

# UTokyo ROLES Survey SAFER

(Security, Alliance, and Foreign Engagement Research project)

Oct 2024



東大先端研

Research Center for  
Advanced Science and Technology  
The University of Tokyo

# ROLES

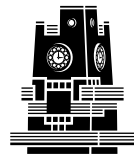
# UTokyo ROLES Survey – Oct 2024

Security, Alliance, and Foreign Engagement Research (SAFER) project

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## **Aim and Scope of this Survey:**

The primary purpose of this survey is to elucidate how people perceive Japan's diplomacy, national security, and the international situation surrounding Japan. The media have conducted similar surveys on these themes in the past. Nonetheless, the questions were often limited in scope and conducted sporadically. Thus, they were not necessarily designed to capture long-term trends. Our survey aims to understand the public's perceptions amid the rapidly changing international environment surrounding Japan. Further, it seeks to examine them from a long-term perspective while comparing them with similar surveys conducted in other countries to achieve a deeper understanding.

## **On our 1st Survey:**

The Japanese public's sense of crisis regarding the security environment was evident in this first edition of the survey. Against perceived threats from China, North Korea, and Russia, there was noticeable support for strengthening the Japan-U.S. alliance and for closer ties with Taiwan, Australia, the U.K., and NATO. However, the logic of security is not overwhelming. Some 45% of respondents agreed with the statement, "Japan must not use force under any circumstances." In comparison, about 60% are against Japan developing its own nuclear weapons or hosting U.S. nuclear weapons on its soil. The survey shows that it is impossible to understand the Japanese people's attitudes toward security without considering the pacifism that has defined post-war Japanese society. We will continue to monitor the dynamics surrounding the logic of security and pacifism.

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## Methodology

Survey Title: UTokyo ROLES Survey – SAFER (Security, Alliance, and Foreign Engagement Research)

Survey Period: August 2-3, 2024

Sample Size: N=1990 (after eliminating satisficers)

Margin of Errors: 2.20% (Confidence level 95%)

Survey Mode: CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing)

Population: Japanese citizens aged 18 -79.

Sampling Method (Quota sampling):

Stratification: Stratified by sex, age group, and region\* of residence based on census data.

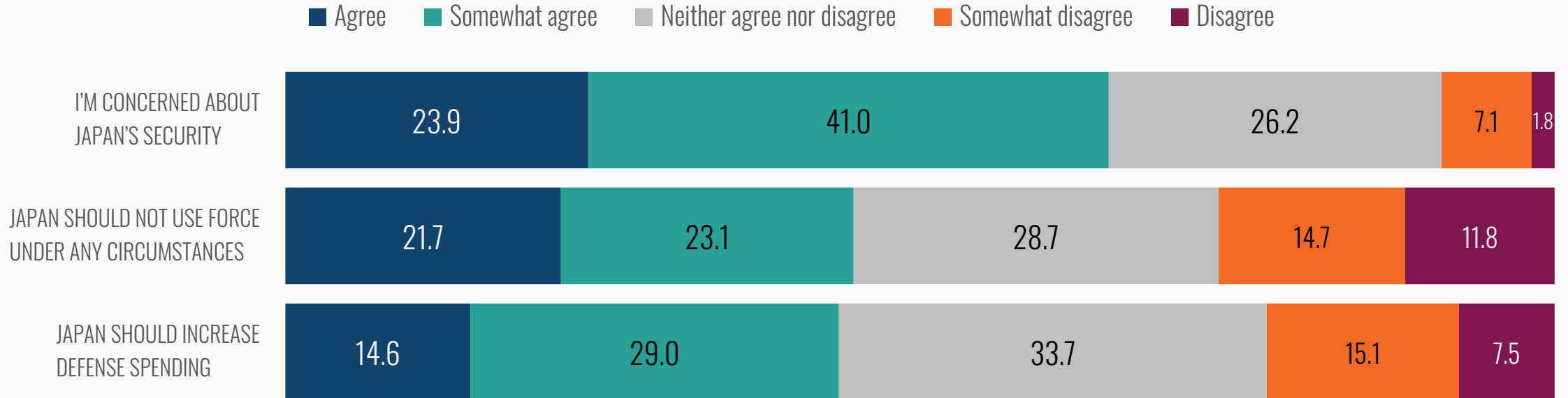
\* 7 regions; Hokkaido/Tohoku, Kanto, Chubu, Kinki, Chugoku, Shikoku, and Kyushu/Okinawa

Sample: Distributed to registered monitors of Rakuten Insight, Inc. via Survey Research Center, Co.,LTD.

