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Education for National Identity: A quantitative research on the effect of education on feelings of national identity among the Japanese population

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Education for National Identity: A quantitative research on the effect of education on feelings of national identity among the Japanese population

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Introduction

National identity has been the main topic of many studies, as it plays an important role in many aspects of society. It can broadly be described as an individual's sense of belonging to a certain nation (Marschelke, 2021, p. 1). The strong unity that comes with this sense of belonging provides the basis for political stability, economic development and social cohesion, which is why national identity is of great importance to states (Quddus et al., 2000, p 88; Anderson, 2006, pp. 37-46). This study investigates the role of education in creating national identity. More specifically, it looks into the effectiveness of education for fostering national identity in Japan.

Moral or patriotic education has been a topic of contention among the Japanese population ever since it was instated (Parmenter, 1999; Fukoaka & Takita-Ishii, 2022). While there has been research on the content of patriotic education (Shibata, 2004; Bukh, 2007; Sneider, 2013), little has focused on the actual effect of this content, which has more practical implications. The substantial use of education for teaching national identity suggests that governments must think it is effective. However, there are no studies to directly support this claim. To understand the full extent of the relationship between education and national identity, it is important to study every angle of the relationship, not just the content. Thus, studying the effectiveness of education on national identity aims to partially fill the gap in the literature, needed to better understand the topic, as well as complement the existing literature on educational content.

The first chapters will focus on existing literature in order to conceptualize key concepts, illustrate the literary gap, build a theoretical framework, and formulate a hypothesis. The following chapters focus on the data analysis, discussing the methodology and results. Finally, the last chapters are the discussion and the conclusion, which answer the research question: *what is the effect of years of education on feelings of national identity among the Japanese population?*

Key concepts

Nationalism, Nation, and National Identity

In his book “Imagined Communities”, Benedict Anderson (2006, pp. 6-7) defines the nation as an “imagined political community”, in which every member has an image of their community in mind without ever meeting or knowing each other. “Community” refers to the sense of

comradery and fraternity between the members (p. 7). In chapter 7 of the book, Anderson (pp. 113-140) argues that education played a major role in the rise of nationalism with the creation of the modern education system. Using the Dutch colonial school system as an example, he explains that the uniformity of having one centralized school system, teaching the same classes and materials, bonded the Indonesian population despite not all of them sharing the same mother tongue, religion or ethnicity (pp. 120-122).

Similarly, Ernest Renan's (2019, pp. 261-262) definition of the nation is not constrained by a common race, language, religion, or natural borders either. Instead, it is a solidarity of people brought together by common suffering, as well as their desire to continue a common life (Renan, 2019, pp. 261-262). Moreover, Renan (2019, p. 251) states that "[...] the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things.", which Anderson (2006) quotes in his book. Contrary to this, Ernest Gellner (1983, p. 1) defines nationalism as a "political principle" which holds that the political unit should be consistent with the nation. Thus, meaning that Gellner thinks that states should aim for a nation that is confined to the state. Despite this contradiction, Gellner's (1983, p. 7) notion of a nation is *mostly* in line with Renan's, as it is based on two conditions: 1) two people must share the same culture and 2) they must recognize each other as being members of the same nation. Renan's (2019, pp. 261-262) common suffering can be seen as a part of Gellner's (1983, p. 7) shared culture. Within both definitions, education is important, as it is a transferring agent used to spread a shared culture or suffering, in turn fostering a national identity. In addition, Gellner (1983, p. 36) argues that "A man's education is by far his most precious investment, and in effect confers his identity on him". Lastly, according to Smith (1989, p. 342), a nation is a community with a shared history and culture, an economy, a political territory, a mass education system, and shared legal rights. In this definition, the importance of education is particularly clear, as it is one of the preconditions for being a nation.

Since this research will be focusing on how education affects national identity, the conceptualization should be made accordingly. As this study investigates how national identity is shaped by education, it does not view national identity as a phenomenon that is "given", rather it is constructed. This means that having a certain ethnic background does not automatically determine an individual's national identity. Instead, sharing the same experiences, culture, history, and values, are what makes people share a national identity. For this reason, Gellner's aim for a nation that is consistent with the state is not in line with this research. Smith's definition of a nation does not resonate with this study either, as it requires a political territory. This does not mean that sharing a political territory, being part of a nation

consistent with a state or being ethnically homogeneous are completely irrelevant for national identity. However, a nation without one or more of these criteria, is still a nation and can still have a sense of national identity. Hence, Anderson's idea of "imagined communities" and Renan's definition of a nation fit this research the most. Thus, a constructivist conceptualization of national identity is used, which upholds that following the same education – and therefore being taught to have the same culture, values, history, etc. – can create a shared national identity, despite differences in religion, ethnicity or geographical location.

