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Hostile Neighbors: China vs. Japan

View each other as arrogant, violent; disagree on WWII legacy

BY Bruce Stokes

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Hostile Neighbors: China vs. Japan

View each other as arrogant, violent; disagree on WWII legacy

China and Japan – neighboring economic and military powers – view each other with disdain, harbor mostly negative stereotypes of one another, disagree on Japan's World War II legacy and worry about future confrontations.

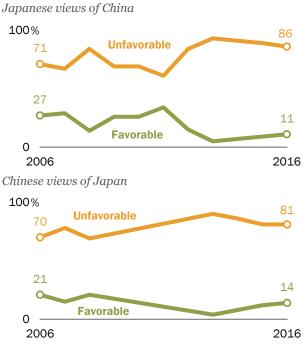
The two East Asian nations have a centuriesold relationship, punctuated by major conflict and strife. Most recently, Beijing and Tokyo have been at loggerheads about sovereignty over a group of uninhabited islands in the East China Sea, called the Senkaku by the Japanese and the Diaoyu by the Chinese.

Today, only 11% of the Japanese express a favorable opinion of China, while 14% of the Chinese say they have a positive view of Japan. In both countries positive views of the other nation have decreased since 2006.

Sino-Japanese antipathy can also be seen in a regional context. Influenced by history, economic ties and current events, Asian publics' views of each other vary widely.

Australia has strong economic ties with both China and Japan. China <u>accounts</u> for 34% of Australia's exports, while Japan is Australia's second-largest export market, accounting for 18% of Australian exports. About eight-in-ten Australians (79%) voice a favorable opinion of Japan. But only 52% express positive sentiment about China.

Japanese and Chinese hold negative views of each other



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q10b & Q10h.

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How Asia-Pacific nations see each other

	LE	LESS FAVORABLE					MORE FAVORABLE				LE
	0	0 10 20		30	30 40 50		60	60 70 80		90 100%	
	Ŭ	10	20	00	40	00	00	10	00		
VIEWS OF ►	Ja	Japan			China		India			uth rea	
VIEWS IN:			_								
Australia		79% 52			53		5	5			
India	44			31			-			3	0
China	14		-		26			5	5		
Japan		_		1	11		5	54		2	7

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q10b, f, h-i.

Indians are also more positive on Japan than on China. A plurality of Indians have a favorable view of Japan (44%), while a much smaller share (22%) see Japan in a negative light. China, on the other hand, gets more negative reviews in India (36%) than positive reviews (31%). About a third of the Indian public expresses no opinion on China or Japan.

These are the key findings of a Pew Research Center survey of 7,618 respondents in four countries: China, Japan, Australia and India. The survey was conducted April 6 to May 29, 2016.

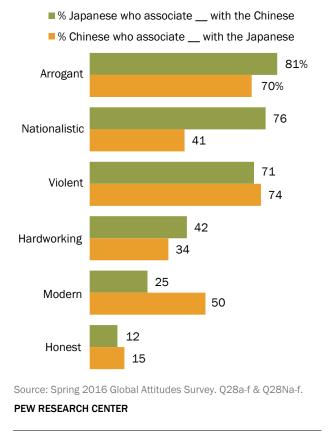
Largely negative stereotypes

Stereotypes can reveal a great deal about the assumptions, sometimes biased or prejudiced, that influence how people view members of other groups.

In the case of China and Japan, publics tend to hold largely negative stereotypes of one another. The Chinese and the Japanese see each other as violent. Roughly eight-in-ten Japanese describe the Chinese as arrogant, while sevenin-ten Chinese see the Japanese in that light. Notably, about three-quarters of the Japanese say the Chinese are nationalistic. But only about four-in-ten Chinese associate that word with the Japanese. Neither public sees the other as honest.

A generation gap exists among the Japanese in their views of the Chinese. Older Japanese – those ages 50 and older – are more likely than Japanese ages 18 to 34 to see the Chinese as nationalistic. And older Japanese are less likely than the younger generation to believe that the Chinese are hardworking or modern.

