

## Psychological Constructs of Japanese Attitudes to Immigration: Perceived Threat to Civic and Ethnic Values

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### Abstract

Citizens develop representations of citizenship through civic (e.g., political ideology) and ethnic (e.g., shared culture and customs) concepts. However, there is no agreement in psychology literature on whether this dichotomy can categorize individual perceptions of the ingroup national boundary and how these perceptions are related to prejudice against immigrants. This research examined constructs of perceived Japanese national boundaries and stereotypes of immigrants that threaten Japanese boundaries. A factor analysis favored a three-factor model of Japanese citizenship representations, dividing civic concepts into “civic participation” and “civic rule,” along with “cultural values.” Then, the study presented a scenario depicting stereotyped immigrant groups expected to arrive in Japan to Japanese participants and tested the degree of threat they experienced. Results indicated that competitive immigrant groups were stereotyped as untrustworthy and threatening Japanese civic participation values but not threatening Japanese ethnic values. The perceived threat to civic participation mediated the relationship between perceived untrustworthiness and prejudicial attitudes. The author has discussed the implications of these findings on the public discourse on immigration.

Keywords: stereotype, prejudice, group perception

The global debate on accepting immigrants and asylum seekers has been seemingly unrelated to Japanese people’s public discourse. Immigration issues are “somebody else’s problems.” However, the changing Japanese demographics caused by the aging population suggest the need for an incoming foreign labor force (Government of Japan Cabinet Office, 2022). Psychological research can contribute to reveal the psychological boundaries that may cause indifference and intolerance of attitudes to immigration. What criteria of acceptance do Japanese citizens consider essential? Is accepting immigrants to Japan a threat to the Japanese national identity? This research investigated how and why Japanese people perceive the threats from immigrants based on ingroup representations and stereotypes of immigrants.

### Characteristics of National Identity Constructs

The identification with the ingroup nation is named citizenship representation in political science literature (Brubaker, 2004; Shulman, 2002). The literature often distinguishes civic and ethnic representations. The former

parallels the “achieved” criteria, whereas the latter parallels the “ascribed” criteria. The “achieved” national identity consists of endorsing specific values and principles, respect for tradition, and voluntary commitment to laws and institutions (Ditlmann, Purdie-Vaughns, & Eibach, 2011; Esses, Dovidio, Semenya, & Jackson, 2005; Reijers, Van Acker, Vanbeselaere, Phalet, & Duriez, 2013). Such civic concept of citizenship is based on the idea that community members share basic principles to facilitate uniformity in the community. The members begin to respect social rules and laws, understand legal and political rights, and actively engage in political and community activities. Therefore, the civic national identity can be a chosen identity (Weinreich, 2009). In contrast, the “ascribed” criterion argues for shared genealogy, territory, and religion (Esses et al., 2005; Ha & Jang, 2015; Weinreich, 2009). The ethnic concept expects members to have a common descent such that only birth can ascribe the ingroup status. People with ancestors from the dominant ethnic group are considered as ingroup members. Therefore, ethnic citizenship is often considered a closed

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concept in which it is difficult for non-members to fulfill ethnic citizenship through their effort.

### **Ingroup Perception and Anti-immigrant Attitudes**

Theoretically, due to the “open” connotations of civic criteria and the “closed” nuance of ethnic criteria, ethnic and civic criteria are negatively related to immigration attitudes (e.g., Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2010). However, the empirical evidence does not suggest a simple relationship between these two concepts of citizenship and how they are related to prejudice. Other researchers have suggested that both criteria are positively related to immigration attitudes (e.g., Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009; Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010). Reality offers a more complex mixture of these concepts. For instance, ongoing instances of ethnic violence and exclusion do not parallel the idea of civic citizenship and suggest closed perspectives. Also, traditionally ethnic nations might be shifting toward accepting civic concepts of citizenship, and the idea of the nation might be changing as a result. Scholars have also questioned the dichotomy of the citizenship concept, suggesting “culture” as a third dimension connoting ascribed practices and traditions (e.g., Kymlicka, 2001). The cultural representation of citizenship creates liberal and open attitudes toward immigrants.