Education

Education comes in different forms, such as formal, non-formal, and informal education (Eshach, 2006, pp. 172-174). Formal education refers to structured, teacher-led, evaluated learning at school, non-formal learning refers to structured, teacher- or guide-led, non-evaluated learning at an institution out of school, and informal learning is unstructured, usually learner-led, non-evaluated learning which can happen anywhere (Eshach, 2006, p. 174). The data that will be used to conduct this research is drawn from the ISSP 2013 National Identity III Basic Questionnaire. The years of education data provided, only refers to years of formal education. Moreover, according to Hroch (2006, p. 28) schools are "instrument[s] of social discipline and moral education" which provides government with "a space for the spread of nationally relevant information to the masses". Additionally, there have been many studies that show how education is used to convey a sense of national identity, i.e., Law (2016), Keane (2018), and Revell and Bryan (2018) to name a few. Therefore, the more years of formal education a person had, the more that individual is exposed to such content. For this reason, it is meaningful to investigate effect of the length of individuals' education on national identity. Thus, the fully formulated conceptualization of education for this research will be: the number of years of formal learning, mainly referring to subjects such as: citizenship education, history, moral education, and social studies.

Literature review

Education and National Identity: Different Approaches

Education is proven to have significant influence on people's development (Al-Shuaibi, 2014). Not only do people acquire knowledge through education, but they also develop unique character qualities from which they form their identity, including their national identity

(OECD, 2016, p. 13). The topic of education and national identity has been widely researched from several different angles. The following sections discuss various examples of them.

Education is often used as a tool for national identity building, which goal it is to enhance national pride and a sense of belonging to a country (Wong et al., 2020, p. 222). Therefore, many studies regarding education and national identity focus on how education is used for national identity building. Keane (2018, p. 15), for example, investigates how the school paper was used to teach children “an understanding love of Victoria, of Australia, of the British Empire, and through these of humanity.” (Keane, 2018, p. 15). Similarly, the pre-World War I Ulmanis regime in Latvia used schools to create a “renewed Latvia based on national unity and the leader principle [...]” (Purs, 2004, p. 119). Hardwick et al. (2010, p. 263) show how Canadian and American civics textbooks reflect national norms, as well as create a forum by which values are transmitted to new generations. Arar and Ibrahim (2016) investigate the strategies that Arab school principals and teachers in Israel use, to educate students on Palestinian Arab values instead of the Jewish state values required by the Israeli Ministry of Education. There are many other scholars alike that have done comparable studies (Barton, 2001; Dobrocká and Szórádová, 2018; Löden, 2014; Doppen, 2010).

There are also studies on national identity shifts lead to changing education. According to Tipton (2009, p. 146), national identities are not fixed. Therefore, to ensure the adoption of the desired national identity, education must be adjusted accordingly. Chang (2021) shows how China does this by changing history textbooks among other transferring agents for national identity, as the government’s desired national identity narrative shifts from “victor” to “victim” to “Xi Jinping’s era”. Law (2013, pp. 597-598), similarly, shows how changing leaderships in China, as well as globalization, influence national identity, which, in turn is reflected by education policy and curricula. In opposition to Chang (2021) and Law (2013), Hagström and Isaksson (2019, p. 31) find mostly continuity in Japanese history textbooks’ national identity narratives, despite the government’s desired national identity changing.

As national identity can shape education, the opposite is possible as well (Wong et al., 2020, p. 222). While many believe this to be true – see all the countries above that use education for national identity building – there are not many studies done on the effectiveness of it. One of the few examples is a study by Qazi (2020) who explores the relationship between national education and students’ militaristic national identity formation in Pakistan. Through qualitative data analysis, he finds that the selected compulsory national textbooks are an influential tool for constructing students’ militaristic national identities (Qazi, 2020, p. 529). Contrary to this,

Hynes (2011, p. 58) finds that history education in the United Kingdom does not increase British students' sense of Britishness.

Education and Japanese Identity

Japan is no exception to using education to promote national identity. It started during the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) when the Ministry of Education (MOE) was established in 1872. Its main goal was to create a national education system, and themes such as nationalism and national identity were at the center of this (Parmenter, 1999, p. 454). With the 1879 and 1880 Education Order, education became more controlled by the state and prefectures, which led to the standardization of a national curriculum in which morals were the leading principle (Parmenter, 1999, p. 454). From this point on, education for national identity developed even more with the appointment of the first Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, and the establishment of the Imperial Rescript on Education (Parmenter, 1999, pp. 454-455). Minister Mori endorsed education for national development, while the Rescript provided a nationalist educational moral guide which came to be regarded as a sacred text in Japanese education at the time (Okuhata, 2022, p. 1; Parmenter, 1999, p. 455). This nationalist era of education continued throughout the Taishō period (1912-1926) and the early Shōwa period (1926-1989) until it collapsed after Japan's defeat in the Second World War (Parmenter, 1999, p. 455). After the defeat, the United States (U.S.) occupied Japan from 1945 until 1952. During this period, the Rescript and moral education, in its entirety, were abolished, as the U.S. tried to democratize education (Roesgaard, 2017, pp. 32-38; Parmenter, p. 455; Nozaki, 2005, p. 275). The Rescript was replaced with the Fundamental Law of Education (FLE), which is still active to this day. Also, instead of having one uniform curriculum developed by the MOE, curricula would be developed by schools and teachers (Nozaki, 2005, pp. 275-276). These decisions were widely supported by the Japan Teachers' Union (JTU), as they believed that uniform moral education has a risk of becoming authoritarian and nationalist (Roesgaard, 2017, p.38). Unfortunately, their support did not last long, as moral education was reinstated post-occupation (1958) (Parmenter, 1999, p. 455). From this point on, moral education went through many reforms, yet it never left the curriculum and remained to be a subject of contention not only for teachers, but the whole Japanese public (Parmenter, 1999; Roesgaard, 2017; Fukuoka & Takita-Ishii, 2022, pp. 250-251, 255). The latest major reforms are the ones made by Prime Minister Abe Shinzo (1954-2022) who was in office from 2006 to 2007 and from 2012 until 2020. In 2006, he revised the FLE calling for a reintroduction of patriotic education (Roesgaard, 2017, p. 47).

