uyokus* (Internet-based right wings). Korea witnesses "anti-multiculturalists" who attack on migrant workers and marriage immigrants (Lee, 2011; Garcia, 2012; Lee, 2014). And the same is true for Mongolia, where the ultranationalism and neo-Nazism that pillory foreign citizens, especially the Chinese, have been repeatedly reported by the foreign media (Branigan, 2010; Graaf, 2012; etc.). Despite this, it should be questioned whether they are movements of marginal people, or they represent the majority of people. The analyses in this study aim to depict the attitudes of East Asians, in general, that lie behind those phenomena.

Methodology

Data and Questions

Data of two survey projects are used for cross-national comparative analysis in this study. The first is the sixth wave of the World Values Survey (hereafter WVS6), which covered China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Because Mongolia is not

included in the dataset available at this point of time, the second data set, Life in Transition Survey II (hereafter LiTS II), is used to analyze exclusionism in the country. Both WVS6 and LiTS II have a battery of questions that list several groups of people and ask respondents whether they would like to have them as their neighbors.

This study includes Mongolia as one of the East Asian societies not only because of the rampant exclusionism mentioned in the previous section, but also because of its uniqueness in the area. Mongolia has quite different features from other East Asian societies, for example, experience of Soviet-style socialism, limited influence of Confucianism, nomadic civilization, etc. Nevertheless, Mongolia is geographically located in East Asia, and the country is by no means negligible when we think of effect of nomadic people in Mongolian plateau on East Asian history. Mongolia's uniqueness in East Asia helps us revisit what is regarded, without careful verification, as a common feature of the area.

Table 1 shows the outline of the two surveys in the six societies in question. The surveys were conducted in 2010 in Japan, South Korea and Mongolia, in 2012 in China and Taiwan, and in 2013 in Hong Kong. Respondents were chosen throughout each society with multi-stage random sampling except in South Korea, where the nationwide quota sampling method was adopted.

Table 1 Outline of the surveys

	Survey	Year	Target	Response rate
China	WVS6	2012	Men & women aged 18-75	65.8%
Hong Kong	WVS6	2013	National population Both sexes 18 and more years	n.a.
Taiwan	WVS6	2012	Men & women aged 18-85	23.9%
Japan	WVS6	2010	Men & women aged 18-79	61.0%
South Korea	WVS6	2010	Both sexes, full 19 and more years	55.4%
Mongolia	LiTSII	2010	Men & women aged 18 years or more	n.a.
	Sampling		Survey method	
China	Stratified multi-stage random		Interview	
Hong Kong	Multi-stage random		n.a.	
Taiwan	Three-stage stratified		Interview	
Japan	(20-79 yrs old) Stratified multi-stage random (18-19 yrs old) Random walk with quota		Interview & placement	
South Korea	Purposive Quota Sampling		Interview	
Mongolia	Multi-stage random		Interview	

Table 2 is a list of the question sentence and groups of people in focus, as well as the way for respondents to answer this question in original English version and translation into local languages. Both WVS6 and LiTS II have a battery of questions that list several groups of people and ask respondents whether they would like to have them as their neighbors. Amongst the list, this study focuses on four specific groups that represent people with a different culture. They are “people of a different race,” “immigrants / foreign workers,” “people of a different religion,” and “people who speak a different language”.