National categories are one of many social categories that identify people (Pehrson et al., 2009). According to the social psychological perspectives of social identity and self-categorization, ingroup members have well-developed views about the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Their process of self-stereotyping includes prototypical images of the ingroup and ingroup characteristics. Such prototypical elements function as ingroup membership criteria that can be used to judge the eligibility of outgroup members for “inclusion.” Under such psychological perspectives, perceptions of national categories may be constructed independently of political and legal identification. Government policies and citizenship laws might not reflect much on how citizens perceive their ingroup construction and its boundaries. Ingroup identification may be associated with negative evaluations of outgroups compared to the ingroup because such evaluations consequently provide positive self-identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Consequently, the perceived representations of ingroup national identity create the perception of boundaries that allow ingroup members to judge whom they include and exclude. Empirical evidence suggests that positive national identification is related to negative attitudes toward immigrants (Pettigrew, 2006; Verkuyten, 2004). However, the relationship between group

identification and prejudice against immigrants is more complex because this relationship disappears after controlling for demographic variables and perceived threats (Jackson, Kendrick, Tony, & Bryant, 2001).

### **Outgroup Perception and Anti-immigrant Attitudes**

According to the threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), outgroups threaten ingroup values and that consequently determine prejudiced attitudes. The threat type and degree might depend on immigrants’ characteristics. For instance, competitive outgroups cause realistic threats that involve concerns over economic resources (e.g., jobs and public services). In contrast, other types of outgroups cause symbolic threats that involve cultural and identity erosion apprehension. More specifically, outgroup stereotypes function as predictors of intergroup attitudes. We can organize the perceptions of outgroup stereotypes along two dimensions: warmth and competence, according to the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). Warmth and competence are essential dimensions because lay perceivers want to know about the outgroup’s intentions (i.e., warmth) and capabilities (i.e., competence). Therefore, social structural factors, including competition and status, generate these stereotypes. When out-groups are competitive, they are stereotyped as cold rather than warm and regarded as threatening communal relationships (Wojciszke & Abele, 2008). Outgroups can also be positioned as high-status and stereotyped as capable. High-status groups are perceived as competent, and low-status groups are less competent.

Caprariello et al. (2009) empirically tested whether competition and status information manipulated stereotypes of warmth and competence, respectively. They used descriptive characteristics to manipulate immigrant stereotypes: They portrayed competitive immigrants as uncooperative and taking advantage of limited resources, and high-status immigrants as having skilled occupations and being rich. As predicted, high competition created more cold stereotypes, whereas high status created competence stereotypes.

### **Influence of Immigrants Stereotypes on Ingroup Values**

Knowing immigrants’ stereotypes helps predict different types of threats and consequent reactions to ingroup members. Tsukamoto and Fiske (2018) demonstrated that manipulating immigrants’ competition caused empirically warm or cold stereotypes, resulting in prejudiced attitudes among American participants. Three studies constantly found that warmth, more than competence, predicted biases against immigrants. In theory, the warmth stereotype is more strongly related to active responses to the outgroup,

whereas the competence stereotype is more closely related to passive responses (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). In other words, warmth is an other-profitable rather than a self-profitable stereotype (Peeters, 1989). Hence, the warmth dimension is more relevant than the competence dimension for intergroup relationships.

Furthermore, the relationship between the warmth stereotype and prejudicial attitudes was partially mediated by the perceived threat to ingroup civic values rather than ethnic values (Tsukamoto & Fiske, 2018). Civic values that external forces can alter are more malleable than ethnic values. Therefore, a host society accepting immigrants into the ingroup society might be more concerned about the short-span threat of uncooperative and cold immigrants not respecting group rules and laws. Concerns about threats to ethnic values, such as respecting traditions and the society shifting to multiculturalism, might be long-term effects that might not be perceived as instant threats.

