<Survey Overview>

Between May and July 2014, Japanese nonprofit organization The Genron NPO and East Asia Institute (EAI) have conducted joint public opinion polls targeting the Japanese and South Korean public. The objective of this survey is to continue monitoring the state of mutual understanding and awareness of the Japanese and South Korean public, in order to contribute closing the gap in the awareness between the two societies, promoting mutual understanding.

The result of this survey will also be reported and utilized in the private-sector dialogue between Japan and South Korea (Japan-Korea Future Dialogue), which was established last year aiming to improve the relationship between the two countries.

The opinion poll in Japan was conducted from May 31 to June 22, through the door-to-door home-visit method targeting the men and women over the age of 18 (excluding high school students). The number of total valid responses obtained was 1,000. The final academic qualifications of respondents were as follows: elementary/middle school certificate 12.4%, high school certificate 48.4%, junior college/technical college certificate 19.3%, university bachelor’s degree 17.3%, and university master’s degree or above 1.2%.

On the other hand, the opinion poll in South Korea was conducted from June 10 to 26, through a method of face-to-face interviewing targeting men and women over the age of 19. The number of total valid responses obtained was 1,004. The final academic qualifications of respondents were as follows: lower than elementary school certificate 8.9%, middle school certificate 7.3%, high school certificate 34.4%, university/college student (currently studying or quit school) 15.2%, university bachelor’s degree 31.8%, and university master’s degree or above 2.5%.

At the same time, between the early June to the end of June, the Genron NPO and EAI have conducted an additional survey targeting intellectuals in Japan and South Korea. On the Japanese side, the same questionnaires were sent to approximately 6,000 domestic intellectuals who have previously participated in discussion and surveys organized by The Genron NPO. Among those, answers were obtained from 633 intellectuals. On the South Korean side, questionnaires composed of 25 questions which were excerpted from the questionnaires were sent to approximately 5,000 intellectuals by email. Among those, answers were obtained from 424 intellectuals. Those respondents are considered to represent a stratum of well-rounded intellectuals in Japan and South Korea. The survey targeting intellectuals is designed to complement the results from the general public opinion poll.
1. Impression on One Another’s Countries

1-1. Impressions on One Another’s Country Among the Japanese and South Korean Public

The impression of South Korea among the Japanese public was further aggravated. Although the impression of Japan among the South Korean public had slightly improved, 70% still had negative impression on Japan.

The percentage of Japanese respondents who answered that they had a “favorable” impression or “relatively favorable” impression of South Korea remained at 20.5%, while the percentage of those who had an “unfavorable” or “relatively unfavorable” impression reached 54.4%, which was 17.1 points higher than the last year’s result (37.3%). On the other hand, the percentage of South Korean respondents had a “good” or “relatively good” impression of Japan was 17.2%, which had improved in comparison with last year’s result. The percentage of those who answered that they had an “unfavorable” or “relatively unfavorable” impression was 70.9, which was 5.7 points higher than last year’s result, yet around 70% of them had a negative impression on Japan.

【Chart 1 Impression of One Another’s Countries】

※The data for “Favorable” impression includes both “Favorable” and “Relatively favorable” responses. The data for “Unfavorable” impression includes both “Unfavorable” and “Relatively unfavorable” responses.
1-2. Reasons Behind the Impressions Between the Two Countries

Historical issue and territorial dispute had negative impact on mutual impressions.

As for the reason why the South Korean public had unfavorable impressions of Japan, over 70% of the respondents answered “Inadequate repentance over the history of invasion” and “Continuing conflicts on the issue of Dokdo” respectively. "Unfavorable words and actions by Japanese politicians" was over 20%. In comparison, the Japanese raised the concern with “criticism of Japan over historical issues” at 73.9%, which was much higher than last year (55.8%).

As for the reason for positive impression, “Interest in South Korean TV drama and music” was raised as most by Japanese respondents, and the South Korean side, “Japanese people are kind and earnest” and “Japan is a developed country with a high living standard” were the major reasons. “Both countries are democratic” did not reach 20%, and it was not directly linked to positive impressions of one another’s countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart 2 Reasons for Negative Impressions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.9% - Criticism of Japan over historical issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.9% - Continuing conflicts on the issue of Takeshima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.5% - Incomprehensible nationalism in behavior and ideas</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.2% - Bringing political issues into sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.0% - Emotional conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1% - Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2% - No particular reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4% - No response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.8% - Inadequate repentance over the history of invasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.6% - Continuing conflicts on the issue of Dokdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5% - Discrimination against South Koreans in Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3% - Difference between tatemae (official stance) and hon-ne (true stance) in Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3% - Uneasiness about Japan’s “conservative swing”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.9% - Unfavorable words and actions by Japanese politicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.7% - Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.7% - No particular reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.7% - No response</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1-3. Change in Impression of One Another’s Countries Over the Past Year

More than 50% of Japanese respondents and more than 40% of South Korean respondents answered their impressions of one another’s countries had “Worsened”.