In turn, this initiated his introduction of new moral education teaching material – *Watashitachi no Doutoku (Our Morals)* – during his second administration, which promoted nationalism, patriotism, and morality (Osaka Prefectural Teachers Union, 2019, p. 266; Kolmaš, 2020, p. 187; Fukuoka & Takita-Ishii, 2022, pp. 250). It was even declared a formal subject in 2018, which was not particularly supported by the public (Fukuoka & Takita-Ishii, 2022, pp. 247, 250-251). While moral education may not be as nationalist as before and during the Second World War, the educational discourse does seem to be shifting away from being progressive towards moral conservatism (Rear, 2011, p. 129).

Similar to the trend to be found in other literature on education and national identity, most of the literature on Japan is about how education is used to create or strengthen national identity. Most of it regards the content, intent or use of history and moral education (Bamkin, 2019, p. 247). Shibata (2004), for instance, analyzes how Meiji Japan created notions of national identity and spread them through education. McVeigh (1998) explores how Japan politicizes subjectivity through moral education to endorse a nationalist ideology. Supporting McVeigh (1998), Hoffman (1999) demonstrates how moral education has historically been used as a political tool to encourage conformity, docility, and social cohesion. A more recent study by Kolmaš (2020, pp. 210-211) investigates Prime Minister Abe's use of educational reform to promote "a 'new' Japan narrative" aimed at reconstructing a more patriotic and communitarian Japanese identity. The reforms were received with a lot of controversy, as there has always been debate about which content ought to be taught. This controversy is also very apparent in the literature. Nozaki (2005) discusses this with regards to Japanese history textbooks and analyzes how history narratives changed throughout history. Bukh (2007) joins in on the topic but focuses specifically on how Japan shaped national identity through historical "victimhood" narratives. Opposed to Bukh (2007), Sneider (2013, pp. 39-40), and Shin and Sneider (2011), find that Japanese history textbooks tend to be factual and neutral, leaning more towards a pacifist narrative. Sneider (2013, pp. 39-40) even included a quote by a prominent Japanese historian who said that "[e]ven on the issues in which Japanese were victims [...] Japanese textbooks remain detached".

In addition, to all the literature on content, there are also some studies that focus on the students' and teachers' opinions on education for national identity. Fukuoka & Takita-Ishii (2022) collected essays from 80 Japanese college students asking their opinion on teaching national identity and if they think it is appropriate. Most students (55) opposed, as they were concerned about children being brainwashed to love their country (p. 255). In contrast, 24 respondents supported it, saying that children need to learn about Japan and Japanese society

(p. 258). Parmenter (1999, p. 462) looks into the views of teachers in training and finds that most of them think the development of national identity through education fairly problematic.

The actual effect of education on national identity has not been studied much. One of few examples is an article by Hagström and Isaksson (2019) who conclude that the 2015 protest against remilitarization can be seen as a product of the way Japan portrays itself as pacifist in history textbooks. However, the article focuses more on what kind of national identity is transferred through education, rather than if a sense of national identity is transferred at all.

Research Question

As can be derived from the literature review, there are many different approaches to researching education and national identity. A significant amount of the literature on this topic is about the occurrence of national identity values in education and how different subjects are used to promote certain national identity narratives (Shibata, 2004; Hoffmann, 1999; McVeigh, 1998). There is also some literature on what students and teachers think of this kind of education (Parmenter, 1999; Fukuoka & Takita-Ishii, 2022). However, little attention is paid to measuring the effectiveness of teaching certain content or narratives, and if the teaching actually leads to the desired outcome – a sense of national identity. Still, education is often seen as the means for promoting government acceptance and national loyalty, as well as prepare individuals for their further lives as a part of a democratic society (Dewey, 1916; Wong et al., 2021, p. 222). Therefore, it is of great relevance for governments, especially for Ministries of Education, to know how effective education is for encouraging national identity. Knowing the effect, can help them to (partly) improve it, or if it does not work, to think about other ways to promote national identity. Thus, to fill this literary gap, this research aims to find what the effect of education is on people's sense of national identity. This study will specifically focus on Japan, which will be further explained in the methodology.

Research Question: What is the effect of years of education on feelings of national identity among the Japanese population?