### Predictions

The present study tested whether manipulating competition and the status of immigrant groups influence stereotypes in the process of accepting immigrants by Japanese people. The author predicted that manipulating immigrants' competition and status would affect warmth and competence stereotypes in the Japanese context, replicating Tsukamoto and Fiske (2018), who examined this issue in the US. Furthermore, the study examined if perceived warm and cold stereotypes influenced prejudices against immigrants and if the perceived threat to civic values partially explained the relationship between perceived stereotype and prejudice. The author defined civic values as the perceived national identity constructs concerning the significance of institutional and political ideologies. In contrast, ethnic values were defined as perceived national identity constructs concerning cultural inheritance and common ancestral roots. A factor analysis was conducted to identify the construct of Japanese ingroup identity and clarify the Japanese perception of ingroup values. Then, the author examined values most likely threatened by stereotyped immigrants. This study tested the following hypotheses.

1. Competitive characteristics will increase the warmth stereotype, whereas status characteristics will increase the competence stereotype.
2. The perceived cold stereotype of immigrant groups will be positively related to perceived prejudice.
3. Perceived threats to ingroup civic values will mediate the above relationship.

## Method

### Participants

The author recruited Japanese citizens aged 18 to 70 through Cross Marketing, an online survey company. The sample size was predetermined based on the previous study (Tsukamoto & Fiske, 2018). Four participants who failed to follow at least one of the three attention check instructions, including "Select 1 for this item," and one who reported a non-Japanese nationality, were excluded from the analyses. The participants completed an online questionnaire at their own pace. They were compensated with small tokens, which could be used in the web service provided by Cross Marketing. The final sample consisted of 176 Japanese citizens ( $n_{\text{male}} = 78$ ,  $M_{\text{age}} = 53.45$ ,  $SD = 9.97$ ;  $n_{\text{female}} = 98$ ,  $M_{\text{age}} = 48.83$ ,  $SD = 11.77$ ; range: 18–70).

### Materials

#### *Stereotyped Immigrants*

The author described the characteristics of Wallonians, who were allegedly going to come to Japan soon based on the story developed by Caprariello et al. (2009) and Tsukamoto and Fiske (2018). Table 1 shows how the study manipulated Wallonians' competition (high or low) and status (high or low). The information about the competition was expected to influence the warmth stereotype, whereas information about status was expected to influence the competence stereotype.

#### *Japanese Values*

Japanese civic and ethnic values were operationalized using 14 items drawn from Wright et al. (2012) and Tsukamoto and Fiske (2018) and modified to fit the Japanese cultural context. The items were presented to the participants in random order. The participants evaluated the extent to which they perceived the items to be critical using a six-point scale ranging from 1 (*not important at all*) to 6 (*very important*). These items were used to describe perceived Japanese values.

#### *Expectations of Threatening Japanese Values*

The author repeatedly presented the 14 items assessing perceived Japanese civic and ethnic values and asked the participants to rate the degree to which they expected Wallonians to threaten these values when they came to Japan. The participants were asked, "To what extent will Wallonians threaten these Japanese values?" The participants rated their responses using a six-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*extremely*). Moreover, one item was used to assess the degree to which the participants felt generally threatened by the Wallonians. The participants rated this item using a six-point scale ranging from 1 (*not threatened*)

**Table 1***Scenarios Describing Wallonian Characteristics*

Leading Sentence: “Due to new political and economic conditions, demographers predict waves of immigration in the next few years from an ethnic group outside our borders called Wallonians. In their home country, members of this group typically have...”

		Competition	
		Low	High
Status	High	...high status jobs, and are educated and economically successful. However, they also share power and resources with members of other groups.	...high status jobs, and are educate and economically successful. However, they also take power and resources from members of other groups.
	Low	...low status jobs, and are uneducated and economically unsuccessful. However, they also share power and resources with members of other groups.	...low status jobs, and are uneducated and economically unsuccessful. However, they also take power and resources from members of other groups.

at all) to 6 (very threatened).

