



# UTokyo ROLES Survey SAFER

(Security, Alliance, and Foreign Engagement Research project)

Mar 2025



東大先端研

Research Center for  
Advanced Science and Technology  
The University of Tokyo

# ROLES

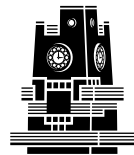
# UTokyo ROLES Survey – Mar 2025

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

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<https://roles.rcast.u-tokyo.ac.jp> / X: @roles\_hq / FB: @roleshq

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Cover photo: [MSDF, Joint Integrated Training Exercise bet. the US and Japan in 2021](#)

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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 2nd Survey:**

There was no significant change in the Japanese public's overall perception of diplomatic and security issues, despite changes of administrations in both the U.S. and Japan. There continues to be a sense of unease about the security environment against the backdrop of perceived threats to China, Russia, and North Korea, and there is notable support for strengthening the Japan-U.S. alliance. The survey also revealed that 60-70% of respondents believe that Japan could be involved in a Korean or Taiwanese contingency. On the other hand, opposition to the use of force, Japan's own nuclear development, and the deployment of nuclear weapons by the United States remains high. We will continue to observe the dynamics surrounding the logic of security and pacifism that we saw in the previous issue.

## **Past Survey:**

SAFER October 2024 (<https://roles.rcast.u-tokyo.ac.jp/publication/20241002en>)

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## Methodology

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

Survey Period: February 17-18, 2025

Sample Size: N=2000

Margin of Errors: 2.19% (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.

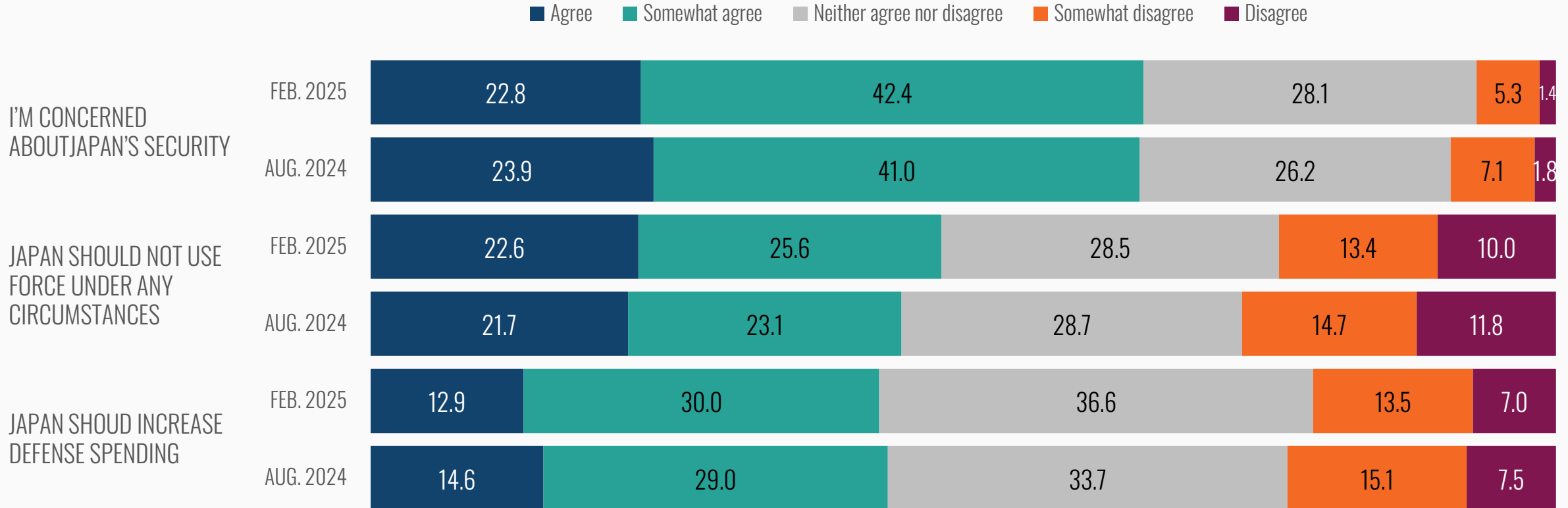
\* 7 regions; Hokkaido/Tohoku, Kanto, Chubu, Kinki, Chugoku, Shikoku, and Kyushu/Okinawa

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).