Theoretical framework

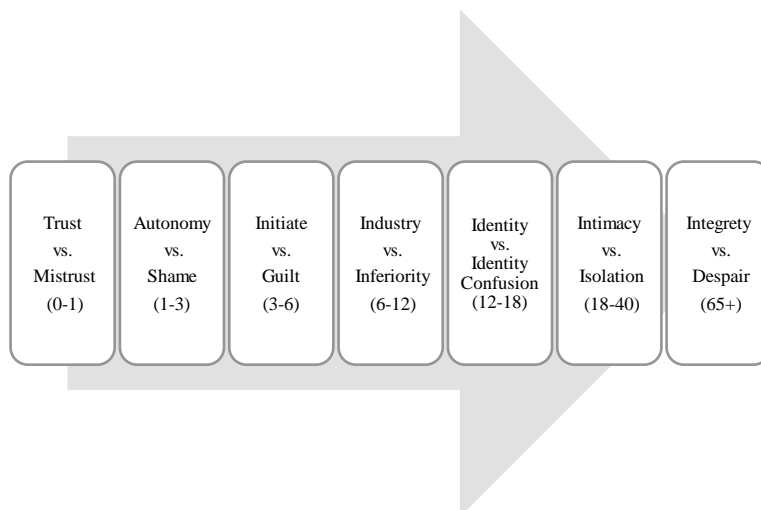
Theories, Education, and National Identity Formation

To research the effect of the years of education on national identity, it is useful to first look at different theories of identity formation, and how these can explain the relationship between the two. The four theories that will be discussed are 1) Identity Formation Theory, 2) Social Identity Theory, 3) Nation-Building Theory, and 4) Critical Theory. As each of these theories belongs to a different field of study, they can help give a more comprehensive and nuanced clarification of the phenomenon (Mazzocchi, 2019, p. 3).

Starting with Erik Erikson's (1968) Identity Formation Theory. According to Erikson (1968, p. 94) identity formation is a lifetime process divided in eight stages from infancy to late adulthood (Figure 1). Each stage is characterized by a crisis, which a person must overcome to develop a healthy identity (Erikson, 1968, pp. 91-95). A crucial stage in this process is adolescence (12-18 years), in which a person deals with the "Identity vs. Identity confusion" crisis (Erikson, 1968, p. 128-135). During this period, adolescents look back on the previous stages, explore their identities and find out who they are as individuals (Erikson, 1968, p. 128). Most adolescents spend most of their time in school, therefore education can have a significant influence during this phase. It shapes individuals by teaching them common norms and values (OECD, 2022, p. 72). In relation to national identity, citizenship education, for example, can be used to shape pupils' norms and values to be in line with those of their country (Law, 2013; Revell & Bryan, 2018).

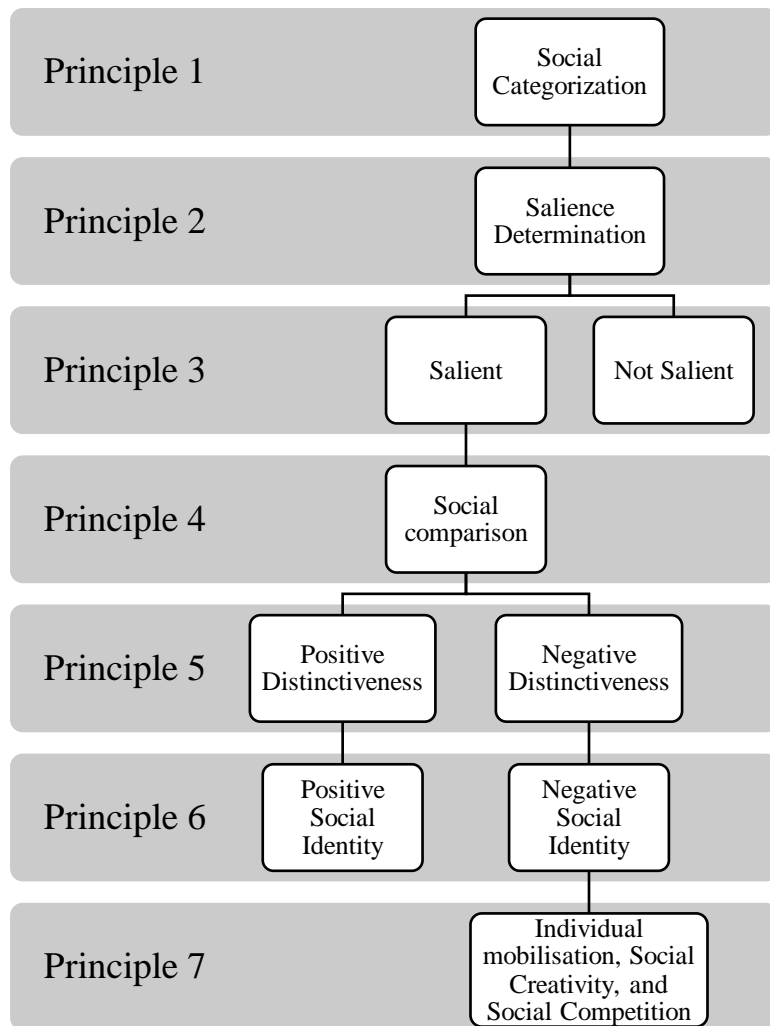
Figure 1.