**Prejudices**

Seven items were used to assess prejudice against immigrants in general (e.g., “I mind if large numbers of immigrants moved to my neighborhood”). The participants rated the items on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*), such that higher values indicated increased prejudice.

**Stereotypes of Immigrants**

Based on previous studies on SCM, the author presented the participants with words describing competition (e.g., take away resources, compatible) and status (e.g., prestigious, economic success; Caprariello et al., 2009; Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015; Tsukamoto & Fiske, 2018). The following questions were used to check the effects of the manipulation: “To what extent will most Japanese view Wallonians as [...]?” [(competence: *competent, capable, prestigious, economically successful*; warmth: *warm, trustworthy, take away resources* (reversed), *compatible*; 1 (*not at all*), 5 (*extremely*)). In addition to the manipulation check questions, the author asked the participants to evaluate eight types of emotions toward Wallonians (*pity, envy, contempt, pride, sympathy, admiration, disgust, and jealousy*). In addition to the items measuring the manipulation effects, one item directly asked if participants attended to the Wallonian’s characteristics. As reported in “participants,” the data of four participants that failed this test were excluded from further analyses.

**Demographics**

The demographic questions inquired about the participants’ gender, nationality, occupation, age, length of residence in Japan, type of neighborhood (urban, countryside, rural), perceived state of the Japanese economy and society.<sup>1)</sup>

**Procedure**

The survey was conducted entirely online on the Qualtrics software’s survey website (<https://www.qualtrics.com>). The first page of the survey described the survey’s objectives and explained the voluntariness and anonymity of participants. The survey started with a story about an imaginary ethnic group called the Wallonians and respectively manipulated their competence and warmth stereotypes using their status and competitiveness. The story explained that many Wallonians were expected to immigrate to Japan. One of the four stereotypical characteristics of the Wallonians was randomly presented to each participant. After reading the story, participants were asked to report the perceived threat from the Wallonians. After that, the participants rated the degree of their Japanese value perception. Then, the story about Wallonians was presented again to the participants, in case the first presentation was not enough to manipulate the Wallonian stereotypes. The author instructed the participants to report their prejudices, stereotypes, and feelings about the Wallonians after the second presentation of the story. The author also assessed the participants’ attitudes toward their nation (Japan). At the end of the survey, the author inquired about the participants’ demographics, including age, gender, and citizenship. The details of the item used are described in the Materials section.

**Results****Japanese Values**

A factor analysis using the maximum likelihood method and Promax rotation was conducted to examine the perceived structure of Japanese national values. It extracted three factors based on eigenvalues greater than one. The factors did not indicate a good model fit for the data (CFI =

**Table 2**  
*Exploratory Factor Analysis of the Perceived Japanese Values*

	F1	F2	F3	$h^2$
Factor 1: civic participation ( $\alpha = .821$ )				
being registered as a citizen	<b>.936</b>	-.120	-.005	.742
have an official identification	<b>.771</b>	.063	.018	.677
have a Japanese citizenship	<b>.739</b>	.021	-.081	.505
willingness to participate in politics	<b>.426</b>	.116	.105	.332
living in Japan for a long enough time	<b>.403</b>	.060	.157	.303
Factor 2: civic rule ( $\alpha = .834$ )				
follow the legislated rules	-.097	<b>.900</b>	-.033	.682
follow general national rules	.070	<b>.866</b>	-.006	.826
follow the Japanese law	.179	<b>.501</b>	.084	.467
Factor 3: culture ( $\alpha = .778$ )				
value tradition	-.026	-.061	<b>.922</b>	.770
respect for tradition	-.081	.027	<b>.908</b>	.773
worship ancestors	.134	.013	<b>.569</b>	.438
value religious ideology	.160	.058	<b>.338</b>	.237
Interfactor correlations		F2	.641	
		F3	.559	.537