This survey was approved by the IRB - The Ethics Review Expert Committee, The University of Tokyo (Review No. 23-363).

# Survey Results

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (%) n = 1990



- 65% of respondents expressed concern about Japan's security.
- 45% of respondents think that force should not be used under any circumstances.
- Those who favor an increase in defense spending are twice as likely as those who are against it.

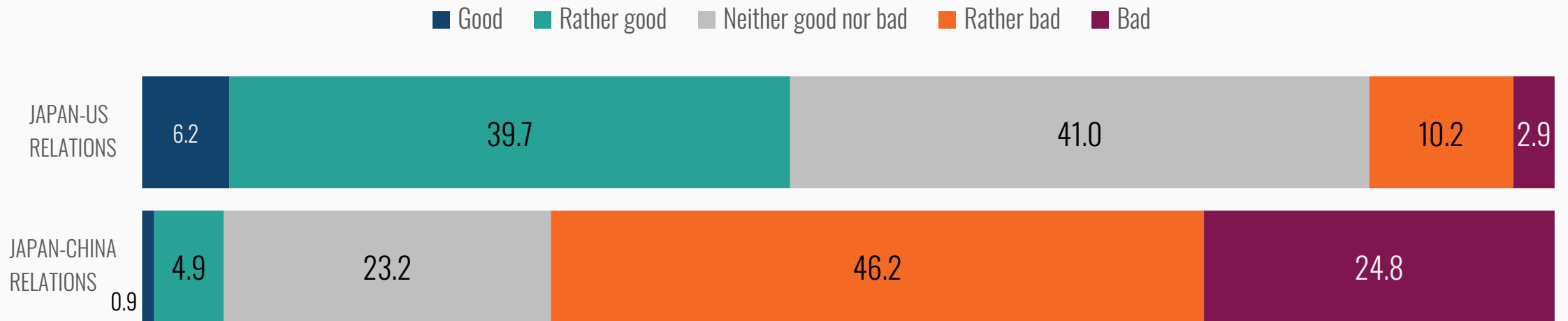
Do you approve or disapprove of how the current Japanese government handles foreign and security issues in general?  
(%) n = 1990

■ Approve   ■ Somewhat approve   ■ Neither approve nor disapprove   ■ Somewhat disapprove   ■ Disapprove



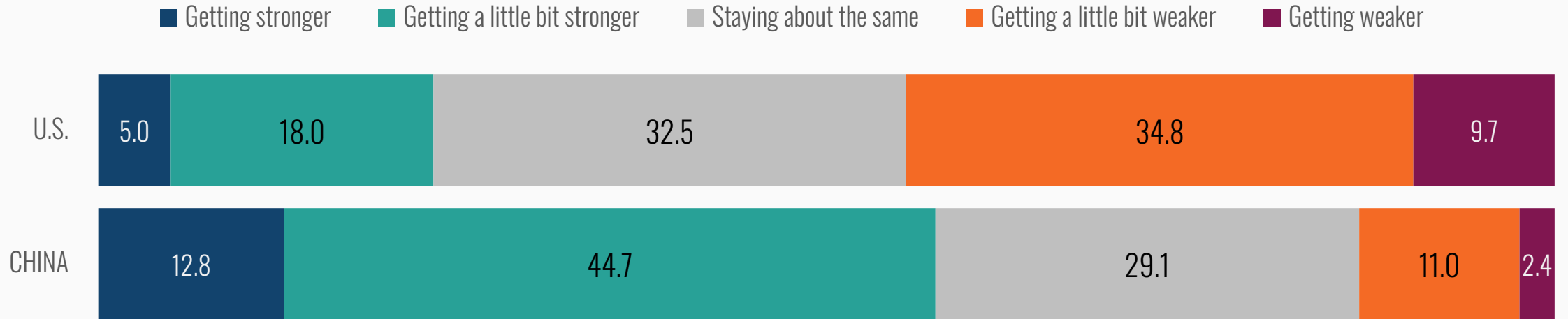
➤ There are more people who are not in favor of the current administration's handling of foreign policy and security issues.

Do you think the current Japan-U.S. and Japan-China relations are good or bad? (%) n = 1990



➤ While nearly half of the respondents view Japan-U.S. relations as good, the majority view Japan-China relations as bad.