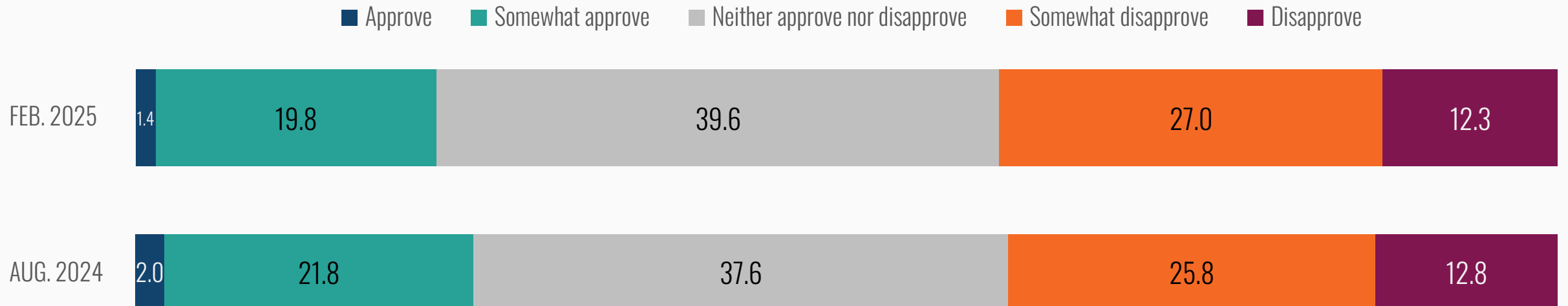
# Survey Results

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (%) n = 2000



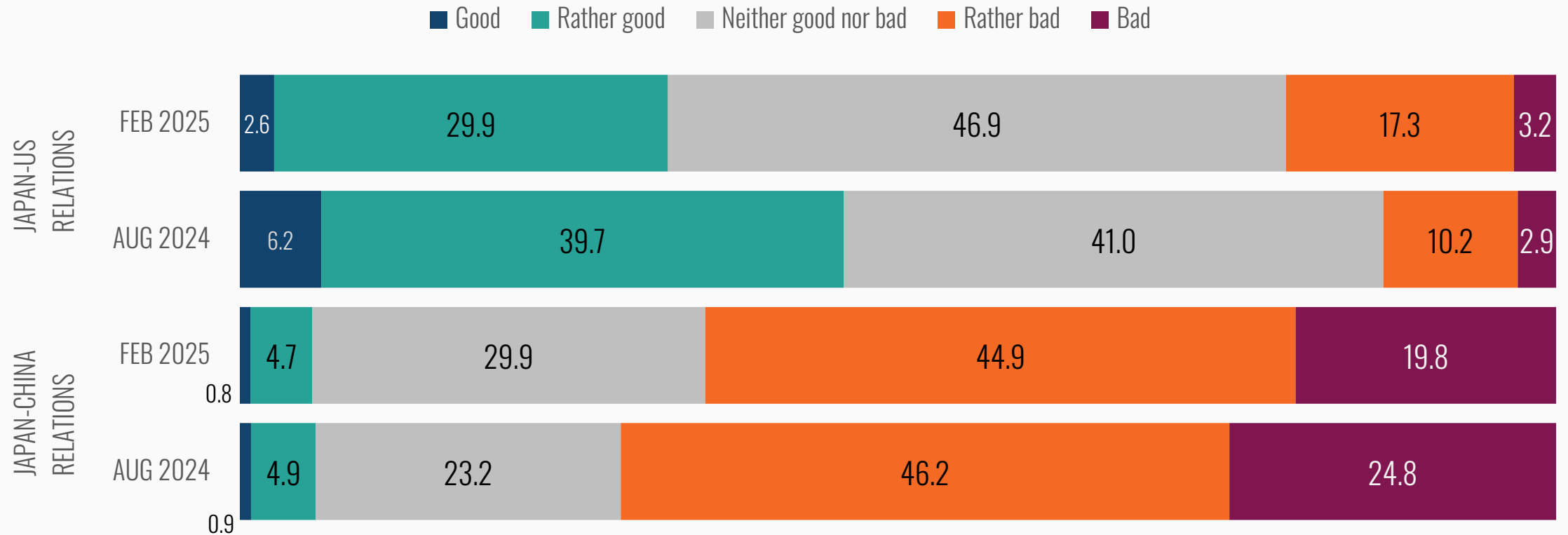
- 65% of respondents expressed concern about Japan's security.
- Over 45% of respondents think that force should not be used under any circumstances.
- Those who favor an increase in defense spending are twice as likely as those who are against it.

Do you approve or disapprove of how the current Japanese government handles foreign and security issues in general?  
(%) n = 2000



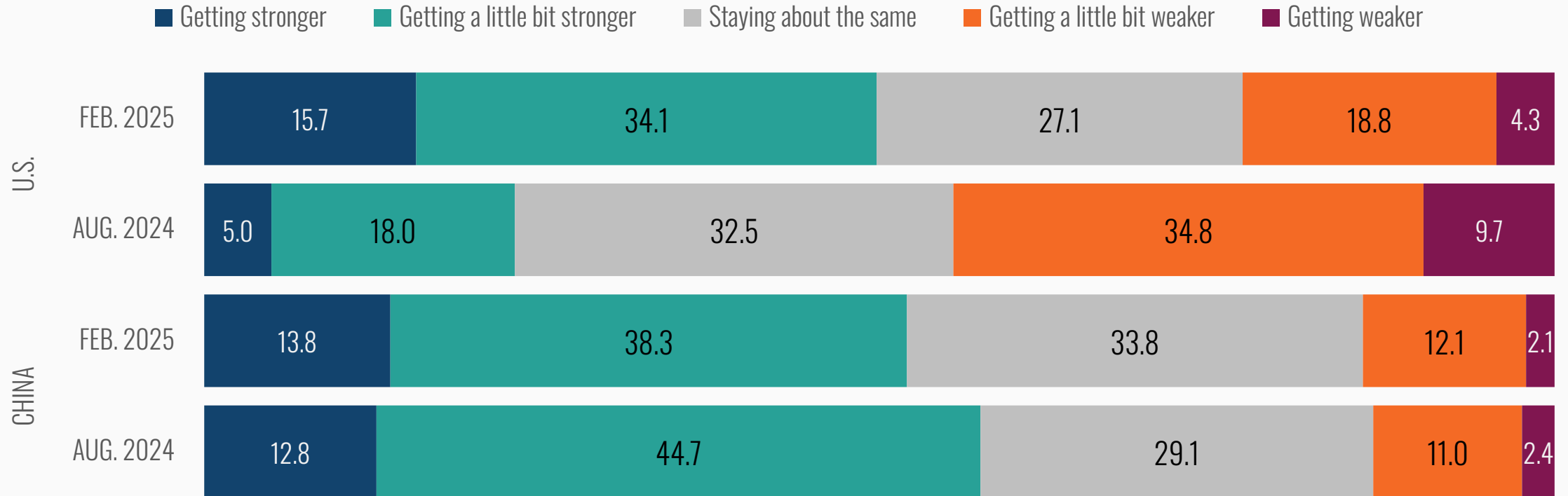
➤ There are more people who are not in favor of the current administration's handling of foreign policy and security issues.