.915 and RMSEA = .105). Moreover, “bloodline” and “speaking Japanese” loaded on two factors at higher values than .32. Therefore, the factor analysis was repeated after excluding these two items, which again suggested a three-factor solution with improved CFI (.959) and RMSEA (.083). The minimum average partial correlation (MAP) suggested a two-factor structure. The parallel SMC value was the lowest for the four factors. Eigenvalues greater than one suggested a three-factor solution. The author decided on a three-factor solution based on the MAP suggestion of the minimal number and the parallel SMC suggestion of the maximum number of factors to explain the concept of Japanese national values.

Table 2 shows that the first factor consisted of items related to civic participation. The main construct of this factor was legal citizenship in Japan (*being a citizen, having official identification, having Japanese citizenship, being willing to participate in politics, and living in Japan for a long enough time*). These items are related to the right to live in Japan. The construct of the second factor was respect for civic rules and obeying national rules (*obeying legislated rules, obeying general national rules, and obeying Japanese law*). The third factor consisted of four items related to culture, including respecting culture, ancestors, tradition, and religion (*value traditions, respect traditions, worship ances-*

*tors, and value religious ideology*). These three factors were moderately correlated ( $.54 < r < .64$ ).

### Manipulation Checks

The author averaged the mean rating scores of four items assessing warmth (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .68$ ) and competence (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .94$ ). Table 3 shows the mean scores and standard deviations of Wallonian’s warmth and competence scores.

**Table 3**  
*Mean (SD) competence and warmth ratings by condition*

Status	Competition	Warmth	Competence
		<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
High	High	2.70 (0.84)	4.09 (0.78)
High	Low	3.73 (0.61)	3.93 (0.82)
Low	High	2.53 (0.97)	1.92 (0.80)
Low	Low	3.49 (0.78)	2.39 (0.78)

The author conducted a 2 (Competition: high or low)  $\times$  2 (Status: high or low) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on competence scores to examine the manipulations’ effects on the Wallonians’ stereotype ratings. The results indicated a statistically significant interaction ( $F(2, 173) = 173, p <$



.001), mainly caused by the robust main effect of status  $F(1, 173) = 330.22, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [.475, .640], \eta^2_p = .57$ . High-status Wallonians ( $M = 4.01, SE = 0.08, 95\% \text{ CI} = [3.84, 4.17]$ ) were evaluated as more competent than low-status Wallonians ( $M = 2.15, SE = 0.09, 95\% \text{ CI} = [1.98, 2.33]$ ). However, the main effect of competition on competence was not significant ( $F(1, 173) = 1.27, p = .26, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.00, 0.05], \eta^2_p = .007$ ).

Moreover, the results indicated a significant interaction effect of competence and status on warmth ratings,  $F(1, 173) = 41.13, p < .001$ . The main effect of competition was significant ( $F(1, 173) = 79.27, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.204, 0.410], \eta^2_p = .314$ ). Low-competitive ( $M = 3.61, SE = 0.08, 95\% \text{ CI} = [3.46, 3.77]$ ) than high-competitive Wallonians ( $M = 2.62, SE = 0.08, 95\% \text{ CI} = [2.46, 2.78]$ ) were evaluated as warm. However, the main effect of status ( $F(1, 173) = 3.02, p = .084, 95\% \text{ CI} = [.000, .072], \eta^2_p = .017$ ) was not statistically significant. These results indicate that the scenarios used in this study successfully manipulated the Wallonians' warmth-competitiveness and competence-status stereotypes.

### Threatening Japanese Values

The author used the mean ratings of five items (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .90$ ) to assess the perceived threat to Factor 1 (civic participation), the mean ratings of three items (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .92$ ) to assess the perceived threat to Factor 2 (respect for civic rules), and the mean rating of four items (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .88$ ) to assess the perceived threat to Factor 3 (culture).