Regarding the impressions of one another’s countries over the past year, the percentage of Japanese respondents who answered that it had “worsened” (including “greatly worsened” and “relatively worsened”), was 52.6%, which was 13 points higher than that of last year. On the South Korean side, respondents who answered “worsened” (same as the above) was 46.7%, which was on the same level as last year. Meanwhile, those respondents who choose “no substantial change” was 42.6% (52.9% last year) among Japanese, and 50.1% (29.7% last year) among South Korean respondents, and there was no sign of improvement of the trend.

1-4. Awareness of Issues on Current National Sentiment between Japan and South Korea

60% of Japanese respondents and about 70% of South Korean respondents think that the worsening national sentiment is “undesirable” and “problem”.

Regarding the worsening national sentiment, 29.8% of Japanese respondents answered that “this is an undesirable situation, I have concerns”. Moreover, over 31.4% of Japanese respondents also answered that “there is a problem and it needs to be resolved”. On the other hand, although South Korean respondents who answered that “this is an undesirable situation, I have concerns” is 23.3%, almost half of the respondents (46.4%) answered that “there is a problem and it needs to be resolved”. In total, 69.7% of
the Japanese and South Korean respondents consider the current national sentiment as a problem. Those who answered that worsening national sentiment was “the situation is natural and can be understood” remained at about 20% on both Japan and South Korea sides.

【Chart 4  Recognition of Current Situation between Japan and South Korea】

※This question was asked to the respondees who replied that in the past year the “Changes in impressions of one another’s countries” showed “No substantial change”, had “Relatively worsened” or had “Greatly worsened”.
2. Basic Understanding of One Another’s Countries

2-1. Current Status of Mutual Understanding

The Japanese public perceives South Korea through its culture and recent events. The South Korean public perceives Japan through territorial dispute and history.

In response to the question “what will come up when one another’s countries are mentioned?” Japanese respondents showed various interests, such as “Korean cuisine” (46.0%), “Korean TV drama and K-POP” (36.3%) and “sinking of the MV Seoul” (38.2%). Although the “issue of Takeshima Island” (36.7%) and “comfort women” (31.0%) were also significant, the Japanese public opinion is not concentrated on these issues. Whereas, South Korean respondents’ answers show their concerns over the conflicts between Japan and South Korea, especially on the “issue of Dokdo” (66.5%) and “comfort women” (55.8%), then followed by “unfavorable words by politicians” (24.3%) and “the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe” (19.7%). The South Korean respondents who answered “Japanese cuisine”, “high-quality industrial products”, “Mount Fuji”, “sakura”, “manga/anime” etc. were all remaining at around 10%. In response to the question on “historical events or incidents in Japan and South Korea that you know” the most prevalent answer among the Japanese was “Seoul Olympics” (67.0%), followed by “Japan/South Korea World Cup” (63.0%). On the other hand, the top answers on the South Korean side concentrate on the events of World War II. “Japanese invasion of then Korea by Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1592-98)” (86.3%) was the most popular answer, followed by “atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki” and “forced annexation of Korea by Japan”, which was 14 points higher than that of last year. In response to the question on “Japanese/South Korean politician that you know”, the top answer of the Japanese side was “Park Geun-hye” at 79.8%, which had increased significantly from the last year’s 51.9%. On the South Korean side, “Shinzo Abe” was the leading answer at 89.3%, which was 23.1 points higher than last year. While many of the Japanese know other successive presidents of South Korea, only around 10% of the South Korean public knows other successive prime ministers of Japan, except Junichiro Koizumi (55.9%).
2-2. Awareness of the “Social/Political Systems” of One Another’s Countries

Majority of South Korean respondents answered that the current system in Japan is "militarism", while most Japanese respondents answered that the current system in South Korea is "ethnicism".

In regards to the perception of “current social/political system of one another’s countries”, most of the Japanese respondents (44.8%) consider South Korea as “ethnicism”, followed by “nationalist” (32.4%). The Japanese who answered current South Korea as “militarism” was 21.5%. On the other hand, South Korean respondents who answered that currently Japan is “militarism” was the majority answer at 53.1%, which was higher than last year’s result, followed by “nationalism” (35.7%), and “democracy” (24.9%). Despite the fact that Japan has been advocating peace and international cooperation to the world since the end of the war, the South Korean who chose “pacifism” remained at 5.3% and “international cooperation” were a mere 3.9% which did not reach even 10% in total.

【Chart 6  Form of Social/Political Systems in Japan/South Korea】
2-3. How the Respective Counties View One Another’s National Character

The Japanese public views South Korean as “stubborn”, and yet “diligent”, “selfish”, “belligerent” and “untrustworthy”. The South Korean public views the Japanese public as “hardworking”, “kind”, “creative”, yet “selfish”.