Do you think the U.S./China influence in the world is currently getting stronger or weaker? (%) n = 1990

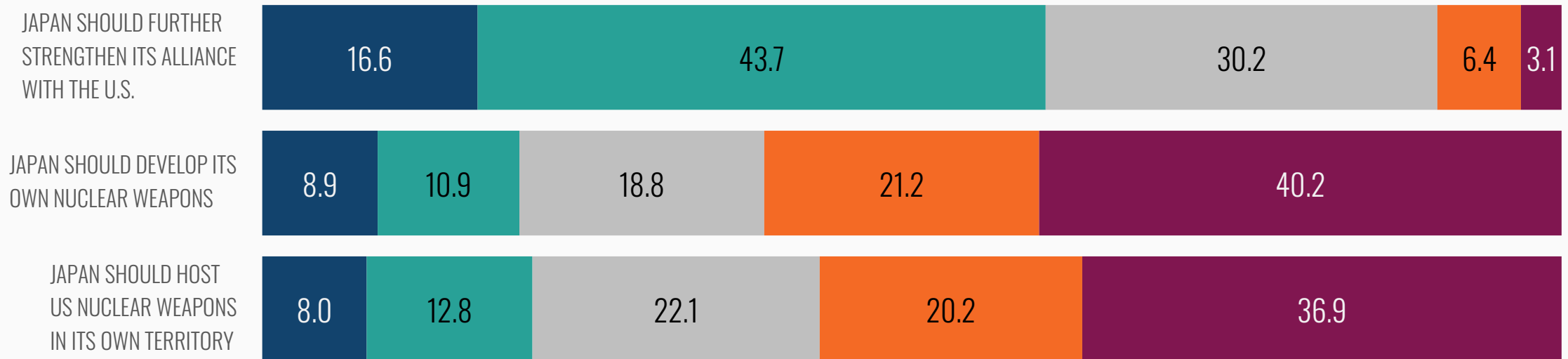


➤ While 45% of respondents assess that the U.S.'s global influence is declining, 58% see China's increasing global influence.



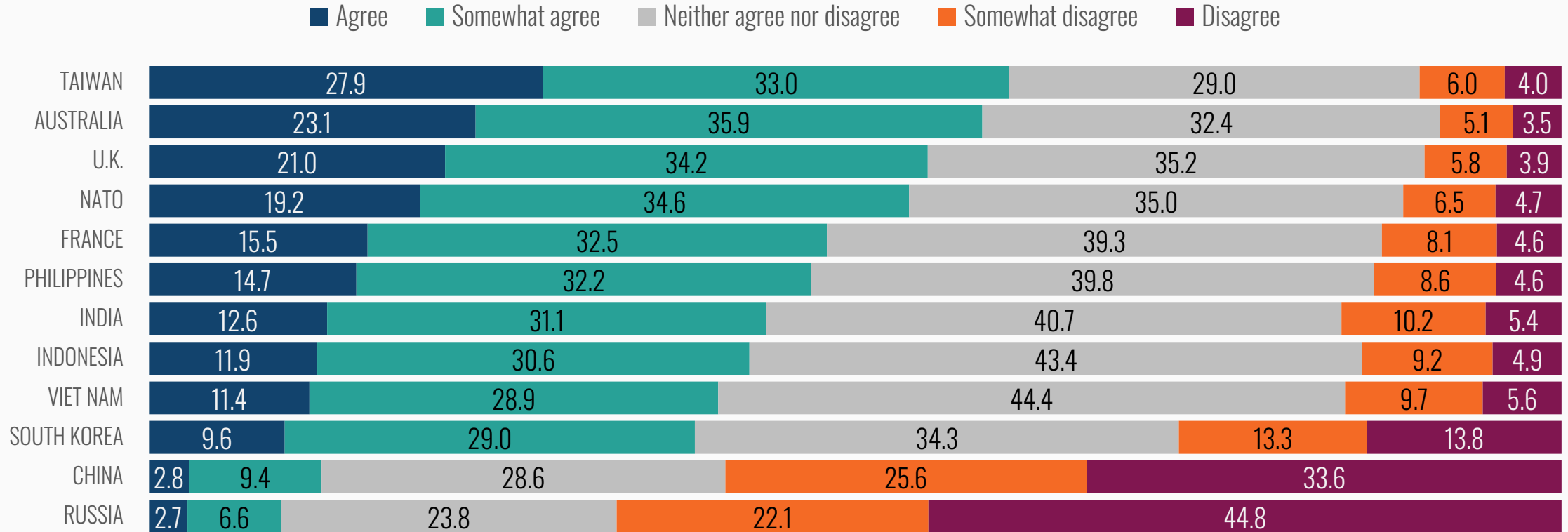
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (%) n = 1990

■ Agree   
 ■ Somewhat agree   
 ■ Neither agree nor disagree   
 ■ Somewhat disagree   
 ■ Disagree



- 60% of respondents favor strengthening the Japan-U.S. alliance.
- 61% of respondents oppose Japan developing its own nuclear weapons.
- 57% of respondents are opposed to the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in Japan (a form of so-called “nuclear sharing”).