Do you think the current Japan-U.S. and Japan-China relations are good or bad? (%) n = 2000



- About 30% of the respondents view Japan-U.S. relationship as good, a decrease from the previous survey.
- The majority view Japan-China relations as bad.

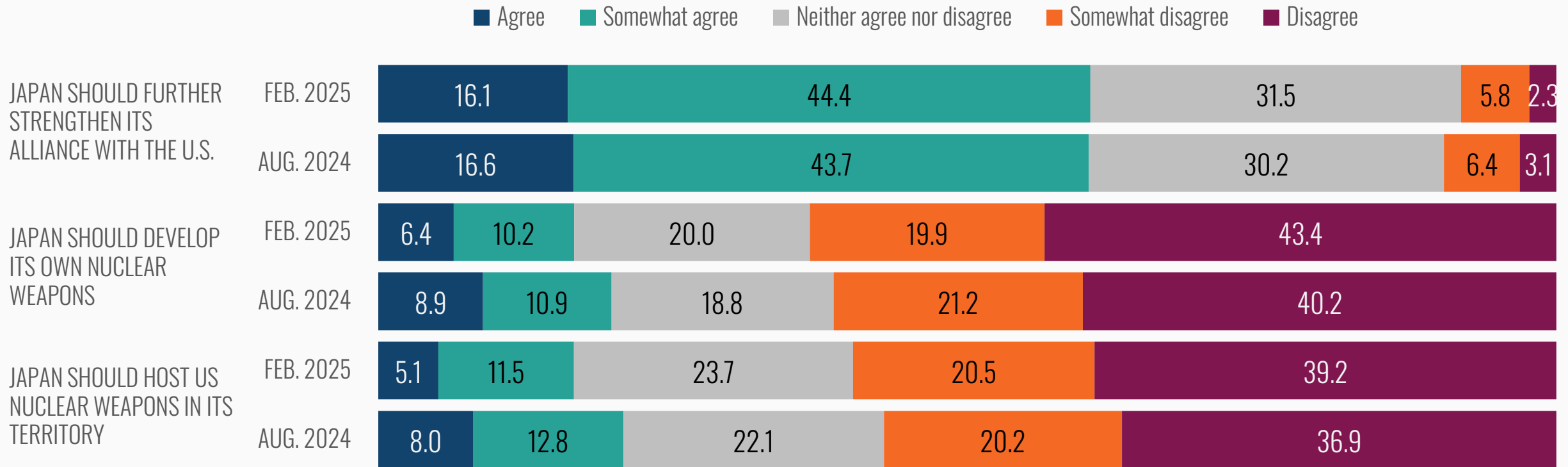
Do you think the U.S./China influence in the world is currently getting stronger or weaker? (%) n = 2000



- About 50% of respondents assess that the U.S.'s and China's global influences are getting stronger.
- The percentage of respondents who say that U.S. influence is growing stronger has increased since the last survey.



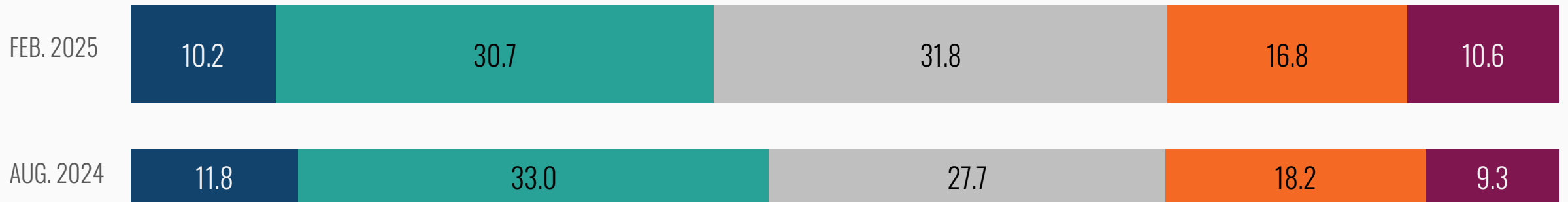
## Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (%) n = 2000