The national character of the two countries were judged on the basis of 10 factors, whether the respective country is “kind/arrogant”, “hardworking/lazy”, “pacifist/belligerent”, “flexible/stubborn”, “trustworthy/untrustworthy”, “honest/dishonest”, “creative/imitative”, “cooperative/uncooperative”, “altruistic/egoistic” and “collectivist/individualist.” Regarding one another’s national character, the Japanese respondents answered “neither” on 9 out of 10 sections, which indicates that they are unable to give a clear judgment on the national character of the South Korea.

The other section on “stubborn”, 51.9% of the Japanese respondents perceive that South Koreans are stubborn (the total of “strongly agree” and “relatively agree”, the same shall apply hereafter). More than 40% of the Japanese respondents regarded South Korean as “selfish” (44.7%), “hardworking” (42.9%), “belligerent” (41.3%), “untrustworthy” (41.1%). On the other hand, more than 70% of the South Korean respondents regarded Japanese as “hardworking” (75.6%), “kind” (70.4%), and more than 40% thought Japanese are “selfish” (48.9%) and “creative” (42.1%).
3. Present and Future Japan-South Korea Relations

3-1. How Current and Future Japan-South Korea Relations are Viewed

Increase in the proportion of people who consider Japan-South Korea relations as “bad” by 18.7 points in Japan and 10.4 points in South Korea.

On the current Japan-South Korea relations, the Japanese respondents who view the bilateral relations as “extremely good” were merely 5.0% (11.3% last year). On the contrary, people answering that the relationship is “extremely bad” reached 73.8%, which had increased, by 18.7 points from last year’s result (55.1%). For South Koreans, “extremely good” was 2.3% (3.4% last year) and “extremely bad” had increased to 77.8% from 67.4% last year.

With regard to the past year, 68.1% of Japanese respondents said Japan-Korea relations had “worsened” (the total of “strongly agree” and “relatively agree”, the same shall apply hereafter) was 68.1%. Similarly, 63.2% (53.9% last year) of South Korean respondents said had “worsened”.

On the future of Japan-South Korea relations, the ratios of people who thought the situation would show “No change” from the current difficult state were close to 40% for South Korea and more than 30% for Japan and it was the most popular view in both countries. Furthermore, nearly 40% of the South Koreans chose “will get worse” and it has increased by 12.8 points since last year.

【Chart 7  How Current Japan-South Korea Relations are viewed】

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000)</th>
<th>Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremely good / Relatively good</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremally bad / Relatively bad</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>67.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3-2. What Hinders the Development of Bilateral Relations

“Takeshima/Dokdo issue” is prevalent for both countries, but “Anti-Japanese Sentiment in South Korea” matters for Japanese.

Regarding hindrances on the development of bilateral relations, the “Takeshima/Dokdo issue” was prevalent for both countries: 68.9% (83.7% last year) of the Japanese and 92.2% (94.6% last year) of the South Korean chose the answer.

The second most popular answer for the Japanese was the “Anti-Japanese Sentiment in South Korea,” which comprised 46.6% (55.1% last year), or almost the half of the respondents, then it was followed by “historical awareness and education in South Korea” with 40.0% (33.8% last year). The second leading opinion in South Korea was “historical awareness and education in Japan,” which reached the half-point mark at 52.2% (61.1% last year).
3-3. How the Importance of Japan-South Korea Relations is Viewed

Japan-South Korea relations are viewed as “important” by more than 60% of Japanese and 73% of South Korean despite the severe climate.

People who consider Japan-South Korea relations as “important” (including “relatively important”, the same shall apply hereafter) were the majorities in both Japan (60.0%) and South Korea (73.4%). In Japan, however, there was a significant decrease from the last year’s result* (74.0%) by 14 points.

On the reasons behind the recognition of importance in Japan-South Korea relations, majority of Japanese answered that “because South Korea is a neighboring country” at 60.3%. This was followed by “both countries are allies with the United States and cooperation with each other is necessary for the peace and security in the Northeast Asia region” (45.5%) and “as countries in the same Asian region, there are considerable historical and cultural relations” (42.2%).

In South Korea, “because Japan is a neighboring country” was also the leading answer with 60.4%, then it was followed by “both countries are allies with the United States and cooperation with each other is necessary for the peace and security in the Northeast Asia region” (45.0%) and “there are mutual benefits between Japan and South Korea due to the mutual dependency and cooperation in economy and industries” (42.9%).

【Chart 10  Importance of Bilateral Relations Between Japan and South Korea】
3-4. “Importance” and “Affinity” of Japan-South Korea Relations Compared to China

South Koreans feel more affinity to China than Japan, and regard “relations with China as more important”.