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Japan should strengthen security and defense cooperation with the following countries other than the U.S.? (%) n = 1990



- Support for security and defense cooperation with the above countries outweighed the opposition, except China and Russia.
- In particular, there is a majority of support for security and defense cooperation with Taiwan, Australia, the United Kingdom, and NATO.
- Support for security and defense cooperation with South Korea outweighed opposition, but support is relatively low.

Do you agree or disagree with the view that U.S. nuclear weapons make Japan more secure and safe? (%) n = 1990



➤ Those who believe Japan's security is protected by the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" have outweighed those who do not.

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Japan should join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) ? (%) n = 1990

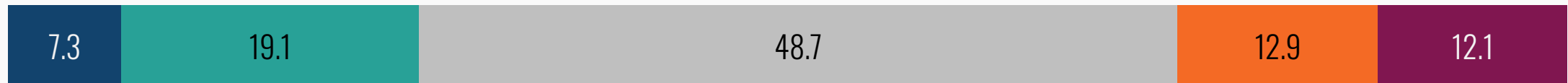
■ Agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Disagree



(Respondents who choose “Neither,” “Somewhat disagree,” or “Disagree”)

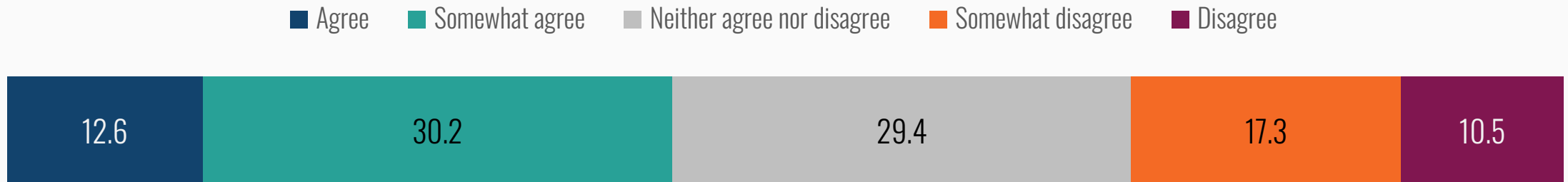
Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Japan should join the TPNW as an observer? (%) n = 949

■ Agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Disagree



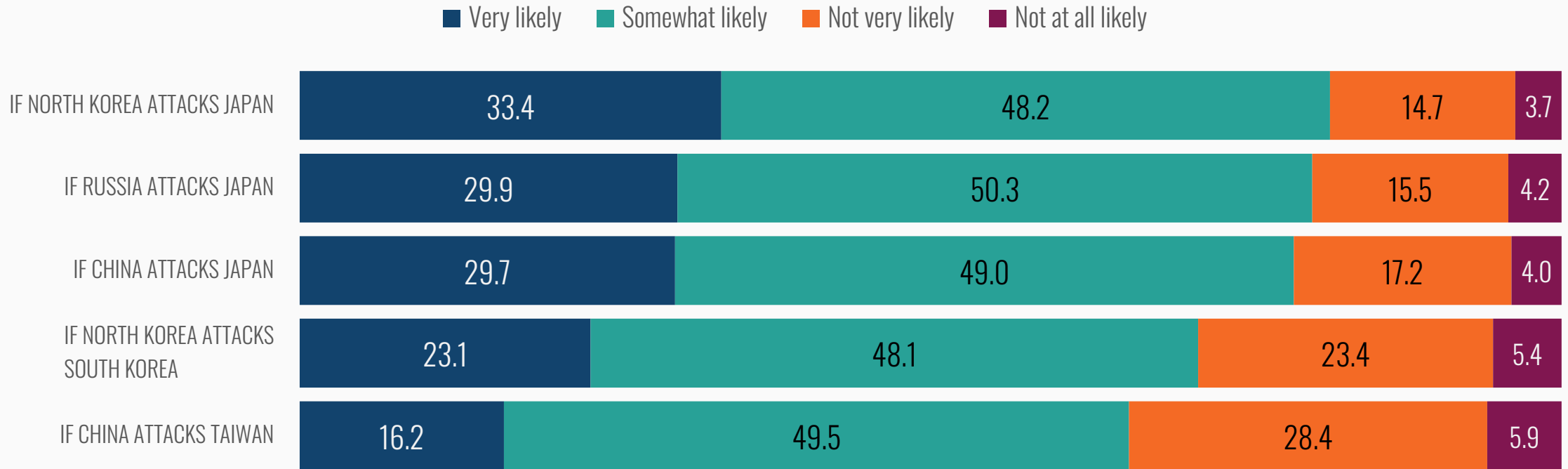
- Half of the respondents are in favor of joining the TPNW.
- Nearly half of the other respondents answered “Neither” to whether Japan would participate as an observer.