Table 2 Question in focus

WVS6	Original	China	Hong Kong
<i>Question</i>	On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors?	在下列种人中，您不愿意和那些人做邻居？	列表上是各組的人群。請你說出不願意跟哪組成為鄰居的？
<i>Groups</i>	People of a different race	不同种族／民族的人	不同種族的人
	Immigrants / foreign workers	外国移民／来华工作的外国人	移民／外籍勞工
	People of a different religion	不同宗教信仰的人	不同宗教信仰的人
	People who speak a different language	讲不同方言的人	說不同語言的人
<i>Answer</i>	Mentioned / Not mentioned	出示答案卡、可选多项	提到／沒提到
WVS6	Japan	South Korea	Taiwan
<i>Question</i>	次にあげるような人々のうち、あなたが近所に住んでいて欲しくないのはどの人々ですか。	아래의 사람들 중에서 00 님이 이웃으로 삼고 싶지 않은 사람들을 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 표 해주십시오.	在以下各種人當中，請問您不願意跟誰作鄰居？
<i>Groups</i>	人種の異なる人々	다른 인종인 사람	不同種族的人
	移民や外国人労働者	외국인 노동자 / 이민자	移民／外籍勞工
	宗教の異なる人々	종교사 다른 사람	不同宗教信仰的人
	普段から外国語を話す人々	다른 언어를 사용하는 사람	說不同語言的人
<i>Answer</i>	近所に住んでいて欲しくない／近所に住んでいてもよい	삼고 싶지 않다 / 삼고 싶다	願意／不願意

<i>LiTS II</i>	Original	Mongolia
<i>Question</i>	On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? Please just read out the letter that applies.	Янз бүүрийн бүлэг хүмүүсийг нэрлэсэн доорх жагсаалтад таны хөрш байхыг хүсэхгүй байгаа хүмүүс байвал дурдана уу? Та хариултын өмнө байгаа үсгийг сонгож болно.
<i>Groups</i>	People of a different race Immigrants / foreign workers People of a different religion People who speak a different language	Өөр өнгөтэй арьстан Цагаач / гадаадын ажилчид Өөр шашинтан Өөр хэлээр ярьдаг хүмүүс
<i>Answer</i>	CROSS ALL THAT APPLY	ХАМААРАЛТАЙ БҮГДИЙГ Х-ээр ТЭМДЭГЛЭ

Results

Distribution

Figure 1 shows the percentage of respondents in six societies who would not like to have each group of people as neighbors. Overall, Chinese and Taiwanese respondents are less likely to avoid people with a different culture. In contrast, South Koreans, followed by

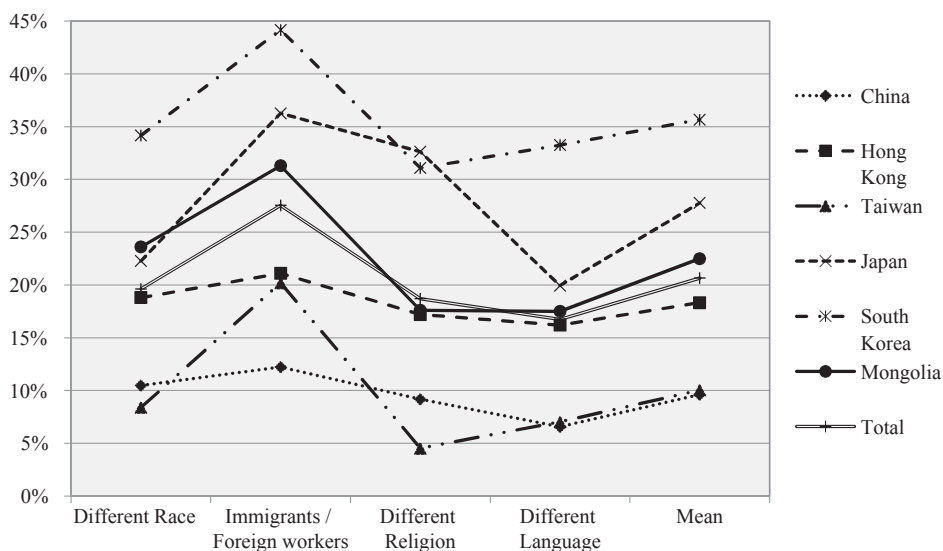


Figure 1. The percentage of mentions to the four groups with different culture.

Japanese, are reluctant to accept those groups of people. Respondents in Hong Kong and Mongolia are located in between. Although a previous study argued that the Mongolians were less tolerant of people with a different culture, compared with former socialist countries (Minato, 2014), the argument does not hold true for comparison among East Asian societies.