Process of Identity Formation according to Identity Formation Theory



Another similar identity formation theory that explains how education can affect national identity is Social Identity Theory. However, instead of explaining individual development, Social Identity Theory is a social psychology theory that focuses on how individuals define themselves in relation to social groups (Trepte & Loy, 2017, p. 1). It is described by seven underlying psychological principles, which together form the process of identity formation (Trepte & Loy, 2017, pp. 2-5) (Figure 2). The first one is social categorization; people categorize themselves into certain social groups (in-groups). Second is determining salience; in certain situations, a social group may be more or less relevant. Only if the group is salient, the process proceeds to the third principle – social comparison – in which people compare their own group to other groups (out-groups). Fourth are the comparison results in which an individual strives for positive distinctiveness; better in-group evaluation. The fifth principle is social identity – a combination of social categorization and comparison – which can be positive or negative depending on the comparison. In turn, this influences an individual's self-esteem, which is the sixth. Lastly, the seventh focuses on the consequences a negative social identity outcome has, such as individual mobility, social creativity, and social. Education is especially important within the social comparison principle, as schools can choose to encourage positive associations with the in-group, or not. Study shows that emphasizing positive news or events about a country can contribute to a more positive attitude towards that country (Trepte et al., 2016). Similarly, history textbooks are used to convey positive narratives about countries with the goal of molding identity consciousness through ideas on nation, citizenship, and an idealized past (Vickers & Kan, 2013, p. 172; Boon & Gopinathan, 2013, p. 204; Hein & Selden, 1998). However, conventionally “negative” narrative are also used to enhance national identity. For example, how the Chinese Communist Party used a victimization narrative to frame China as the victim of Japanese aggression in the Second World War (Chang, 2021, pp. 1155-1156). As can be seen here, the government plays into this us vs. them (in-group vs. out-group) idea, as they use education to create a certain image of their country, while simultaneously painting an “other” in bad daylight, which makes China come out as the “better” country in the social comparison (principle four). The following theory focuses specifically on how national identities are purposefully created.

Figure 2. Process of Identity Formation according to SIT



Nation-Building Theory is a political science theory that refers to the process of building a cohesive nation, through the creation of a common national identity (Alesina et al., 2021, p. 2274). For example, local traditions that shape national identity and the use of centralized education for creating a homogenous society (Hobsbawm, 2012; Gellner, 1983, pp. 29-35). Through the lens of Nation-Building Theory, education can be used to foster a national identity through policies (Alesina et al., 2021, p. 2274). Governments can choose to only allow one language to be taught in, which can help foster a sense of unity (Gordon, 1978, pp. 176, 202). Similarly, they can push through certain historical narratives in school curricula to create or enhance their desired national identity (Boon & Gopinathan, 2013; Wang, 2008; Chang, 2021; Law, 2013).

The last theory that will be discussed is Critical Theory. Critical Theory is a theoretical approach that combines social science and philosophy. It is often associated with two meanings: a narrow and a broad sense. The narrow sense (with capital C and T) originates from a group of theorists known as the Frankfurt School (Bohman, 2016). According to them, Critical Theory does not merely seek knowledge, but rather it seeks emancipation, liberation, and social justice (Horkheimer, pp. 241, 246). All other approaches with similar aims (e.g., critical race theory and feminism) can be called critical theories (without capitalization) and are meant by the broad sense of critical theory (Bohman, 2016). From a Critical Theory perspective, education plays a crucial role in creating a sense of national identity. However, it is important to be aware of what content is taught and how, because certain educational (policy) choices can reinforce dominant power structures and marginalize minority groups. If history and culture classes reflect a particular one-sided national narrative, this may downplay or erase perspectives and experiences of minority groups (McLaren, 2002, pp. 11-12; Revell & Bryan, 2018, pp. 50-51; Yan & Vickers, 2019, p. 190). Conversely, schools can also promote inclusivity and teach history from different perspectives. Both strategies contribute to national identity, yet two completely different types.

Theoretical Approach

As can be derived from the section above, there are many theories that could explain the relationship between national identity and education. Since this research focuses on the identity of a nation (Japan), Social Identity Theory best illustrates this relationship. Social Identity Theory can explain the effect of education on national identity within the context of society (Trepte & Loy, 2017, p. 1). Nation Building Theory also fits well into this research, as it explains that education can contribute to enhancing national identity (Alesina et al., 2021, p. 2274). Contrarily, Identity Formation Theory and Critical Theory are not the most productive theories to answer the research question. Identity Formation Theory's main focus is individual identities, which is not optimal for studying the Japanese nation as a whole (Erikson, 1968). Critical Theory is also not relevant in this context, as it seeks justice and emancipation (Horkheimer, pp. 241, 246). This study does not investigate the content of what is taught, rather it only looks into the length of an individual's education.