Currently, U.S. military bases in Japan are concentrated in Okinawa, and the burden on Okinawa is excessive. Conversely, there is an opinion that even if the burden on Okinawa is excessive, the current concentration of bases is unavoidable because of Okinawa's strategic importance. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion?(%) n = 1990



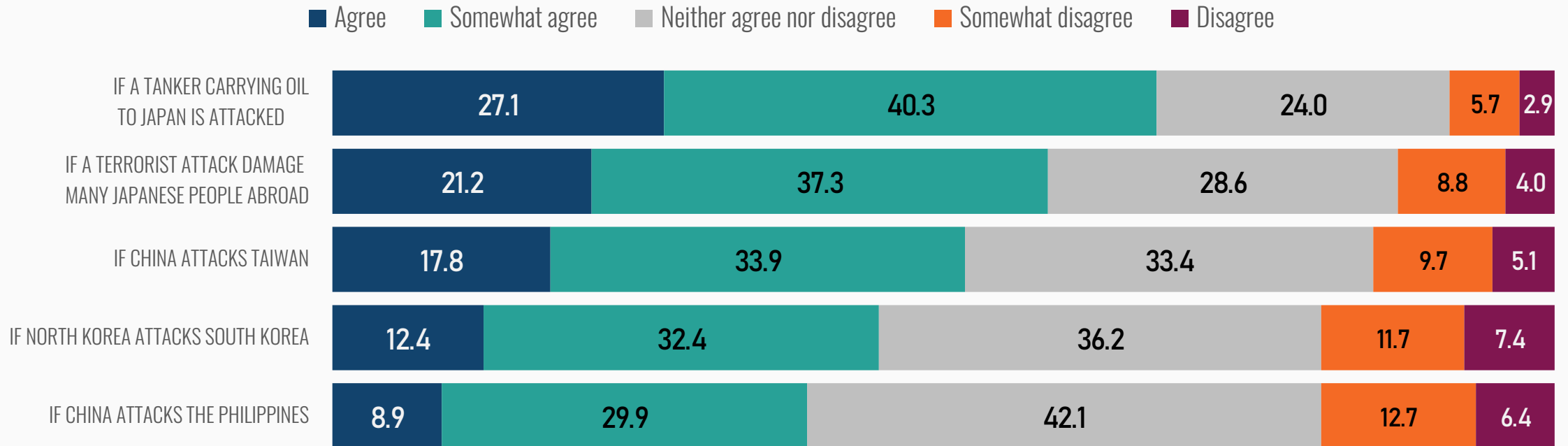
- 43% of respondents believe that the current situation, in which U.S. military bases are concentrated in Okinawa due to its strategic importance, is unavoidable, even if the burden on Okinawa is excessive.

How likely do you think the U.S. would militarily intervene if the following circumstances happened?(% n = 1990



➤ The majority of respondents believe that the U.S. is likely to intervene militarily when North Korea, Russia, or China attacks Japan.

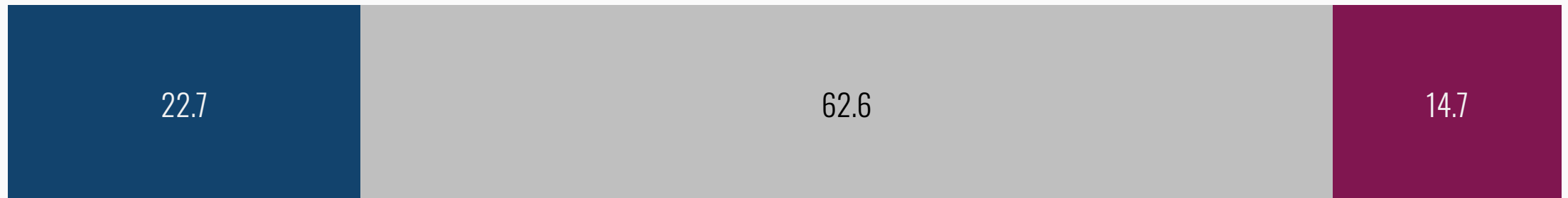
Japanese government defines a “Survival-Threatening Situation” as “a situation where an armed attack against a foreign country that is in a close relationship with Japan occurs, which in turn poses a clear risk of threatening Japan's survival and of overturning people's rights to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness fundamentally.” Do you agree that “Survival-Threatening Situation” applies to the following situations? (%) n = 1990



- There are more respondents who consider that “Survival-Threatening Situation” applies to all situations.
- However, in the case of Korean contingency or Chinese attack on the Philippines, fewer respondents consider these scenarios “Survival-Threatening Situation.”