On the question of importance between Japan-South Korea (South Korea-Japan) and Japan-China (South Korea-China) relations, nearly half of the respondents answered that “both are of the same importance” at 47.0% (49.6% last year) for Japanese and at 47.0% (55.0% last year) for South Koreans. It is also worth noting that the response by South Koreans that “South Korea-China relations are more important” had increased from 35.8% (last year) to 43.8%.

On the question of senses of affinity to one another’s countries or to China, the majority of Japanese responded that they feel “more affinity to South Korea” at 37.2% yet it had decreased from 45.5% last year. The second largest answer from Japanese was “no affinity is felt toward either” at 31.8%. On the other hand, South Koreans who responded that they feel “more affinity to Japan” was only 12.3% (13.5% last year). Contrary to this, people who feel “more affinity to China” has reached 38.8% (36.2% last year), which is growing closer to the 40% mark.

【Chart 11 Importance of Japan-Korea (Korea-Japan) Relations and Relations with China】

Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000) Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>2014年 (%)</th>
<th>2013年 (%)</th>
<th>2014年 (%)</th>
<th>2013年 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan-South Korea (South Korea-Japan) relations are more important</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations with China are more important</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both are of equal importance</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither / don’t know</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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【Chart 12  Affinity Toward the Respective Countries】

Public Opinion in Japan  (N=1000)  

- A: 37.2%  (More affinity felt towards Japan/Korea)
- B: 5.0%  (More affinity felt towards China)
- C: 10.2%  (Equal affinity felt toward both)
- D: 31.8%  (No affinity felt toward either)
- E: 15.8%  (Neither/ Don’t know)
- F: 0.0%  (No response)

Public Opinion in South Korea  (N=1004)  

- A: 12.3%  (More affinity felt towards Japan/Korea)
- B: 38.8%  (More affinity felt towards China)
- C: 12.1%  (Equal affinity felt toward both)
- D: 29.3%  (No affinity felt toward either)
- E: 7.6%  (Neither/ Don’t know)
- F: 0.0%  (No response)
4. Leaders’ Meetings and Private-Sector Interchanges

4-1. Are the Japan-South Korea Diplomatic Relations Functioning?

On Japan-South Korea diplomatic relations, more than half of Japanese and 38% of South Koreans think they are “ineffective”.

A question was asked whether the Japan-Korea diplomatic relations are effective at present, the response “think that they are ineffective” (including “think that they are relatively ineffective”) surpassed more than half in the Japanese public survey at 54.8%. And also in South Korea “think that they are ineffective” (including “think that they are relatively ineffective”) was the majority at 38.7%.

【Chart 13  Effectiveness of Diplomatic Activities Between Respective Governments】

4-2. Necessity of Leaders’ Diplomatic Activities and Agendas at Bilateral Talks

About 80% think that leaders’ diplomatic activities are necessary in Japan and South Korea, yet 72% of South Koreans say, “the need exists but there is no urgency”.

Regarding political leaders’ diplomatic activities, about 80% of Japanese and South Koreans think that they are necessary, yet for the timing of diplomatic talks, “the need exists but there is no urgency” polled 40.5% in Japan and 72.4% in South Korea. “Not needed” remained less than 10% in both countries.

On the question of agendas in bilateral talks, 35.6% of Japanese respondents place the major importance over “holistic discussion for betterment of bilateral relationship”, while South Koreans regard “issues on historical understandings and “comfort women” (76.3%) and “territorial dispute over Takeshima/Dokdo island” (70.3%) with the upmost importance. This highlights the high levels of interests in the resolution of
issues regarding “history” and “territory”.

【Chart 14  Necessity of Leaders’ Diplomatic Activities】

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000)</th>
<th>Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The need exists and efforts are required to ensure they must take place as soon as possible</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The need exists but there is no urgency.</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not needed</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4-3. Impression of One Another’s Political Leaders

The majorities of Japanese and South Koreans saw one another’s leaders as “unfavourable”, and more than 75% of Koreans had “unfavourable” impression of Prime Minister Abe of Japan.

Regarding the impression of one another’s leaders, the Japanese respondents who had an “unfavorable or relatively unfavorable” impression of President Park of South Korea amounted to 45.3%, and “favorable or relatively favorable” remained at 7.0%. On the other hand, 75.9% of South Koreans had “unfavorable” impression of Prime Minister Abe of Japan, while “favorable or relatively favorable” was a mere 1.8%.

【Chart 15  Impression of One Another’s Leaders】

Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000)  
- Favorable or relatively favorable: 25.3%  
- Neutral: 49.3%  
- Unfavorable or relatively unfavorable: 10.0%  
- Don’t know: 12.1%  
- Not interested: 0.3%  
- No response: 0.0%

Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)  
- Favorable or relatively favorable: 1.8%  
- Neutral: 10.6%  
- Unfavorable or relatively unfavorable: 70.9%  
- Don’t know: 4.9%  
- Not interested: 6.8%  
- No response: 0.1%
4-4. Views about Visits to Each Other’s Country

People who hope to visit each other’s country exceeded 40% in Japan and 60% in South Korea.