A 2 (Competition)  $\times$  2 (Status)  $\times$  2 (Japanese values: Factors 1, 2, and 3) mixed ANOVA was conducted with the threat to Japanese values as the dependent variable to examine the effect of Wallonians' stereotypes on their perceived threat to Japanese values. The results indicated a significant between-subject main effect of competition, such that highly competitive (i.e., low-warmth) Wallonians ( $M = 4.09, SE = 0.11, 95\% \text{ CI} = [.068, .251]$ ) were expected to be less likely than non-competitive (i.e., high-warmth) Wallonians ( $M = 3.22, SE = 0.11, 95\% \text{ CI} [3.01, 3.44]$ ) to threaten Japanese values,  $F(1, 172) = 31.83, 95\% \text{ CI} = [.07, .25], \eta^2_p = .156, p < .001$ . However, there was no significant main effect of status ( $F(1, 172) = 1.87, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.00, 0.06], \eta^2_p = .011, p = .173$ ), nor a significant three-way interaction effect of status, competition, and perceived threat ( $F(2, 344) = 0.02, \eta^2_p = .001, p = .88$ ).

The results indicated a significant within-subject main effect of threat,  $F(2, 344) = 4.07, \eta^2_p = .023, p = .019$ . Post-hoc comparison between different types of threats using the Holm method indicated significant differences between

Factors 1, 2, and 3. Factor 1 scored higher on the threat ( $M = 3.78, SE = 0.08, 95\% \text{ CI} = [3.62, 3.93]$ ) than Factor 2 ( $M = 3.59, SE = 0.10, 95\% \text{ CI} = [3.40, 3.78]; d = .159, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-.05, 0.36], t(172) = 2.36, p = .019$ ) and Factor 3 ( $M = 3.61, SE = 0.09, 95\% \text{ CI} = [3.43, 3.78]; d = .154, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.05, 0.36], t(172) = 2.34, p = .02$ ). However, there was no difference between Factors 2 and 3 ( $d = -.01, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.22, -.19], t(172) = 0.21, p = .833$ ).

Additionally, there was a significant interaction between competition and threat to Japanese values,  $F(2, 344) = 5.93, p = .003, \eta^2_p = .033$ . The robust main effect of competition mainly caused this interaction. Perceived warmth (low competition) significantly reduces perceived threat on Factor 2 than Factor 1 ( $d = .362, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.068, 0.656], t(172) = 3.84, p = .001$ ), suggesting that the warmth stereotype significantly influenced the expected threat to Japanese civic values, including systems and laws. These results partially replicated the findings of Tsukamoto and Fiske (2018) and show that Japanese and Americans have similar perceptions of the threat posed by immigrants.

### Prejudices

Mean prejudice scores against Wallonians were calculated by averaging seven items assessing prejudice (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .86$ ), such that higher scores indicated increased prejudice. The author conducted a multiple mediation analysis using the SPSS PROCESS package by Hayes (2013; Model 4) to investigate the effect of perceived warmth stereotypes on prejudice and how the perceived threat type mediated the effect of perceived warmth on prejudice further.

Multiple mediator analyses were used to simultaneously examine differences in the perceived threat to different types of Japanese values as factors mediating between the warmth stereotype and prejudiced attitudes toward immigrants (Table 4; Figure 1). The author predicted that participants would express more prejudice if the immigrants were stereotyped as cold than warm, which would be partially explained by the perceived threat to Factor 1 but not Factors 2 or 3.