Therefore, this research rests on a theoretical approach that combines Social Identity Theory and Nation Building Theory. First, the approach adopts the same process of identity formation as Social Identity Theory. It posits that collective identities are constructed

relationally by comparing positions (social comparison) of the “self” (in-group) and “other” (out-group). Second, the approach subscribes to Nation Building Theory’s idea that education can be used as a means for constructing national identities. Altogether, this approach aims to explain the relationship between education and national identity by viewing education as a tool which is used to create positive distinctiveness for the in-group nation. In turn, leading to a more cohesive society and a stronger sense of national identity.

Hypothesis

Since there are no studies that precisely answer the research question, the hypothesis is fully based on theories and the related literature discussed in the former sections. The following hypothesis is formulated: *An individual in Japan with more years of education, is more likely to have a positive attitude towards Japan, and therefore, a stronger sense of national identity.*

Methodology

To test the hypothesis, this research will use descriptive quantitative data analysis. The following section will elaborate more on the case selection, data collection, operationalization of the variables, and the choice for the statistical test.

Case selection

As mentioned earlier, this part will elaborate more on the choice for Japan as a case. The literature review shows that the actual effect of education on national identity has generally gotten little attention in past research. Despite that, there are two reasons why Japan, specifically, is an interesting case to investigate regarding this topic. These reasons were briefly touched upon in the literature review, namely that 1) from the 1990s onward, Japanese educational discourse has shifted from progressive to moral conservative, placing patriotism and public duty above individual interests, and 2) public opinion on patriotic education for national identity is greatly divided in Japan (Rear, 2011, p. 129; Fukoaka & Takita-Ishii, 2022, pp. 250-251, 255; Parmenter, 1999, p. 462).

In other words, the incompatibility of the government’s perspective on teaching national identity and the controversy about it among the Japanese public, makes Japan a unique case. As the general trend of the public’s opposition to patriotic education is around 50% or more, it will be interesting to see if the patriotic education imposed by the government has a

significant effect on the public's sense of national identity (Fukoaka & Takita-Ishii, 2022, pp. 254-255).

Data collection

All the data used for the analysis are derived from the 2013 ISSP (International Social Survey Program) National Identity III Basic Questionnaire dataset. The survey was also conducted in 1995 and 2003, but the deliberate choice for 2013 is related to the first reason for choosing Japan as a case. As the shift from progressive to moral conservative education started in the 1990s, in order to take the longest period of this shift into account, the latest measurement of national identity should be used, i.e. 2013. Originally, the dataset contains data from a 60 to 66 question long survey with 45297 respondents from 33 countries. In addition, they collected information on demographics, such as sex, age, income, years of education etc. For the purposes of this research, the other 32 countries were filtered out, so a sample of 1234 respondents remained. The sample was selected using two-stage stratified random sampling of residents of Japan aged 16 or over (ISSP Research Group, 2015). Altogether this dataset provides relevant data on national identity and years of schooling, and it has a representative sample size, which is why it was chosen for this research.

Concept operationalization

Feelings of national identity are measured by a ten-question survey with a four-point Likert scale based on the questions of the full ISSP survey (see Table 1). The mini survey is a reliable scale with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.811 (Cortina, 1993). To calculate the actual national identity value, the answer values are added up for each respondent and divided by ten (the number of questions). The outcome is the national identity variable measured on a four-point Likert scale ranging from "very weak" to "very strong" (1 to 4).

The chosen questions are related to the importance of feeling and being Japanese, as well as taking pride in Japan's achievements. These subjects can all be taught or emphasized in school, which is why they were chosen. The questions about the importance of ethnicity and citizenship were deliberately left out, as they do not resonate with this research's conceptualization of national identity.

Table 1.*Ten-question survey with four-point Likert scale*

	Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Very
<i>How close do you feel to Japan?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How important is it to feel Japanese?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How proud are you of being Japanese?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How proud are you of Japan's political influence in the world?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How proud are you of Japan's economic achievements?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How proud are you of Japan's scientific and technological achievements?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How proud are you of Japan's achievements in sports?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How proud are you of Japan's achievements in the arts and literature?</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>How proud are you of Japan's armed forces?</i>	1	2	3	4

Years of education are measured by the variable “years of schooling” from the ISSP dataset. It is a numerical measure starting at 0 (no schooling) going up. The minimum and maximum years of education measured are 6 and 23 years.

In addition to this independent variable, two control variables will be included, age and sex. National identity is developed through out an individual's lifetime, meaning that an older person had more time to develop this sense than a younger person. Especially when considering education as a source for learning national identity; a sixteen-year-old generally does not have the same amount of education as a thirty-year-old. For this reason, age is a relevant variable to control for. With regards to sex as a control variable, research has shown that national identity is represented very differently between men and women (Himmel & Baptista, 2016). Therefore, is also relevant to account for this effect.

Data Analysis

To measure the effect of education on national identity and test the hypothesis, ordinal logistic regression (ordinal regression) is used, since this is the best choice when the dependent variable is ordinal. The regression is run using SPSS Statistics, but before this is possible, the raw data

must be cleaned up and prepared, and the assumptions for ordinal regression must be tested and met.