The Japanese respondents who answered that they hope to visit South Korea polled 41.6% (47.7% last year), and South Korean respondents who hope to visit Japan were 60.9% (58.0% last year). These indicate that the Japanese and South Koreans show interest in visiting one another’s countries. In contrast, there were also proportions of people who do not hope to visit each other’s countries at 37.3% (33.9% last year) in Japan and 30.9% (29.5% last year) in South Korea.

4-5. Views about Importance of Private-sector Interchanges among Japanese and South Korean Peoples

Regarding private-sector interchanges, more than 70% of Japanese and South Korean respondents answered that private-sector interchanges are “important”

70.5% (74.7% last year) of Japanese respondents and 72.1% (75.2%) of South Korean respondents answered that private-sector interchanges among Japanese and South Korean are “important” (including those who answered “relatively important”). Both side’s awareness of the importance of private-sector interchanges are high.
5. Historical Issues between Japan and South Korea

5-1. Views of Japanese and South Korean Peoples about Historical Issues

In both countries, there are increases in the perception that issues on historical understanding are difficult to solve. Particularly in South Korea, the majority considers that “relations will not develop if issues of historical understanding are not resolved”

On resolution of issues on historical understanding between Japan and South Korea, the majority of Japanese answered that “even if relations develop, it will be difficult to resolve issues of historical understanding” at 34.7% (32.1% last year), while the optimistic outlook, “as relations develop, issues of historical understanding will be gradually resolved” had decreased from 23.6% (last year) to 20.0%. In South Korea, the majority answered that “relations will not develop if issues of historical understanding are not resolved” at 41.1% (41.5% last year).

On issues of historical understanding which need to be resolved, with 56.1% (54.8% last year) of Japanese respondents, “South Korea’s anti-Japanese education and school textbooks” became the leading answer, and it was closely followed by “South Koreans’ excessive anti-Japanese activities against a background of their understanding of bilateral historical problems” at 54.4% (55.2% last year).

Different from the Japan side, 81.9% (72.4% last year) of the South Korean respondents answered “the problems of Japan’s historical textbooks,” followed by 71.6% (42.0% last year) of the respondents who answered “Japanese people’s understanding of ‘comfort women’”. Respondents who answered that “Japan’s historical understanding of Japan’s invasion of Asian countries” also rose from 51.1% last year to 70.6% this year.

At the same time, however, the survey showed that more and more South Korean people are aware of their own country’s issues as the factors which have been preventing the two countries from reconciling. For example, in comparison to last year’s results, the South Korean respondents who chose “South Korea’s anti-Japanese education and school textbooks” had increased from 7.5% to 27.2%, “South Korean politicians’ remarks about Japan” had increased from 4.0% to 16.4%, and “South Koreans’ excessive anti-Japanese activities over historical understandings” had increased from 3.6% to 16.0%.

【Chart 18  Bilateral Relations and Historical Issues】

Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000) Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)

| A | Relations will not develop if issues of historical understanding are not resolved |
| B | As relations develop, issues of historical understanding will be gradually resolved |
| C | Even if relations develop, it will be difficult to resolve issues of historical understanding |
| D | Don’t know |
| E | No response |

A 24.7% | B 20.0% | C 34.7% | D 0.4% | E 20.2%

A 41.1% | B 23.3% | C 30.6% | D 5.0% | E 0.0%
【Chart 19  Challenges in Issues of Historical Understanding Between Japan and South Korea】

Public Opinion in Japan（N=1000）

- Japanese people's understanding of Japan's invasion of Asian countries
- Japanese historical textbooks
- Lack of remorse and full apology by Japan
- South Korean politicians' remarks about Japan
- South Korean media coverage regarding Japan
- South Korea's anti-Japanese education and school textbooks
- South Koreans' excessive anti-Japanese activities
- There are no major problems to be resolved
- Others
- Don't know
- No response

Public Opinion in South Korea（N=1004）

- Japanese people's understanding of Japan's invasion of Asian countries
- Japanese historical textbooks
- Lack of remorse and full apology by Japan
- South Korean politicians' remarks about Japan
- South Korean media coverage regarding Japan
- South Koreans' excessive anti-Japanese activities
- There are no major problems to be resolved
- Others
- Don't know
- No response

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5-2. Views About Japanese Prime Minister’s Visit to Yasukuni Shrine

About 70% of the Japanese respondents are tolerant toward Japanese prime ministers’ visits to Yasukuni Shrine while 70% of South Korean respondents think “not acceptable”.