Which of the following statements closes your opinion about the right of collective self-defense? (%) n = 1990

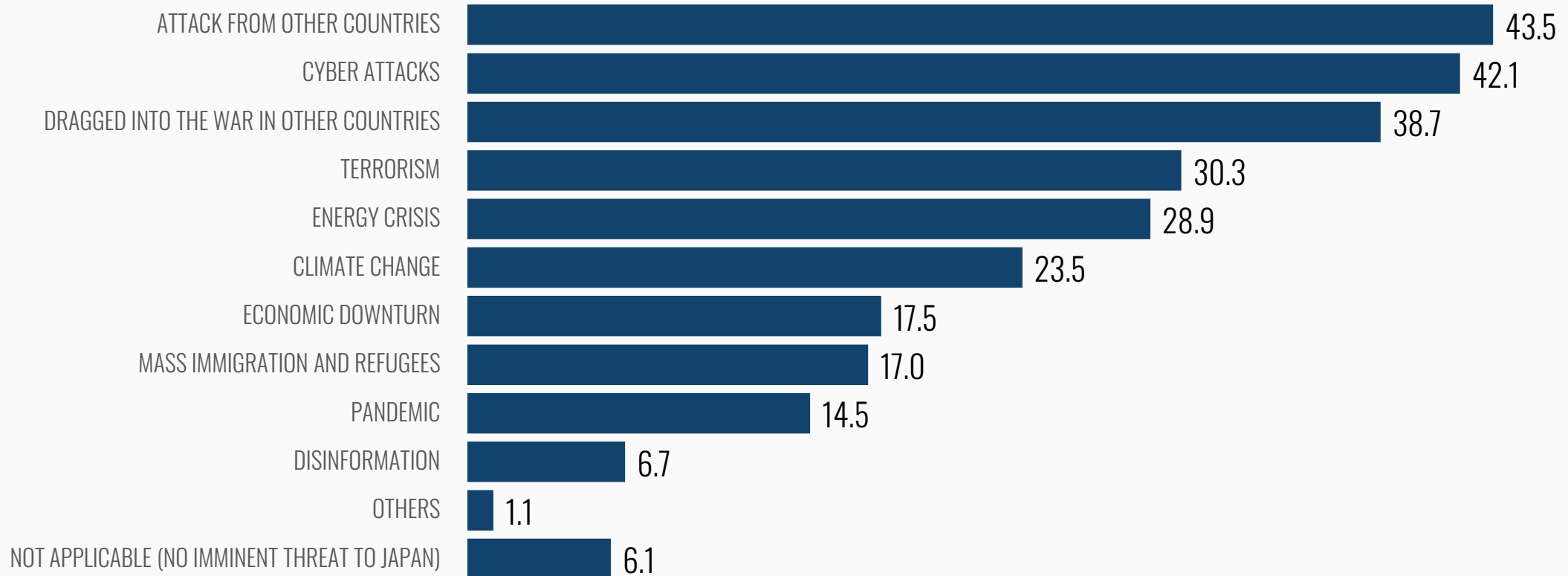
- Full recognition of the exercise of the right of collective self-defense (e.g. fighting with U.S. troops on the battlefield)
- Maintaining the status quo
- The exercise of the right of collective self-defense should not be recognized under any circumstances (Only the exercise of right of individual self-defense is permitted)



- Over 60% of respondents called for “maintaining the status quo” regarding exercising the right of collective self-defense.