Japanese and Chinese differ most over who is nationalistic and who is modern

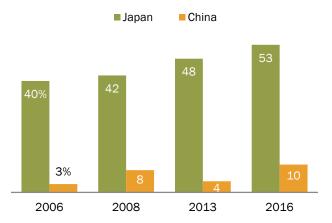


History remains a neuralgic issue in Sino-Japanese relations. Seven decades after the end of World War II, the two publics have starkly differing perceptions of whether Japan has expressed adequate regret for its wartime behavior. Roughly half the Japanese say their country has apologized sufficiently for its military actions during the 1930s and 1940s. And such sentiment is up 13 percentage points since 2006. The Chinese see this issue quite differently. Just 10% of Chinese believe Japan has apologized enough. And the difference between Japanese and Chinese sentiment has grown from 37 points to 43 points in the past decade.

Not only do perceptions of the countries' shared history differ, but expectations for the future of the Sino-Japanese relationship are also largely negative. Eight-in-ten Japanese (80%) and about six-in-ten Chinese (59%) are concerned that territorial disputes between China and its neighbors could lead to a military conflict.

Japanese are increasingly likely to believe they have apologized enough for actions during World War II

Japan has apologized sufficiently for its military actions during the 1930s and 1940s



Note: In Japan in 2006 and 2008, question read "... its military actions in the Pacific War and World War II during the 1940s."

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q84.

Japan's partisan divide

Japanese attitudes toward China are marked by partisan divides. Supporters of the country's conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) are more critical of China than are supporters of the opposition Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ). Fully 46% of Japanese who identify with the ruling LDP have a *very* unfavorable view of China. Only 30% of those who support the opposition DPJ share such intense negativity.

Notably, those who identify with the LDP are also more critical of South Korea than are backers of the DPJ.

DPJ and LDP supporters differ on China, South Korea and World War II

	DPJ %	LDP %	Diff
Very unfavorable view of China	30	46	+16
Very unfavorable view of South Korea	17	30	+13
Japan has apologized sufficiently for its military actions in the 1930s and 1940s	47	59	+12

Note: Differences shown are statistically significant.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q10b, i & Q84.

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LDP and DPJ supporters also differ on Chinese

nationalism: DPJ adherents are far more likely than LDP backers to see the Chinese as nationalistic (87% vs. 72% respectively).

In addition, LDP supporters (59%) are more likely than DPJ adherents (47%) to believe that Japan has apologized sufficiently for its military actions in the 1930s and 1940s. For their part, DPJ supporters are much more likely to say that Japan has *not* apologized sufficiently. And while 22% of those with the LDP say there is nothing Tokyo needs to apologize for, just 12% of DPJ backers agree.

Dyspeptic views of each other

Just 11% of Japanese express a favorable view of China today. And over the past decade, the average favorability of China among Japanese has been just 18%.

Japanese animosity toward China varies somewhat by generation. Older Japanese – those ages 50 and older – are particularly unfavorable toward China (48% very unfavorable). Japanese ages 18 to 34 are less intensely negative (32% very unfavorable).

For their part, the Chinese likewise have little regard for Japan. Today, only 14% voice a favorable opinion of their Asian neighbor, in line with the average of available data over the past decade.

Both the Japanese and the Chinese see their other major Asian neighbors more positively than they do each other, though they still often view other neighbors in a negative light as well.

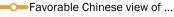
More than half (54%) of Japanese have a favorable opinion of India, down from 65% in 2006.

In contrast, only 27% of Japanese express a favorable view of South Korea. The legacy of Japan's colonial occupation of Korea remains a sore point in bilateral relations. And Seoul has recently pressed Tokyo to accept greater responsibility for "comfort women," Korean women pressed into work as sex workers during World War II. This may explain why the 2016 favorability of South Korea in Japan is roughly half the positive Japanese sentiment (56%) expressed in 2006.

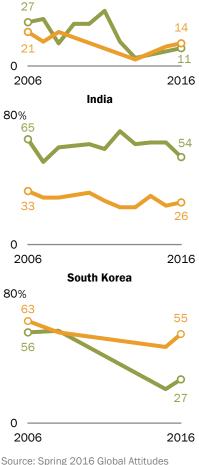
In stark contrast, 55% of Chinese voice a favorable opinion of South Korea. Such sentiment has decreased slightly from 2006 (63%).

Chinese and Japanese views of Asian neighbors





Japan/China (each other) 80%



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q10b, f, h, i.

The Chinese are far less positively disposed toward India. Just 26% hold a favorable view of their southern neighbor, with whom China has had numerous territorial disputes for more than a half century. Over the last decade Chinese opinion of India has drifted downward from 33% favorable in 2006.