The results indicated a direct effect of the warmth stereotype on prejudice ( $t = -3.02, p = .003, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.380, -.080]$ ). A bias-corrected bootstrap analysis (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) was conducted to test the indirect effects of warmth on prejudiced attitudes, which indicated that the indirect effect of warmth through perceived threat to Factor 1 was  $d = -.207, SE = .056, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-.328, -.108]$ . The indirect effect of warmth through perceived threat to Factor 2 was estimated as  $d = .034, SE = .049, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-.060, .156]$ . The indirect effect of warmth through perceived

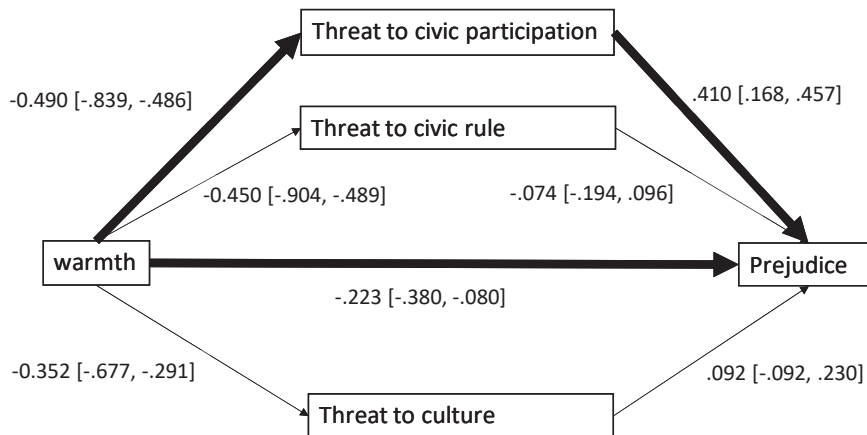
**Table 4**

*Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Model Summary Information for the Effect of Immigrant Warmth Stereotype on Prejudice Mediated by Perceived Threat to Values*

	M1 (civic participation)				M2 (civic rule)				M3 (culture)				Y (prejudice)							
	Coeff.	SE	p	CI	Coeff.	SE	p	CI	Coeff.	SE	p	CI	Coeff.	SE	CI	p				
X (warmth)	$\alpha_1$	-0.662	0.089	<.001	[-.839, 0.486]	$\alpha_2$	-0.696	0.103	<.001	[-.904, -.490]	$\alpha_3$	-0.484	0.098	<.001	[-.677, -.291]	c'	-0.23	0.076	[-.380, -.080]	0.003
M1 (civic participation)															b1	0.313	0.073	[.168, .457]	<.001	
M2 (civic rule)															b2	-0.049	0.073	[-.194, .096]	0.503	
M3 (culture)															b3	0.069	0.081	[-.092, .230]	0.398	
Constant	IM1	5.77	0.291	<.001	[5.198, 6.345]	IM2	5.757	0.341	<.001	[5.081, 6.428]	IM3	5.111	0.317	<.001	[4.48, 5.737]	IV	3.113	0.397	[2.417, 3.985]	<.001
		$R^2 = .240$					$R^2 = .202$					$R^2 = .129$					$R^2 = .321$			
		$F(1, 174) = 56.753, p < .001$					$F(1, 174) = 44.057, p < .001$					$F(1, 178) = 26.248, p < .001$					$F(4, 171) = 20.173, p < .001$			

**Figure 1**

*Multiple mediator model. Perceived threat to civic participation, civic rule and ethnic value as mediators between warmth stereotype and prejudiced attitude toward immigrants. Standardized estimates as well as 95% confidence intervals are reported. Statistically significant partial mediation paths are presented in bold arrows.*



threat to Factor 3 was estimated as  $d = -.033, SE = .046, 95\% CI = [-.108, .037]$ . The total indirect effect of warmth on prejudice was  $d = -.206, SE = .051, 95\% CI = [-.309, -.112]$ . The perceived coldness stereotype of the immigrant group explained prejudiced attitudes indirectly through the perceived threat to Factor 1, but not Factors 2 or 3. Factor 1 explains civic rights that Japanese citizens innately practice. These results suggest that Japanese participants derogated the out-group partly due to the perceived threat to their civic participation. However, neither the perceived threat to civic rules nor the lack of respect for Japanese culture resulted in out-group derogation.