43.0% of the Japanese respondents answered that Japanese prime ministers’ visits to Yasukuni Shrine are “no problem” (47.8% last year). Adding up with the 24.9% (27.4% last year) of the Japanese respondents who answered that Japanese prime ministers’ visits to Yasukuni shrine are “no problem if a visit is made as a private citizen”, 67.9% of the Japanese respondents were considered to be tolerant toward Japanese prime ministers visiting the shrine.

On the other hand, 66.5% of the South Korean respondents answered that Japanese prime ministers’ visits to Yasukuni Shrine are “not acceptable, whether a visit is made in an official capacity or as a private citizen”. However, the South Korean respondents who are tolerant toward Japanese prime ministers’ visits to Yasukuni Shrine were less than 30%. Only 3.1% (5.2% last year) of the South Korean respondents answered that Japanese prime ministers’ visit to Yasukuni Shrine are “no problem” and 21.8% (34.4% last year) of the respondents answered “no problem if a visit is made as a private citizen”.

【Chart 20  Japanese Prime Ministers’ Visits to Yasukuni】

Public Opinion in Japan （N=1000） Public Opinion in South Korea （N=1004）
6. The Future of the World, Asia, Japan and South Korea

6-1. Countries and Regions that are Leading the World

Japanese side’s top answer was “the United States”, as a country leading world politics, while South Korean respondents answered “China” as their top answer, followed by “the United States”.

In response to the question “which country or region is going to lead world politics?” Japanese side’s top answer was “the United States” at 47.7% (51.3% last year), followed by the “G-8 or G-7” at 38.3% (24.7% last year). Meanwhile, those who answered “China” were only 14.8% (18.7% last year). On the South Korean side, although those who answered “the United States” had increased from last year’s result 74.8% to 81.2%, their top answer was “China” at 81.9%, which was the second top answer last year at 71.7%.

6-2. Influence of Each Other’s Country in 2030

In regard to the future influence of South Korea on the world, the Japanese side’s top answer was “don’t know”.

Regarding the influence of South Korea in 2030, Japanese side’s top answer was “don’t know” at 40.8% (32.8% last year), followed by the answer that it would be “influential middle power” at 18.5%. On the other hand, regarding the influence of Japan in 2030, the South Korean side’s top answer was that Japan would be “very influential middle power” at 29.6% (29.6% last year). Last year’s top answer that Japan would “remain the third largest economic power of the world” was only 19.3%, which had decreased by 14.8 points from last year.
6-3. Economic Relations between Japan and South Korea

On both sides, the majority answered that one another’s economic development has positive influence on their own countries.

With regard to the economic relations between Japan and South Korea, Japanese respondents who answered that “economic development in South Korea is both beneficial and necessary in Japan” (including “tend to agree”) were 42.8% (45% last year). Japanese people’s understanding about economic relations between the two countries remains positive.

On South Korean side, last year’s top answer to this question was “economic development in Japan is a threat to South Korea” at 47.6%. However, this year’s top answer was “economic development in Japan is both beneficial and necessary for South Korea” at 43.3%, followed by “economic development in Japan is a threat to South Korea” at 37.5% where the positive view surpassed the negative view. In other words, more and more South Korean people consider the economic relations between the two countries as positive for each other.

【Chart 22 Economic Relations between Japan and South Korea】

Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agree with A</th>
<th>Tend to agree with A</th>
<th>Tend to agree with B</th>
<th>Agree with B</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>No response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agree with A</th>
<th>Tend to agree with A</th>
<th>Tend to agree with B</th>
<th>Agree with B</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>No response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A**
Economic growth in South Korea is both beneficial and necessary for Japan.

**B**
Economic growth in Japan is a threat to South Korea.
6-4. Korean Peninsula Situation 10 Years On

With regard to the situation on the Korean Peninsula in 10 years, although both sides' top answer was “cannot be predicted”, more than 20% of South Korean respondents answered that the “movement will start toward reunification”.

Regarding the situation on the Korean Peninsula in the next ten years, the majority of Japanese respondents answered that it “cannot be predicted” at 50.6% (47.1% last year). However, 26.2% of the Japanese respondents answered that it “will remain unchanged”, taken with those who answered, “confrontation with North Korea will intensify” (11.5%), 37.7% of Japanese respondents have pessimistic views on the Korean Peninsula.

Also in South Korea, which is the one of the two countries on the peninsula, 36.6% (39.8%) answered that it “cannot be predicted”, yet the view that the “movement will start toward reunification” has increased significantly over the views that it “will remain unchanged” 23.2% (21.7% last year) and “confrontation with North Korea will intensify” 13.1% (15.4% last year). In the questionnaires by the South Korean intellectuals, the view that “movement will start toward reunification” comprised over the half of answer as same as last year.