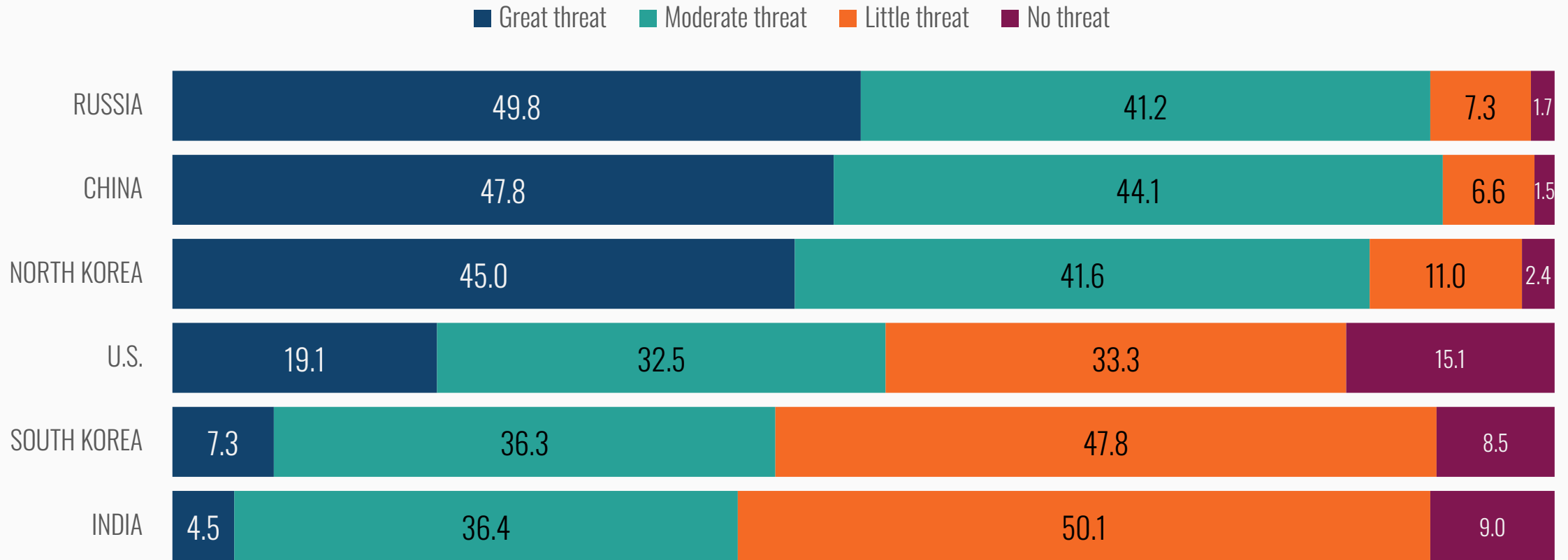


Please select three of the following options that you believe are imminent threats to Japan's security. (up to 3; %) n = 1990



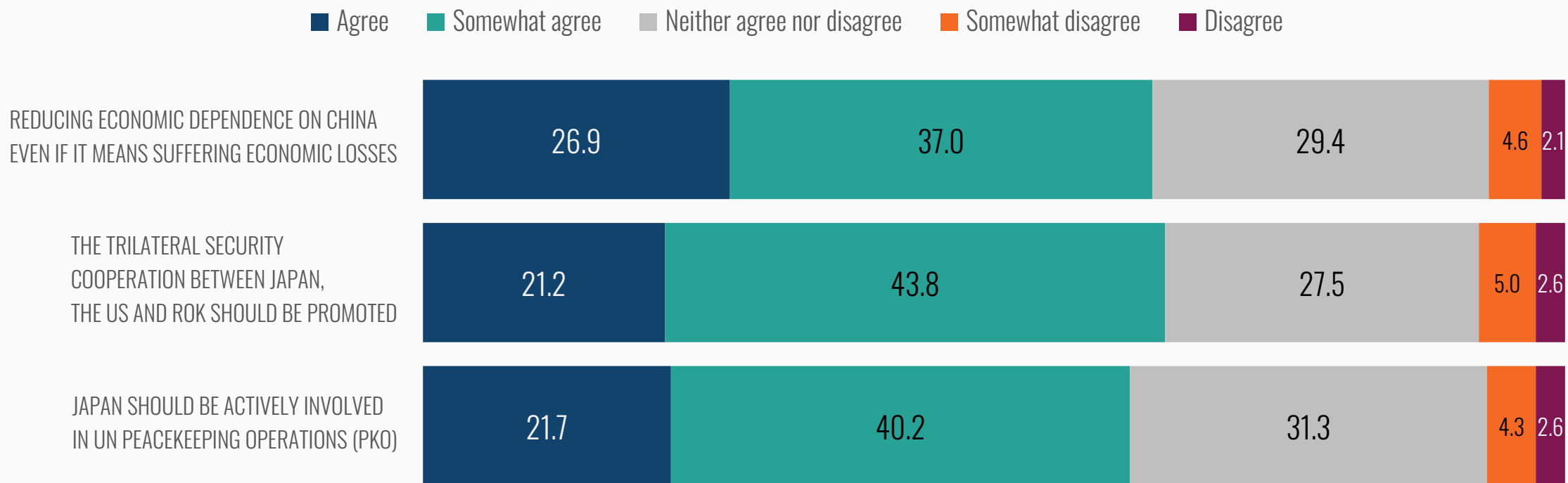
- The top three immediate threats to Japan's security are (1) “being attacked by another country,” (2) “cyber attacks,” and (3) “being dragged into a war in other countries.”