**Discussion**

This study replicated the findings of Tsukamoto and Fiske (2018) and Caprariello et al. (2009) and indicated that the relative social positions of an imaginary immigrant group could be used to manipulate warmth and competence stereotypes. This study manipulated the warmth stereotype using descriptions of cooperation or competition for

sources and values, whereas descriptions of job status and wealth manipulated the competence stereotype. Moreover, information about the social structure influenced perceived stereotypes of immigrants, which supported the SCM, originally developed to explain the US social structure. The present research indicates that the identical paradigm in the US applies to Japanese people’s construction of stereotypes because the identical model could successfully explain stereotypes of Japanese and US participants.

Also replicating the past research (Tsukamoto & Fiske, 2018), the present research revealed how the perceived threat to civic values was influenced by immigrants’ stereotypically cold characteristics. This study’s findings confirmed the dominance of the warmth dimension, which is other-profitable rather than self-profitable. This dimension is more relevant to immigration than the competence dimension because the warmth stereotype is essential for facilitating intergroup relationships in the context of acculturation and acceptance of immigrants. The study also confirmed the perceived perception that immigrants influence civic participation rather than ethnic or cultural values.

Theoretically, perceived threats to ethnic values should more strongly predict prejudices (e.g., Shulman, 2002) because ethnic criteria are more closed than open civic criteria. The discourse of protecting the “bloodlines” and perceived “contamination” of national inheritance due to external influences suggest that Japanese people might share the idea of ethnic and national constructs in addition to civic constructs. Komisarof, Leong, and Teng (2020) examined criteria developed by Japanese students and tested how these criteria influenced the perceived acceptance of immigrants. Ethnicity and culture were critical criteria used for the acceptance of immigrants.

This study investigated whether Japanese participants were concerned about civic dimensions. The results replicated the findings in the US (Tsukamoto & Fiske, 2018), where participants showed more sensitivity to the civic dimension. Despite political and institutional differences between Japan and the United States, the present study replicated the finding that people were more sensitive to civic values than ethnic values in Japan and the US. Civic values might be more malleable and fragile and might be altered by external influences, including increasing the immigrant population. Further research is needed to clarify the generalizability of the present findings across cultures and test how institutional differences are related to individual perceptions of national values and representations.

The significant limitations of this study concern potential demand characteristics, thus suggest recommendations for future studies. Firstly, the scenario depicting immigrants, presented in English in the US study and Japanese in this study, using similar words and phrases to manipulate immigrants’ stereotypes, resulted in similar findings in Japan and the United States. However, immigrants’ stereotypes can be manipulated using different formats, including simpler words or visualizing stereotypes in pictures. The author suggests that future studies use different manipulations to verify the successful replication of this study. Secondly, the perceived threat as the dependent variable might be closely related to the words used to manipulate warmth compared to those used to manipulate status. A strong relationship was observed between the perceived threat to Japanese civic values and cold stereotypes. However, this relationship might be caused by choice of words used in the scenarios instead of the perceived stereotypes. Therefore, different manipulation methods should be used to test the validity of the relationship between perceived coldness and prejudice observed in this study.

## Conclusion

Negative stereotypes cause anti-immigrant prejudice, and

this is not surprising. However, not all negativity cause prejudice. Lower status immigrants were stereotyped as incompetent, but this stereotype did not explain prejudice. Only the expectation of hostile and uncooperative attitudes of immigrants is likely to cause prejudice. The present study replicated past research and indicated that Japanese people perceive uncooperative immigrants as a threat to in-group civic values, which partially explains their prejudice against immigrants. The public discourse regarding immigration in Japan is not very active. Nevertheless, the psychological reaction to immigrants might have similar functions across cultures. Knowledge of mechanisms resulting in reactions to immigrants could benefit Japanese laypeople and policymakers.

## Note

- 1) The questionnaire included other variables investigated in a different study for different objectives, including the feeling thermometer, essentialist beliefs about the Japanese category, and Japanese national attitudes, which were not analyzed in this study.

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