There are similarities and differences found in the specific groups of people. In all societies, the least accepted group of people is immigrants/foreign workers. Moreover, Taiwan, Mongolia, and South Korea exhibit a similar tendency in their responses, with most mention made of immigrants/foreign workers and least of people from a different region. On the other hand, the least mentioned group is people speaking a different language in China, Hong Kong, and Japan. Additionally, in China and Hong Kong difference in preference of the four groups of people is small, compared with other societies. Japan is distinctive in its reluctance to accept people of a different religion, which makes it difficult to depict “the Japanese tolerant to the difference in religion”. In Japan, where the overwhelming majority avouch themselves as irreligious, there might be inclined to avoid people with a particular religion.²⁾

Cluster Analysis

In order to classify respondents in each society based on their response to the question, I conducted a non-hierarchical cluster analysis with K-means method. The number of the cluster was set at three so that the respondents could be sorted into the clusters with high, middle, and low level of exclusionism. In high cluster the mean score of percentages of mentions is the highest of the three, and the score hits the lowest in the low cluster. In the middle cluster the score is intermediate.

Table 3 shows the number and proportion of respondents included in each cluster in the six societies. While about 90% of respondents are classified into a single cluster in China and Taiwan, in South Korea and Mongolia the largest cluster consists of fewer than

Table 3 The result of non-hierarchical clustering

	Cluster I		Cluster II		Cluster III	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
China (N=2300)	2033	88.4%	172	7.5%	95	4.1%
Hong Kong (N=1000)	1138	77.4%	72	7.2%	154	15.4%
Taiwan (N=1238)	1138	91.9%	70	5.6%	30	2.4%
Japan (N=2443)	449	18.4%	1712	70.1%	115	11.5%
South Korea (N=1200)	684	57.0%	147	12.2%	369	30.7%
Mongolia (N=1000)	596	59.6%	236	23.6%	168	16.8%

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60% of respondents. The percentage of respondents included in the smallest cluster varies from 2.4% in Taiwan to 16.8% in Mongolia, and those sorted into the middle-sized cluster ranges from 5.6% in Taiwan to 23.6% in Mongolia.

However, it is not still clear which cluster contains people with high, middle, and low level of exclusionism. In order to solve this, the percentage of mentions to the four groups of people, as well as the mean scores of the percentages, are calculated in each cluster in the six societies. The result is shown in figure 2.