- About 60% of respondents favor strengthening the Japan-U.S. alliance.
- About 60% of respondents oppose Japan developing and hosting its own nuclear weapons.
- Slight change in attitudes toward nuclear weapons compared to previous survey

Do you agree or disagree with the view that U.S. nuclear weapons make Japan more secure and safe? (%) n = 2000

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



➤ 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 = 2000

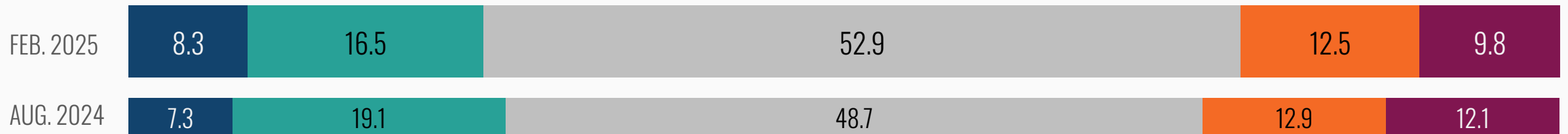
■ Agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Disagree



(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 = 984

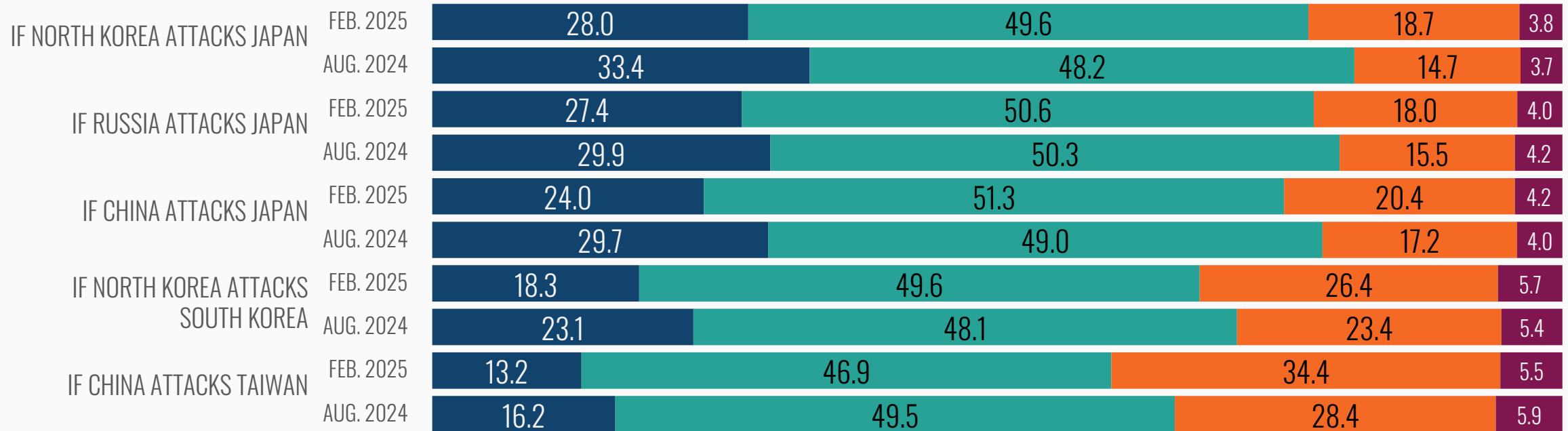
■ Agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Disagree



➤ Half of the respondents are in favor of joining the TPNW.

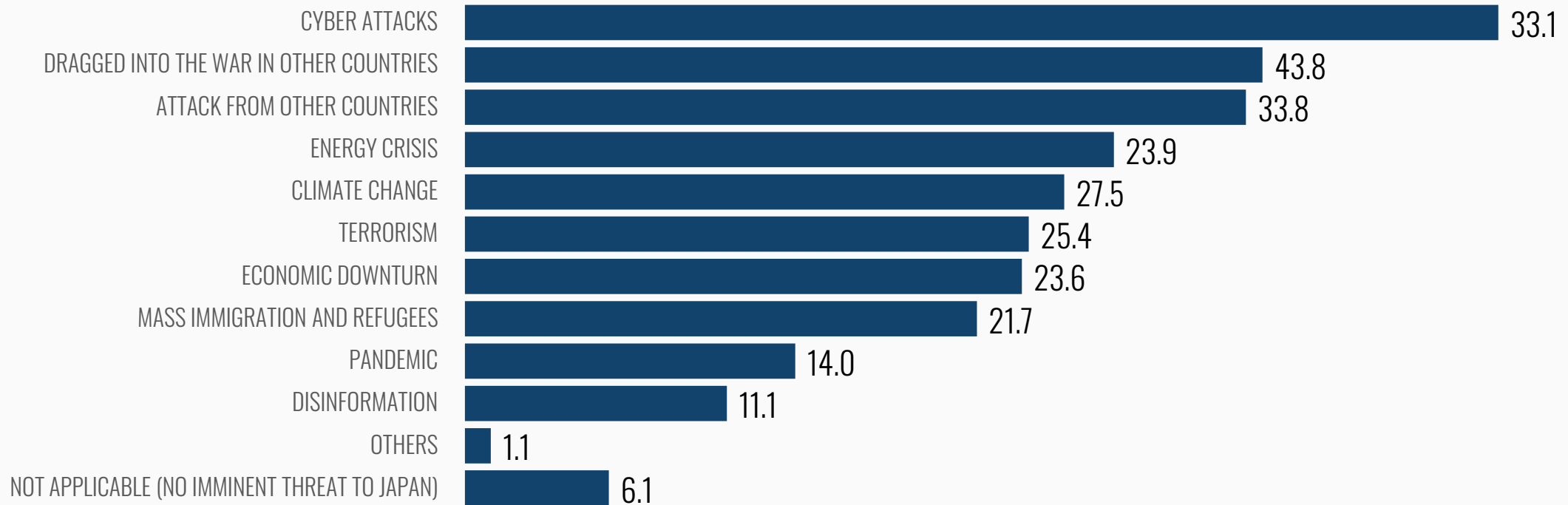
How likely do you think the U.S. would militarily intervene if the following circumstances happened?(%) n = 2000