To what extent do you think each of the following countries is a threat to Japan's security? (%) n = 1990



- A substantial number of respondents perceive Russia, China, and North Korea as threats to Japan's security. Furthermore, approximately half of the respondents view the U.S. as a threat.

## Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (%) n = 1990



- 64% of respondents think that Japan should reduce its economic dependence on China even if it means suffering economic losses.
- 65% of respondents think that trilateral security cooperation between Japan, the U.S., and South Korea should be promoted.
- 62% of respondents think that Japan should be more actively involved in Peacekeeping Operations.

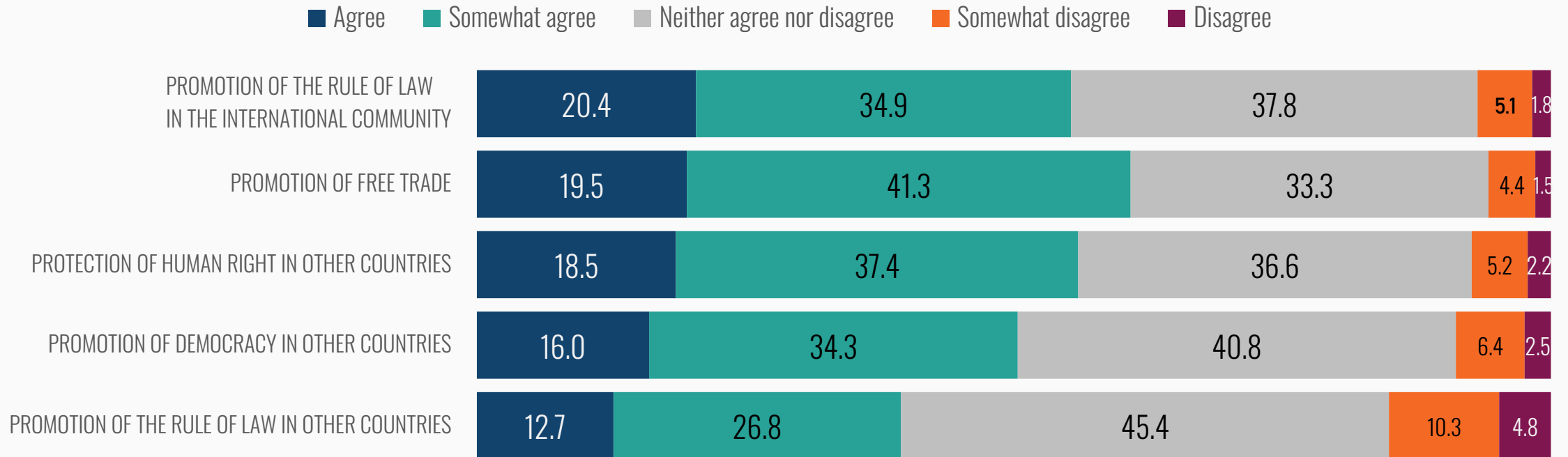
What kind of relationships should Japan build amid growing U.S.-China strategic competition with both countries? (%) n = 1990

- Japan should strengthen its relations with the United States rather than with China
- Japan should be equidistant to the US and China
- Japan should strengthen its relations with the China rather than with the United States
- I don't know



➤ As U.S.-China competition intensifies, half of the respondents believe Japan should strengthen its relationship with the U.S. rather than China.

Do you agree or disagree that Japan should pursue the following values as diplomatic goals, even in conflict with other countries?  
 (%) n = 1990



- The majority of the respondents support pursuing values such as “the rule of law in the international community,” “promotion of free trade,” “protection of human rights in other countries,” and “democracy in other countries” as diplomatic goals, even if this leads to conflict with other countries. In particular, there was more support for “promotion of free trade.”

How should Japan get involved in each of the following cases? Please select as many of the following options as you like. (%) n = 1990



- “Economic sanctions” are perceived as the most preferred option for Japan's involvement in the event of a crisis in Korea or Taiwan.
- Approximately 20% of respondents chose “Japan should not get involved in any form.”