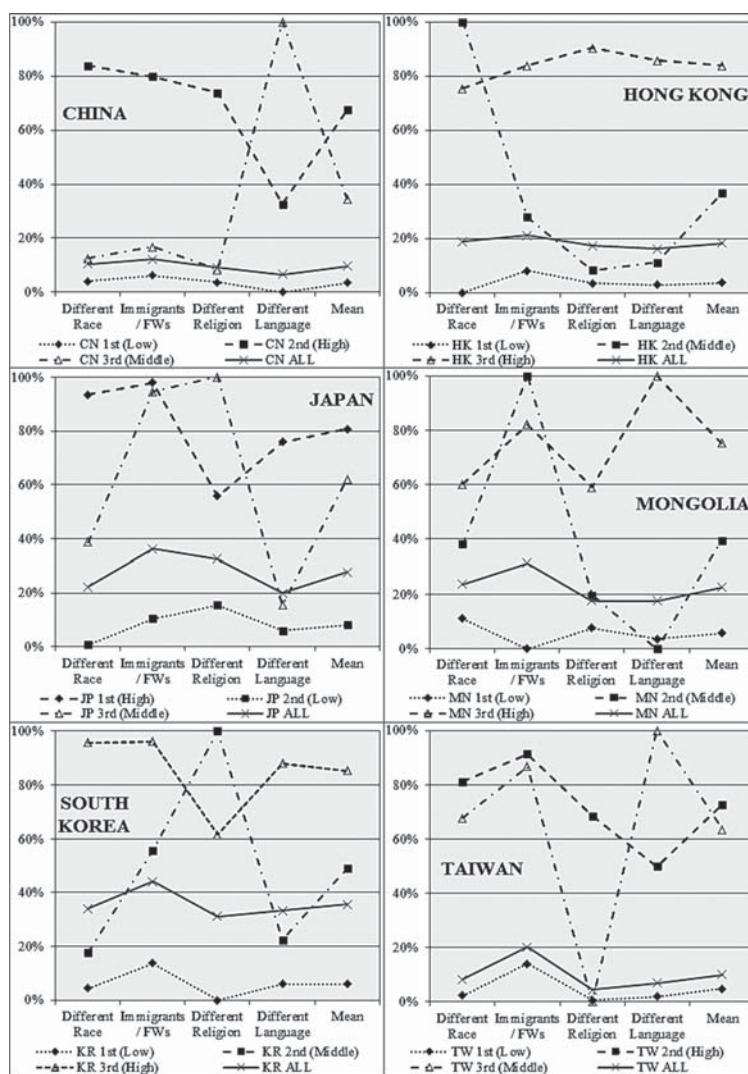


Figure 2. Percentage of the four groups mentioned that people would not like to have as neighbors (FW stands for "Foreign Workers").

By using the average shown at the right side of the each graph, it became possible to name the three clusters. In figure 2 the cluster with the highest percentage of mentions is labeled as “High”, the one with the lowest percentage as “Low”, and the intermediate one as “Middle”.

Figure 2 also describes the features of each cluster. The mean score of the “low” cluster is less than 10% in all the six societies. The score of the middle cluster is less than 40% in China, Hong Kong, and Mongolia, and exceeds 60% in Japan and Taiwan. South Korea is located midway between the two groups of societies. As for the high cluster, the score hits more than 80% in Hong Kong, Japan, and South Korea, reaches 70% level in Mongolia and Taiwan, and falls below 70% in China. Judging from this, mean scores of all the three clusters are low in China, and high in Japan. In Hong Kong and South Korea there is a marked difference between high cluster and low cluster. In addition to that, in Taiwan difference between middle cluster and high cluster is so small that respondents are polarized in terms of the degree of exclusionism. In Mongolia difference among the three clusters is relatively small, and the clusters are located with almost equal distances.

By examining the percentage of mentions of the four items for each, inversion between the “high” cluster and the “middle” cluster can be found in every societies surveyed. Moreover, the difference in the selected ratio reaches nearly 70% in China: In the country about 70% of respondents with high level of exclusionism accept people speaking a different language, while all the respondents with mid-level despise the group of people. It seems that exclusionists do not always refuse all the sort of heterogeneity; rather, they tend to select what features are acceptable, and what are not.

Another question is the percentage of the respondents classified into the clusters with high, middle, and low degree of exclusionism. In figure 3, the share of the clusters in the six societies is demonstrated, based on table 3 and figure 2. The graph “mean” illustrates the mean score of the percentages in all the six societies.

Although the majority of the respondents is included in the “low” cluster, the percentage varies among societies. While about 90% of the respondents are classified into the cluster in China and Taiwan, the percentage accounts for less than 60% of in Mongolia and South Korea. The percentage of the “middle” cluster is particularly high in Mongolia. In other societies the percentage is less than that of the “high” cluster, and it even falls below 5% in China and Taiwan. The “high” cluster is the largest in South Korea, and in Hong Kong, Japan, and Mongolia, about one-sixth of the respondents are sorted into the cluster. In China and Taiwan the cluster contains less than 10% of the respondents.