■ VERY LIKELY ■ SOMEWHAT LIKELY ■ NOT VERY LIKELY ■ NOT AT ALL LIKELY



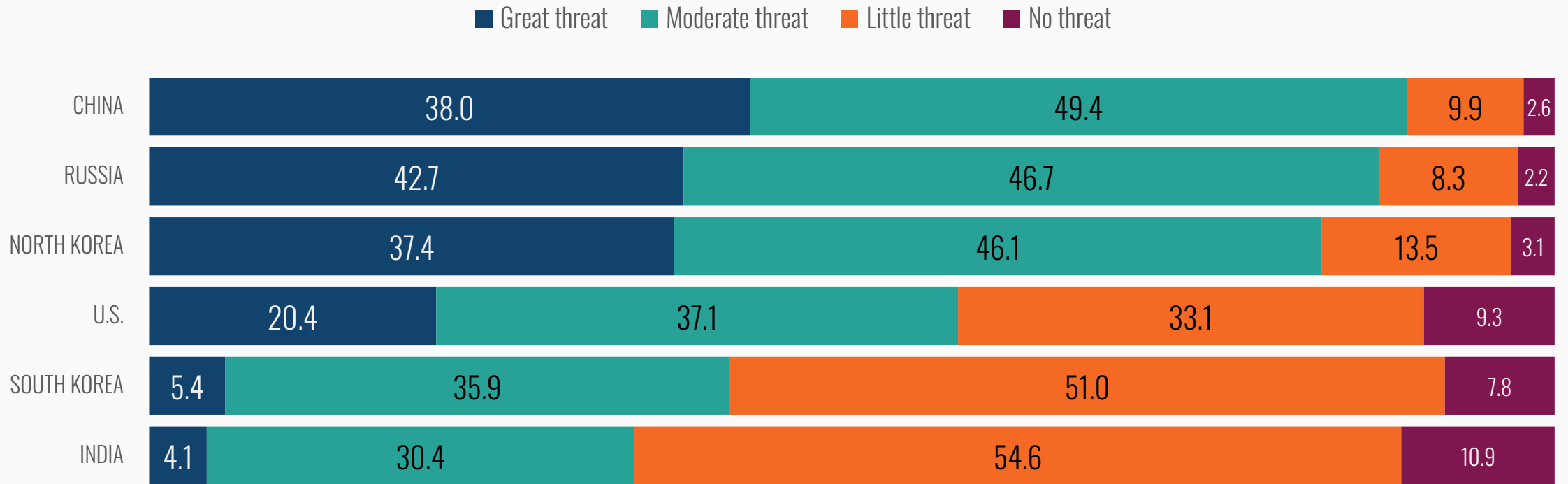
- The majority of respondents believe that the U.S. is likely to intervene militarily when North Korea, Russia, or China attacks Japan.
- However, the percentage of those who think so has decreased since the last survey

Please select three of the following options that you believe are imminent threats to Japan's security. (up to 3; %) n = 2000



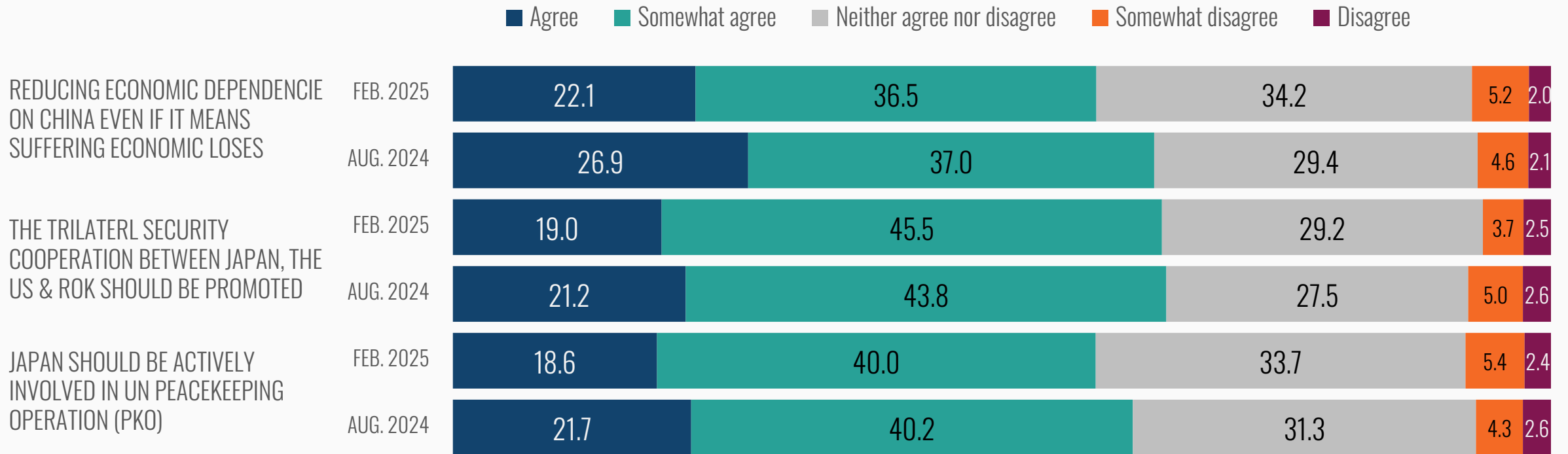
- The top three immediate threats to Japan's security are (1) “cyber attacks,” (2) “being dragged into a war in other countries,” and (3) “being attacked by another country”.