【Chart 23 Korean Peninsula Situation 10 Years On】

Public Opinion in Japan （N=1000）

- A Will remain unchanged
- B Confrontation with North Korea will intensify
- C Movement will start toward reunification
- D Cannot be predicted
- E Others
- F No response

Public Opinion in South Korea （N=1004）

- A Will remain unchanged
- B Confrontation with North Korea will intensify
- C Movement will start toward reunification
- D Cannot be predicted
- E Others
- F No response
7. The Territorial Dispute and Security in East Asia

7-1. Territorial Dispute Between Japan and South Korea

60% of Japanese and 80% of South Korean replied that there is a territorial dispute between the two countries.

In regards to the territorial dispute between Japan and South Korea, 61.2% of the Japanese (69.2% last year) and 82.1% of the South Koreans (82.7% last year) responded that there is a territorial dispute between the two counties.

When those recognizing the territorial dispute were asked how this issue could be resolved, the majority of the Japanese (59.2%) responded that the best solution is to “bring the dispute to the International Court of Justice to pursue a solution under international law.” Whereas, most South Koreans (35.3%) responded that “effective control should be strengthened to protect the territory,” and the response that “(your own country) should not hesitate to use force,” which constituted only 2.1% of public opinion in Japan, composed 19.9% of South Korean public opinion. However, there was also no shortage of responses that aimed toward peaceful resolutions from South Korea, and 28.2% of South Koreans responded “a peaceful solution should be found while trying to keep confrontation from intensifying” while 14.3% also responded that “(South Korea) should accept Japan’s possible attempt to bring territorial dispute before International Court of Justice.”
### Chart 25 How to Resolve the Territorial Dispute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000)</th>
<th>Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Korea’s position is unfair and diplomatic negotiations must be undertaken to persuade South Korea to agree that a territorial dispute exists</strong></td>
<td>Japan's position is unfair and should not hesitate to use force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Should not hesitate to use force to get territory back</strong></td>
<td>Effective control should be strengthened to protect territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bring dispute to International Court of Justice to pursue solution under international law</strong></td>
<td>A peaceful solution should be found while trying to keep confrontation from intensifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Virtually accept South Korea’s effective control in order to avoid further confrontation</strong></td>
<td>Should accept Japan's possible attempt to bring territorial dispute before International Court of Justice in pursuit of a solution under international law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Don’t know</strong></td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No response</strong></td>
<td>No response</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7-2. Views on Military Threat and Dispute in East Asia

Both Japanese and South Korean see North Korea as the largest military threat. However, the percentage of Japanese that cite China largely increased, while Japan becomes the second most frequently cited alternative for South Koreans. Furthermore, in South Korea, over 40% replied that they expect a future military dispute to occur between Japan and South Korea.

In both Japan and South Korea, the largest military threat was seen to be North Korea, cited by 72.5% of the Japanese (78.9% last year) and 83.4% of the South Koreans (86.7% last year). In Japan, the second most frequently cited alternative was China, at 71.4% (60.1% last year). This increase from the last year’s result brought China almost on the same level as North Korea. In South Korea, China was the second most frequently cited response after North Korea in last year’s South Korean opinion poll, whereas this year’s survey showed 39.6% for China which is lower than 46.3% for Japan. However, for this year’s survey, South Korean respondents were asked to select two countries from which they felt the largest military threats (the Japanese could choose as many as they liked), so it is difficult to make a simple comparison, but there had been an increase in those that consider Japan to be the second-largest threat. In regards to the possibility of military between Japan and South Korea, the response that it “will not occur” was given by 57.0% of the Japanese. Concern that a military dispute between Japan and South Korea
“will occur within a few years” (0.4%) and “will occur in the future” (8.8%), were expressed by a total of only under 10% of the Japanese. On the other hand, in South Korea, while the response “will not occur” (47.9%) likewise composed the majority, those that foresaw a future military dispute “within a few years” (6.7%) and “in the future” (34.1%) composed over 40% of responses.

【Chart 26  Countries and Areas Considered Military Threats by Japanese and South Korean Peoples】

※Korean respondees were asked to identify up to two countries or areas.
Japanese respondees were not restricted in the number of countries or areas they could identify.

【Chart 27  Will a Military Dispute Occur Between Japan and South Korea?】

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8. Views on Media Coverage and Public Opinion on the Internet

8-1. Is Freedom of Speech and the Press Guaranteed in Japan and South Korea?

In both countries, more than half of those polled raised doubts about the freedom of speech and the press in one another’s countries.

The majority of Japanese, 51.6% (49.1% last year), voiced the perception that “there is no freedom of speech or the press” or that “it is effectively controlled” in South Korea. This trend likewise appeared in South Korea, and 55.0% (51.7% last year) considered there to be “no freedom of speech” in Japan or that “it is effectively controlled.” These opinions thus comprised over half the responses in both countries. While the response that “there is freedom of speech and the press” in Japan accounted for 45.9% of responses in last year’s South Korean survey, this year’s survey showed a drastic decrease to 22.2%.