Judging from this, the majority of people hold low level of, in any, exclusionism in East Asian societies other than Mongolia. Except such people, however, the respondents tend to hold high levels of exclusionism rather than to be mid-level exclusionists. Despite

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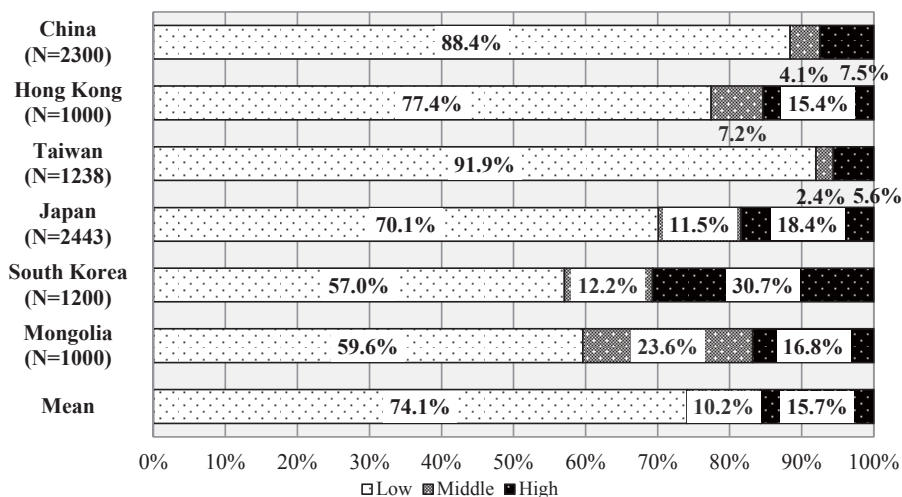


Figure 3. Result of non-hierarchical cluster analysis.

such overall tendency, marked difference can also be found from the result of the analyses in terms of the percentage of the clusters.

Then, what are the other characteristics of exclusionism in each of the East Asian societies? Based on the analyses, table 4 summarizes the features of the clusters in the six societies.

Table 4 Features of the three clusters in East Asian societies

	Low	Middle	High
China	Second largest in the six societies Small difference among the groups No mention to different language	Second smallest in the six societies All Rs mention to different language	Second smallest in the six societies Less exclusive to different language
Hong Kong	Larger than the mean score in the six societies Relatively small difference among the groups No mention to different race	Smaller than the mean score in the six societies All Rs mention to different race	Almost the same percentage to the mean score Relatively small difference among the groups

Japan	Smaller than the mean score in the six societies More exclusive to different religion	Slightly larger than the mean score in the six societies All Rs mention to different religion Less exclusive to different race and different language	Second largest in the six societies More exclusive to different race and immigrants/FWs Less exclusive to different religion
Mongolia	Second smallest share of Rs in the six societies No mention to immigrants/FWs	Largest share of Rs in the six societies All Rs mention to immigrants/FWs No mention to different language	Medium share of Rs All Rs mention to different language
South Korea	Smallest share of Rs in the six societies More exclusive to immigrants/FWs No mention to different religion	Second largest share of Rs in the six societies All Rs mention to different religion	Largest share in the six societies Less exclusive to different religion
Taiwan	Largest share in the six societies Higher percentage in immigrants/FWs	Smallest share of Rs in the six societies No mention to different religion All Rs mention to different language	Smallest share of Rs in the six societies Half of Rs categorized do not mention different language

In China there is less difference among the percentage of mentions to the groups of people in the “low” cluster than in other societies, and no respondent in the cluster mentions to “people who speak a different language.” At the same time, all the respondents in the “middle” cluster mentioned people speaking a different language. The high cluster also has the second smallest share of respondents, and the percentage of mentions to “different language” is far below the middle cluster.

In Hong Kong, similar to China, small difference can be found in the percentage of mentions in the “low” cluster, which tendency can also be found in the “high” cluster. In the “middle” cluster, however, the percentage of mentions extremely varies. Additionally,

the group of people with the highest percentage of mentions differs among clusters. Such difference might be a characteristic of Hong Kong.

In Japan all the three clusters show most exclusive attitude toward “immigrants and foreign workers”. Although it is said that Japanese exclusionism is not based on Western anti-immigrant sentiment (Higuchi, 2014), the analyses in this study show that strong feeling of resistance against inflow of migrants does exist in Japan. Besides, attitude toward people with different religion clearly differs among the clusters. Exclusionist in Japan is apt to reject people with different race and migrants rather than people with a different religion.