Chinese-Japanese stereotypes

The Chinese and Japanese have held fairly strong and often negative stereotypes of each other for some time. And in some instances these views have worsened over the past decade.

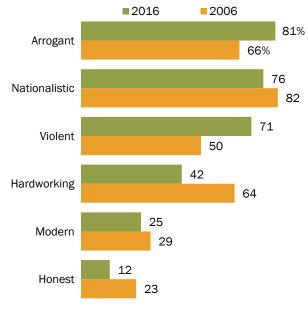
In 2006, half of Japanese viewed the Chinese as violent. In 2016, roughly seven-in-ten Japanese saw the Chinese in that negative light. In addition, fully 74% of Japanese ages 50 and older see the Chinese as violent, while 60% of Japanese ages 18 to 34 view the Chinese in that manner.

Roughly eight-in-ten Japanese associate arrogance with the Chinese. Only about twothirds said the Chinese were arrogant a decade ago.

More than six-in-ten Japanese (64%) thought the Chinese were hardworking in 2006, but now only around four-in-ten (42%) view them

Japanese views of Chinese turn more negative over past decade

% Japanese who associate ___ with the Chinese



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q28Na-f. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

in that way. Again, it is older Japanese who are more critical (although older Japanese are more likely to voice no opinion): Only 35% of Japanese ages 50 and older associate the attribute hardworking with the Chinese, while 60% of younger Japanese see the Chinese in that light.

Largely unchanged among Japanese is the belief that the Chinese are modern: 29% said that about the Chinese 10 years ago, and 25% hold that opinion today.

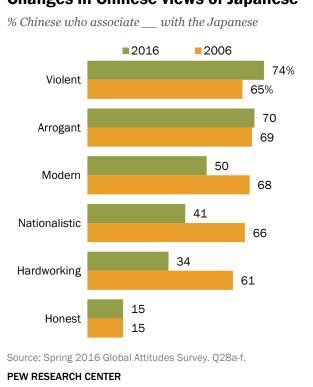
Japanese sentiment toward the Chinese has changed slightly on perceptions of the Chinese being nationalistic. In 2006, 82% believed the Chinese were nationalistic. Today 76% see them that way.

A generation gap divides this Japanese perception: 80% of older Japanese say the Chinese are nationalistic, while 65% of younger Japanese agree. And 87% of the DPJ and 72% of the LDP supporters see the Chinese as nationalistic.

The Chinese also subscribe to negative stereotypes of the Japanese. Seven-in-ten or more Chinese associate violence (74%) and arrogance (70%) with the Japanese. The former view is up 9 percentage points since 2006.

Only half the Chinese see the Japanese as modern, down from roughly two-thirds a decade ago. And the proportion of Chinese (34%) who see the Japanese as hardworking has nearly halved since 2006 (61%). As a point of comparison, in a 2015 Pew Research Center survey, 94% of Americans believed the Japanese to be hardworking.

At the same time, the Chinese have become less critical of Japanese nationalism. Roughly two-thirds of Chinese thought the Japanese were nationalistic in 2006; around four-in-ten see them that way today.



Changes in Chinese views of Japanese

Notably, only 15% of the Chinese believe the Japanese are honest, unchanged from a decade ago. The Japanese hold the Chinese in a similarly low regard -12% view them as honest - and this is roughly half the number who found the Chinese honest 10 years ago. (In the 2015 survey 71% of Americans saw the Japanese as honest.)

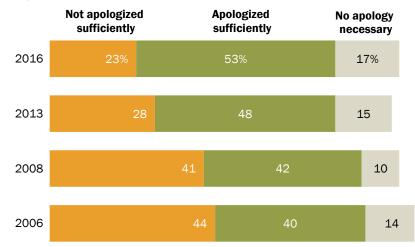
Strategic perceptions: Looking back, looking forward

Japanese atonement for its activities in China before and during World War II is an ongoing source of friction in Sino-Japanese relations. The Japanese believe they have <u>expressed regret</u> for their behavior, while the Chinese disagree.

Among the Japanese people, 53% say they have apologized enough for their country's military actions during the 1930s and 1940s. Such sentiment is up from 40% in 2006. Over that time period, the proportion of the public that believes Japan has not apologized sufficiently has fallen by 21 percentage points, from 44% to 23%. Notably, one-in-six Japanese (17%) say no apology is necessary.