[Chart 28 Is There Freedom of Speech and the Press in one another’s countries?]
8-2. National Sentiment and Media Coverage

Over 60% of the Japanese and South Koreans consider media coverage to have a large impact on national sentiment in both countries.

62.1% of Japanese respondents and 63.6% of South Korean respondents showed that “media coverage has a profound influence” on national sentiment in both countries. The response that “media coverage has no influence” accounted for a mere 2.8% of responses in Japan and 4.9% of responses in South Korea.

8-3. Is Media Coverage in Your Country Objective and Impartial?

In South Korea, half of the respondents felt that domestic media did not report objectively or impartially toward Japan-South Korea relations.

In regards to whether domestic media is “objective and impartial,” the majority of respondents in Japan (48.7%, 42.5% last year) replied “don’t know,” while almost equal percentages replied “yes, I think so” (27.0%, 31.3% last year) and “no, I don’t think so” (24.2%, 26.2% last year). In comparison, the response “no, I don’t think so” constituted over half the opinion in South Korea (50.9%, 41.6% last year), while “yes, I think so” amounted to only 22.7% (33.0% last year).
8-4. Do Opinions on the Internet Appropriately Reflect People’s Views in Japan and South Korea?

Approximately half of the South Koreans felt that opinions on “the Internet do not appropriately reflect public opinion”, while about half of the Japanese responded, “don’t know.”

In regards to whether opinions on the Internet appropriately reflect people’s views, the response that it “appropriately reflects public opinion” remained at a mere 11.7% (11.2% last year) in Japan. The response “don’t know” constituted over half of the public opinion (54.0%, 49.6% last year). On the other hand, for South Koreans, the response that the Internet “does not appropriately reflect public opinion” constituted over half, or 50.6% (45.4% last year), of the public opinion, while 35.2% (39.5% last year) responded that the Internet “appropriately reflects” public opinion.

【Chart 30 Is the Media Coverage in Your Own Country Objective and Impartial?】

【Chart 31 Do Opinions on the Internet Reflect Public Opinion in Your Country?】
9. Background to Mutual Understanding

9-1. Degree of Direct Interaction Between Japanese and South Koreans

For both countries, experience abroad in one another’s countries accounted for about 20% of those polled, and over 80% had no acquaintances in the respective country.

For the Japanese, 22.5% (21.4% last year) responded that they have experience traveling to South Korea. For South Koreans, this number also remained at 24.8% (23.8% last year), comprising a mere 20% in both countries. At the same time, over 80% of respondents from both countries replied that they have no acquaintances in the respective country, showing an extremely low level of direct interaction for both countries.

【Chart 32  Have You Visited Each Other’s Country?】

【Chart 33  Do You Have Acquaintances in Each Other’s Country?】
9-2. Interest in Information on One Another’s Countries and Information Sources

Information on one another’s countries was obtained from domestic news media for over 90% of respondents in both countries.

In both countries, 90% responded that their information source on the other country was “domestic news media,” with a dependency especially on “TV news.” Other information sources included “Korean TV dramas” cited by about 20% of the Japanese, and “Korean TV dramas” cited by over 50% of the South Koreans. “Experience of family, friends and acquaintances” was selected by nearly 40% of those polled.

【Chart 34: Source of News for One Another’s Country and Relations between Japan and South Korea】

Public Opinion in Japan (N=1000)                  Public Opinion in South Korea (N=1004)
100% 80% 60% 40% 20% 0%                        0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%

- Conversation with South Korean people: 91.5%
- Visits to South Korea: 2.2%
- Japanese news media: 2.1%
- Japanese books (including textbooks): 7.2%
- Japanese TV drama, documentaries and films: 24.6%
- South Korean news media: 5.3%
- South Korean books: 0.1%
- South Korean music: 5.0%
- South Korean "anime": 0.1%
- South Korean TV drama, documentaries and films: 19.3%
- Debate between leading figures in Japan: 9.7%
- Experience of family, friends and acquaintances: 6.3%
- Other: 0.1%
- No response: 0.5%

- Conversation with Japanese people: 3.8%
- Visits to Japan: 7.1%
- South Korean news media: 24.4%
- South Korean books (including textbooks): 5.3%
- South Korean TV drama, documentaries and films: 15.3%
- Japanese news media: 3.8%
- Japanese books: 2.9%
- Japanese "anime": 11.3%
- Japanese TV drama, documentaries and films: 3.2%
- Japanese TV dramas in South Korea: 11.3%
- Debate between leading figures in South Korea: 3.2%
- Experience of family, friends and acquaintances: 38.7%
- Other: 0.7%
- No response: 0.0%
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