In Mongolia, the attitude differs among clusters toward “immigrants / foreign workers” and “people with different language.” In the “middle” cluster in particular, which has the largest share of respondents in the six societies, all the respondents in the cluster mention to “immigrants / foreign workers”. However, such attitude should not be equated with anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. Mongolia, with only around three million population, shortage of labor is compensated by Chinese workers. There are, however, deep-rooted resentment and a feeling of dread in Mongolia due to the overwhelming power and population of China. Rejection to immigrants and foreign workers in the country should be understood as an expression of such feeling.³⁾

In South Korea the “high” cluster shows tendency similar to the cluster in Japan, *i.e.*, high percentage in “people with different race” and “immigrants / foreign workers”. Given the large share of the cluster, as well as the tendency for people classified into the “low” cluster to avoid the group of people, the possibility of backlash should be considered against migrant workers and marriage migrants increasing in the country.

Taiwan seems to have the least threat of exclusionism in the six societies, judging by the small share of “high” and “middle” clusters. It is noteworthy, however, that the higher percentage of mentions to “immigrants / foreign workers” can be observed in all the three clusters. Such propensity to avoid migrants should not be ignored, considering the inflow of “new migrants” in the society since 1990s.⁴⁾

Conclusion

In this study exclusionism in the East Asian six societies were discussed with the basis of comparative analyses of cross-national survey data. The study intended to discover similarities and differences of the exclusionism in each of the East Asian societies.

The result of the analysis can be summarized as follows: First, in East Asia “immigrants / foreign workers” was the most mentioned group that people would not like to have as neighbors. Yet the least unwelcome group differs among societies. Second, by

classifying respondents into the three clusters based on their degree of exclusionism, it becomes clear that the majority of the respondents are less likely to avoid people with different cultures as neighbors. Nevertheless, in Mongolia, Japan, and South Korea the percentage of respondents with an unwelcoming attitude is higher than in the other societies studied. This result may reflect room for fostering exclusionist actions and movements in these three countries.

However, there remain three issues. First, what sorts of people are categorized into each of the three clusters is still uncovered. Second, it should be explored whether or not there any change between the point of the survey and now. This issue is particularly important in Japan, Korea, and China, where political collision leads to estranged public attitude with each other. The issue is also crucial in Mongolia, where radical environmentalism tends to fuel exclusionism against foreigners. Third, and last but not the least, ultimate purpose of the study of exclusionism is to find solutions to the problem. However, in order to find such solutions, it is critically important to investigate the reality of exclusionism, including public attitude toward that. These issues should be solved in the future studies.

Acknowledgments

This study is based on my paper presented at the International Symposium “Contemporary Transformation of Socio-economic Structure under Neoliberal Globalization in East Asia” in March 14 and 15, 2015 at Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan, and my article (in print) “Higashi Ajia ni okeru haigaishugi no hikaku bunseki” [Comparative Analyses of Exclusionism in East Asia], In Tsutsui, J. and Shibata, H. (eds.). *Posuto sangyo shakai ni okeru Higashi Ajia no kadai* [Problems of East-Asian societies in the post-industrialized era], Kyoto: Minerva Shobo. I appreciate the useful comments I received at the Symposium, and the kind permission of the book’s publisher. I am also grateful to the EBRD for providing the Mongolian version of the questionnaire of LiTS II. This research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI (Grant-in-aid for Scientific Research, Grant Number 25870905).

Notes

- 1) See Tanabe (2010) for review of those analyses.
- 2) This explanation, however, requires further validation. Despite the fact that, according to the World Values Survey Association (2014), “people of a different religion” is less avoided in Mongolia, South Korea, and Taiwan where a majority of the respondents has a religious affiliation, the group of people is not necessarily repulsed, compared with the mean score, in the societies where there are larger percentage of irreligious respondents China and Hong Kong.
- 3) For anti-Chinese sentiment in Mongolia, see Billé (2015) and Minato (2015).

4) See Tagami (2010) for migration policy in Taiwan, and Wu (2011) for issues on marriage migrants.

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