Missing values and recoded variables

Many cases in the dataset had at least one missing value, mostly due to questions not being answered. Deleting all the cases with missing values would cut out almost one third of the cases, which is why only the respondents who answered none of the ten questions were taken out, and the missing values were filled using multiple imputation. Multiple imputation generates possible values based on the existing data to replace the missing values. It runs five iterations, each time generating the missing values, creating five “new” complete sets of data, which are put together in one big dataset also including the original data with the missing values. Running the analysis using this combined dataset will produce an output for each iteration (complete dataset), as well as a “pooled” output. In this way, most of the cases could be kept in the sample and the results will still be accurate (IBM Corporation, 2021). This adjustment left the data with 1219 valid cases.

There are also multiple variables that are recoded. This was mainly done to make it the Likert scale interpretation more intuitive. At first, the answer options were coded from 1 to 4, with 1 being “very proud/important” and 4 being “not proud/important at all”. The opposite seems more obvious, which is why it was recoded to be the other way around. Additionally, the national identity variable value mentioned in the operationalization was originally a scale variable, but was recoded into an ordinal variable to fit the Likert scale. This also made it possible to run an ordinal logistic regression.

Assumptions for ordinal regression

There are four assumptions that must be met in order to run an ordinal regression and get a valid outcome, namely 1) the dependent variable is ordinal, 2) there are one or more continuous or categorical independent variables, 3) there should be no multicollinearity, and 4) there should be proportional odds (O’Connell, 2006).

The first assumption is met, as national identity is measure by a four-point Likert scale. The second assumption is met as well, as there are two continuous (years of education, age) and one categorical (sex) independent variables. The third assumption is tested by running a multiple linear regression and checking the VIF values in the collinearity statistics. The values should ideally be between 1 and 5 or at least under 10 to meet the assumption and they were

around 1.1 for each imputation iteration. Thus, this assumption is met. Lastly, the fourth and most important assumption is that the data must have proportional odds. This indicates that each independent variable must have an identical effect at each response level of the ordinal dependent variable. This assumption is tested using a test of parallel lines comparing the fit of the proportional odds location model to a model with varying location parameters. The null hypothesis states that the slope coefficients are the same across response categories. Therefore, the p-value should be greater than 0.05 to meet the assumption. This is the case for each imputation iteration, so the last assumption is met as well (Table 2).

Table 2.
Test of parallel lines

χ^2	
Original data	5.423 (841.892, 836.469)
Imputation 1	6.297 (1452.974, 1446.677)
Imputation 2	4.541 (1448.180, 1443.639)
Imputation 3	8.732 (1492.162, 1483.429)
Imputation 4	3.909 (1484.349, 1480.440)
Imputation 5	7.269 (1425.800, 1418.532)

Note: Test of parallel lines χ^2 with null hypothesis and general -2 Log Likelihoods in brackets.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Results

The ordinal regression was run to determine the effect of years of education on feelings of national identity, controlling for age (measured in years) and sex. Since the missing values were replaced using multiple imputation, the results shown are the results of the “pooled” data. The regression was run three times, each time adding a control variable to create a hierarchical regression. Table 3 presents the results of all three regressions. The first model only includes years of education as an independent variable. With a negative coefficient, it indicates that an increase in years of education by one year, increases the odds of having weak feelings of national identity, with an odds ratio of 0.939, 95% CI [0.891, 0.990], $p = 0.020$. The second model adds the control variable age. In this model, there is no statistically significant effect between years of education and feelings of national identity with $p = 0.246$. However, there is

a statistically significant effect of age, as an increase in age by one year is associated with an increase in the odds of having strong feelings of national identity, with an odds ratio of 1.016, 95% CI [1.009, 1.023], $p < 0.001$. The third model adds sex as the second control variable, thereby including all independent variables. Sex and years of education have no statistically significant effect on feelings of national identity, $p = 0.127$ and $p = 0.365$, respectively. Age, on the other hand, still has the same statistically significant effect as in model 2.

Furthermore, by checking the model fit, the model that predicts feelings of national identity the best can be determined. Normally the model fit would be tested using multiple tests, including Pearson and Deviance goodness-of-fit tests. However, most cells were sparse with zero frequencies in more than 60 percent of cells in each model, which means that the goodness-of-fit tests will not provide reliable results for this data. Therefore, the model fit will be determined only using the likelihood-ratio test. The model with the highest statistically significant χ^2 is the model with the best fit, as it shows the difference between the -2 Log Likelihoods of the intercept-only model and the final model with the added independent variables. Since this is a multiple imputation dataset, the χ^2 for each imputation iteration will be shown in Table 3. The model that has the highest statistically significant, combined χ^2 is the best fit model. Therefore, model 3 is the model that fits best with this data, with all χ^2 's being over 25, as well as statistically significant, $p < 0.001$.