To what extent do you think each of the following countries is a threat to Japan's security? (%) n = 2000



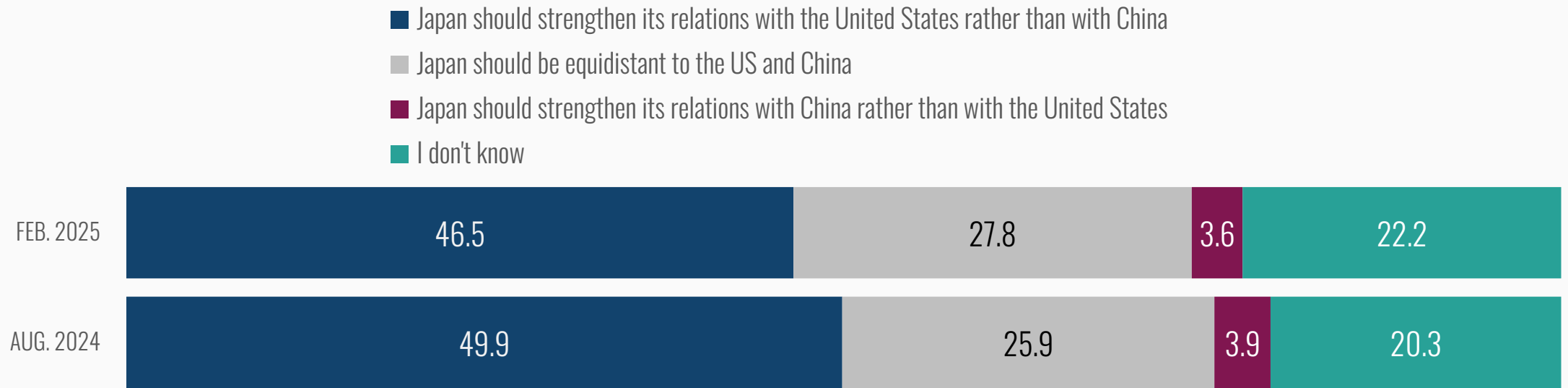
- A substantial number of respondents perceive China, Russia, and North Korea as threats to Japan's security. Furthermore, approximately half of the respondents view the U.S. as a threat.

## Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (%) n = 2000



- About 60% 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.
- About 60% of respondents think that Japan should be more actively involved in Peacekeeping Operations.

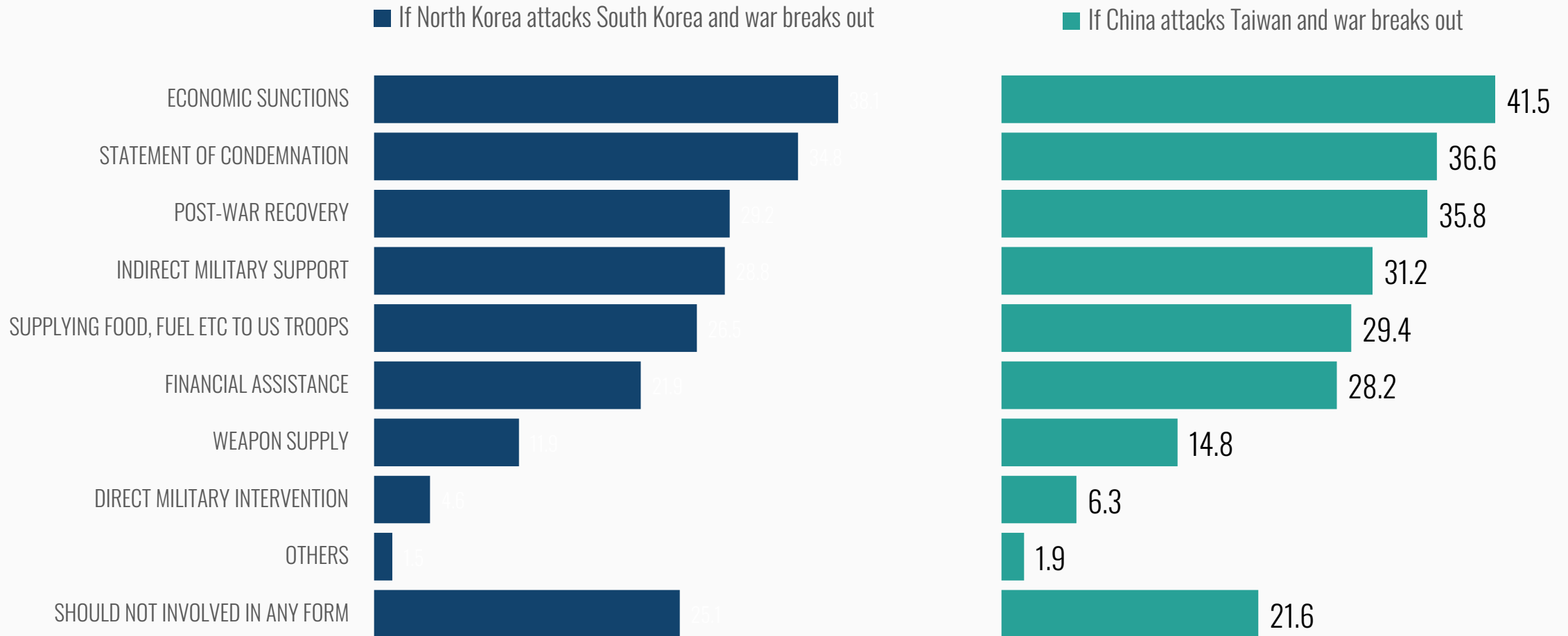
What kind of relationships should Japan build amid growing U.S.-China strategic competition with both countries? (%) n = 2000