Roughly a quarter of Japanese believe they have not apologized sufficiently for World War II

% Japanese saying Japan has ____ for its military actions during the 1930s and 1940s

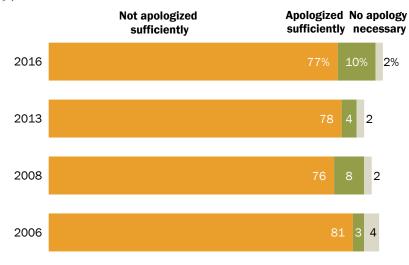


Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q84.

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Chinese unchanged in belief that Japan has yet to sufficiently apologize for actions during World War II

% Chinese saying Japan has ____ for its military actions during the 1930s and 1940s



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q84.

The Chinese see Tokyo's war-related penitence quite differently. Roughly three-quarters (77%) say Japan has not adequately expressed regret, and such Chinese sentiment is largely unchanged since 2006. Only 10% believe Tokyo has apologized enough.

Sino-Japanese frictions are not only an issue of historical concern. In East Asia such tensions remain an ever-present worry as Beijing and Tokyo engage in a prolonged dispute about who has sovereignty over the Senkaku or Diaoyu islands in the East China Sea.

Eight-in-ten Japanese are very (35%) or somewhat (45%) concerned that territorial disputes between China and neighboring countries could lead to a military conflict. Only 19% are not too concerned or not concerned at all. Notably, 42% of people ages 50 and older are very concerned, but just 28% of Japanese ages 18 to 34 are similarly concerned.

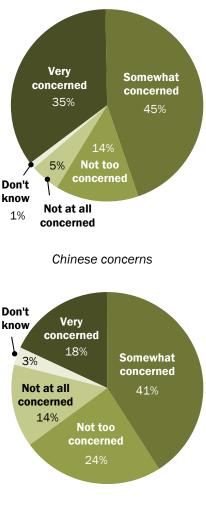
The Chinese are somewhat less worried. Roughly six-in-ten are very concerned (18%) or somewhat concerned (41%). Notably, intense concern among the Japanese about a potential conflict is about twice that found among the Chinese. And twice as many Chinese as Japanese are not too concerned or not concerned at all.

Of course, territorial disputes between China and its neighboring countries involve more nations that just Japan. In a 2015 Pew Research Center <u>survey</u>, 91% of Filipinos and 83% of Vietnamese were worried that such disputes – which for these nations also involve China's territorial claims in the South China Sea – could lead to a military conflict. In South Korea, 78% were similarly concerned about China's territorial ambitions.

Majorities in Japan and China concerned about territorial disputes

How concerned are you, if at all, that territorial disputes between China and neighboring countries could lead to a military conflict?

Japanese concerns



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q100.

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Methodology

About the Pew Research Center's Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International and TNS BMRB. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available on our <u>website</u>.

For more detailed information on survey methods for this report, see here: <u>http://www.pewglobal.org/international-survey-methodology/?year_select=2016</u>

For more general information on international survey research, see here: <u>http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/international-survey-research/</u>

Topline Questionnaire

Pew Research Center Spring 2016 Survey September 13, 2016 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes Surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2016 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q10b. Please tel		a very favorable, s Infavorable opinio		le, somewhat unfa a	vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Australia	Spring, 2016	6	46	28	11	9	100
	Spring, 2015	6	51	25	8	9	100
	Spring, 2013	7	51	27	8	7	100
	Spring, 2008	6	46	31	9	8	100
China	Spring, 2016	63	32	4	0	1	100
	Spring, 2015	64	32	3	0	1	100
	Spring, 2014	65	31	2	0	1	100
	Spring, 2013	69	26	2	1	1	100
	Spring, 2012	61	33	4	1	2	100
	Spring, 2011	64	31	3	1	1	100
	Spring, 2010	64	33	2	0	0	100
	Spring, 2009	62	33	5	1	0	100
-	Spring, 2008	60	35	2	0	2	100
	Spring, 2007	53	40	6	0	2	100
	Spring, 2006	58	36	4	1	2	100
	Spring, 2005	53	35	8	1	2	100
India	Spring, 2016	8	23	21	15	32	100
	Spring, 2015	13	28	15	17	28	100
	Spring, 2014	12	19	16	23	30	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	13	22	19	22	23	100
Japan	Spring, 2016	1	10	44	42	2	100
	Spring, 2015	1	8	40	49	2	100
	Spring, 2014	1	6	38	53	3	100
	Spring, 2013	0	5	45	48	1	100
	Spring, 2012	1	14	49	35	1	100
	Spring, 2011	2	32	45	16	4	100
	Spring, 2010	2	24	49	20	4	100
	Spring, 2009	2	24	50	19	5	100
	Spring, 2008	1	13	50	34	2	100
	Spring, 2007	3	26	51	16	4	100
	Spring, 2006	3	24	49	22	1	100
	Summer, 2002	8	47	35	7	3	100