Table 3.*Ordinal regression model of the effect of education on national identity*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Years of education	-0.063* (0.939)	-0.032 (0.968)	-0.026 (0.974)
Age		0.016*** (1.016)	0.016*** (1.016)
Sex			
Sex = 1			-0.237 (0.789)
Sex = 2			0.000a (1.000)
<hr/>			
χ^2			
Original data	6.549* (102.523, 95.974)	10.296** (163.645, 153.349)	26.523*** (868.415, 841.892)
Imputation 1	5.649* (403.842, 398.192)	11.458** (480.129, 468.671)	36.611*** (1489.585, 1452.874)
Imputation 2	8.912** (399.409, 390.496)	15.514*** (474.348, 458.834)	37.113*** (1485.293, 1448.180)
Imputation 3	4.068* (419.222, 415.154)	7.543* (488.929, 481.386)	28.488*** (1520.650, 1492.162)
Imputation 4	8.815** (419.281, 410.466)	9.734** (486.841, 477.107)	30.904*** (1515.253, 1484.349)
Imputation 5	9.598** (403.542, 393.943)	11.519** (472.802, 461.282)	31.341*** (1457.141, 1425.800)
N	1219	1219	1219

Note: Ordinal regression coefficients from “pooled” data with odds ratio in brackets. Model fit χ^2 with intercept-only and final -2 Log Likelihoods in brackets.

a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Discussion

The results indicate that 1) there is a statistically significant effect between years of education and national identity without controlling for age and sex and 2) when controlling for age and sex, the effect of years of education becomes statistically insignificant, and instead age becomes the main significant influential factor.

Regardless of the significant effect between education and national identity in model 1, it is not what was hypothesized. In fact, the results support the opposite effect that an increase in years of education, makes it more likely that an individual has a *weaker* sense of national identity. This result is not in line with the theoretical framework established earlier, as more education should lead to a stronger sense of national identity according to this theory. However, this effect could be explained by the incongruity between the Japanese government's

perspective of education for national identity and the public's view on it, which was mentioned discussing previous research. Since moral/patriotic education is part of the curriculum, all Japanese people should have had it. Study shows that intrinsic motivation has a positive effect on learning effectiveness, while extrinsic motivation has the opposite effect (Zacone & Pedrini, 2019, p. 1381). The individuals opposed to patriotic education, only have an extrinsic motivation to study it, as it is part of the curriculum. In turn, this could lead to a decrease in learning effectiveness leading to the weaker sense of national identity, despite the increase in years of education. Another explanation for the found effect, might be the proportion of the opposed public that are teachers. The literature review briefly touches upon the Teachers' Union's (JTC) opposition to teaching national identity in the post-occupation years. As some teachers might still be against it, their teaching may not be the way the government intends it to be taught, and therefore not (correctly) transferring patriotic feelings to students or maybe even passing on anti-patriotic ideas. In turn, this might lead to the measured effect of a weaker sense of national identity with more years of education. Following this clarification for the measured effect, the established theoretical framework does hold, as the changing content leads to a different result.

Furthermore, adding the control variables age and sex led to education having no significant effect. Age, however, did have a significant effect indicating that the older an individual is, the more likely it is for them to have a strong sense of national identity. This could be explained by Japan's nationalistic education in the past. As mentioned earlier while discussing the literature, before and during World War II, Japanese nationalistic education was very prominent and all eras of the curriculum were being used to endorse national identity and nationalistic sentiment (Parmenter, 1999, p. 455). There is a realistic chance that the older generation of respondents experienced this and came to have a stronger sense of national identity, which would explain the measured results.

Even though the results are not in line with the hypothesis, they do provide new insights on the relationship between education and national identity. Since there were little to no articles to be found on the effectiveness of education for teaching national identity, this research contributes by expanding that section of the literature. Nevertheless, there are some limitations to this study and its results, which should be considered before drawing conclusions. There were many missing values due to unanswered questions, which were replaced using multiple imputation. Although the imputations are based on existing values, SPSS Statistics could never exactly reproduce what the actual answers would be, which limits how accurately the results represent reality. Still, it produces estimates that are unbiased, which provides more validity

than other methods to approach missing data. In addition, being able to use all the data, preserved sample size, as well as statistical power (McCleary, 2002, p. 339). The advantages outweigh the disadvantages, so it was the best choice to still produce somewhat generalizable results. Moreover, it is beyond the scope of this study to control for all the variables that are potentially confounding. As children spend 85 percent of their time awake outside the classroom, there many factors unaccounted for (Medrich, 1982, p. 229). Yet, the research question specifically focuses on the influence of formal education whereas all activities outside the classroom are non-formal education, informal education or not even education at all. Thus, for the purpose of answering the research question, the results are still valid.

Despite the research question being answered, more research is needed to build a solid argument about the effect of education on feelings of national identity. Future research could focus more on non-formal and informal education in relation to national identity and the role of teachers in transferring ideas of national identity. This will help to start build a foundation of literature for this underexposed topic.

Conclusion

This research aimed to examine the effectiveness of education on feelings of national identity among the Japanese population. A statistical analysis was done and the model that best predicted the data indicated that there is no significant effect of years of education on national identity. Instead, the results indicated that an increase in age leads to a higher chance of people having a strong sense of national identity. These unexpected results are followed by a set of new questions; How does age affect national identity? Should national identity even be part of education? If education does not influence individuals' national identity, does it influence their identity at all? If so, in what ways? To better understand the implications of the relationship between Japanese patriotic education and Japanese national identity, future studies could address the former questions and build upon this research. Although more research needs to be done on this topic to understand the full scope of effects, this study provides a great starting point.

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