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



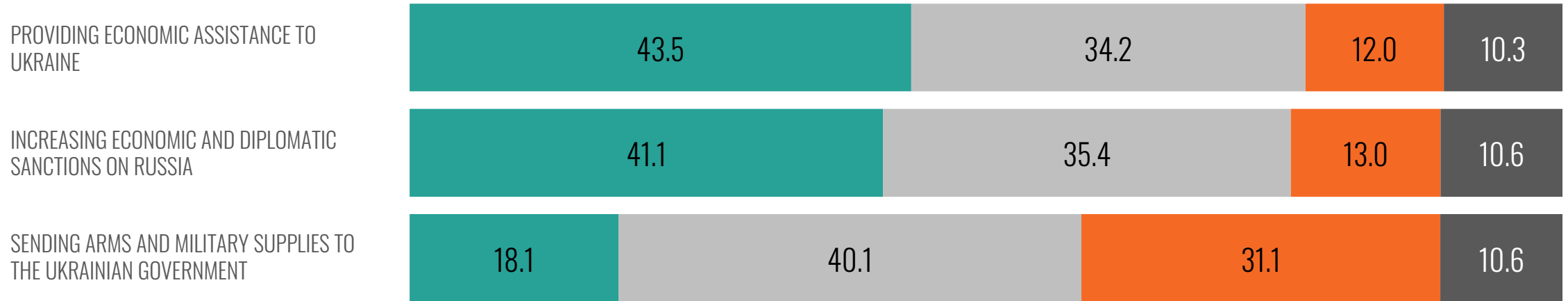
How should Japan get involved in each of the following cases? Please select as many of the following options as you like. (%) n = 2000



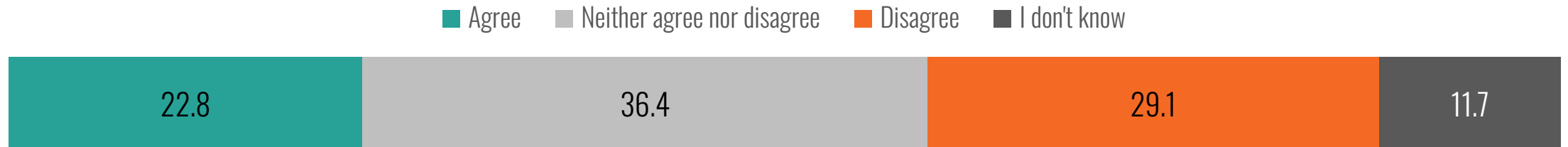
- “Economic sanctions” are perceived as the most preferred option for Japan's involvement in the event of a crisis in Korea or Taiwan.
- More than 20% of respondents chose “Japan should not get involved in any form.”

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, would you support or oppose Japan. (% support) n = 2000

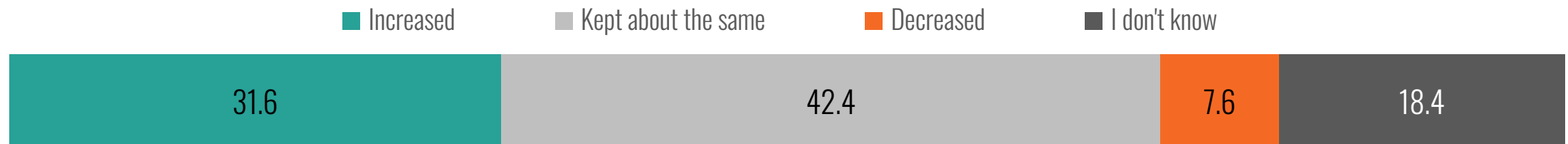
■ Support ■ Neither ■ Oppose ■ I don't know



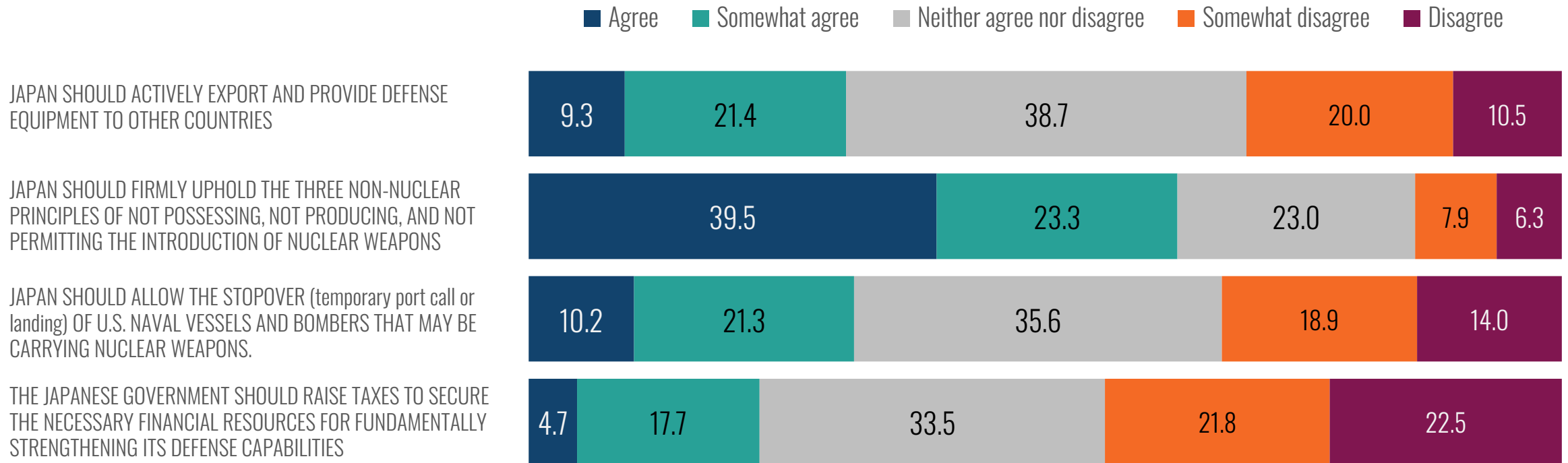
Japan has provided Ukraine, which is under invasion by Russia, with bulletproof vests, helmets, protective masks, protective clothing, small drones and emergency food, and other supplies. Do you agree or disagree Japan providing Ukraine with decommissioned air defense missiles in the future? (%) n = 2000



In your opinion, should the economic sanctions imposed on Russia by Japan be increased, decreased, or kept about the same as they are now. (%) n = 2000

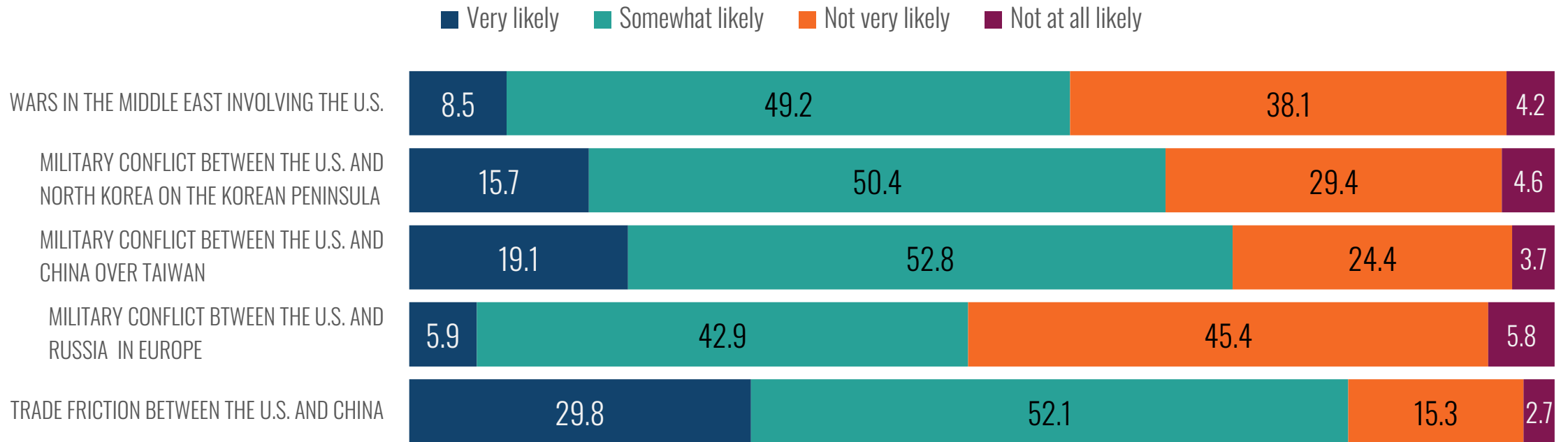


## Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (%) n = 2000



- Approximately 60% of respondents agree upholding the Three Non-nuclear Principles.

How likely do you think it is that Japan will get involved in the following situation? (%) n = 2000



➤ 60-70% of respondents believe that Japan could be involved in a Korean or Taiwanese contingency.