		Q10f. Please tell			omewhat favorabl on of f. India		vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Australia	Spring, 2016	5	48	28	8	11	100
	Spring, 2015	6	52	22	9	11	100
	Spring, 2013	6	48	26	10	9	100
	Spring, 2008	7	64	17	3	9	100
China	Spring, 2016	4	22	44	17	13	100
	Spring, 2015	4	20	41	21	15	100
	Spring, 2014	3	27	40	15	14	100
	Spring, 2013	2	21	40	21	16	100
	Spring, 2012	3	20	38	24	16	100
	Spring, 2011	2	25	32	21	19	100
	Spring, 2010	4	28	32	19	18	100
	Spring, 2008	2	27	38	12	20	100
	Spring, 2007	2	27	45	12	15	100
	Spring, 2006	2	31	38	5	24	100
India	Spring, 2016	83	7	1	2	6	100
	Spring, 2015	85	9	2	1	2	100
	Spring, 2014	72	10	2	3	13	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	77	11	3	4	5	100
Japan	Spring, 2016	4	50	20	4	21	100
	Spring, 2015	8	55	22	5	9	100
	Spring, 2014	7	56	23	3	11	100
	Spring, 2013	6	56	23	3	12	100
	Spring, 2012	8	62	20	2	8	100
	Spring, 2011	7	52	20	3	18	100
	Spring, 2010	6	56	22	5	12	100
	Spring, 2008	5	55	26	4	10	100
	Spring, 2007	7	44	30	5	14	100
	Spring, 2006	8	57	26	2	7	100

		Q10h. Please tel			omewhat favorabl n of h. Japa		vorable or very
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Australia	Spring, 2016	19	60	10	3	9	100
	Spring, 2015	22	58	8	2	10	100
	Spring, 2013	16	62	12	4	6	100
	Spring, 2008	11	66	13	4	7	100
China	Spring, 2016	3	11	28	53	5	100
	Spring, 2015	2	10	28	53	8	100
	Spring, 2014	1	7	27	59	6	100
	Spring, 2013	0	4	16	74	5	100
	Spring, 2008	2	19	35	34	9	100
	Spring, 2007	1	14	35	43	7	100
	Spring, 2006	2	19	41	29	10	100
	Spring, 2005	3	14	33	43	7	100
India	Spring, 2016	15	29	14	8	35	100
	Spring, 2015	18	28	11	5	38	100
	Spring, 2014	15	28	12	8	37	100
	Winter, 2013-2014	15	34	15	10	26	100
Japan	Spring, 2016	31	49	15	3	2	100
	Spring, 2015	29	53	13	2	2	100
	Spring, 2014	26	53	19	2	1	100
	Spring, 2013	22	54	20	2	1	100
	Spring, 2008	18	51	26	4	1	100
	Spring, 2007	30	57	11	1	1	100
	Spring, 2006	28	50	20	2	1	100

		Q10i. Please tell	Q10i. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of i. South Korea						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Australia	Spring, 2016	8	47	18	11	16	100		
	Spring, 2015	11	50	18	7	14	100		
	Spring, 2008	7	57	15	4	18	100		
China	Spring, 2016	9	46	28	9	9	100		
	Spring, 2015	7	40	28	13	11	100		
	Spring, 2008	8	48	23	6	15	100		
	Spring, 2006	9	54	16	2	18	100		
India	Spring, 2016	7	23	14	10	45	100		
	Spring, 2015	8	20	13	6	52	100		
Japan	Spring, 2016	1	26	43	25	4	100		
	Spring, 2015	1	20	43	32	3	100		
	Spring, 2008	4	53	32	8	3	100		
	Spring, 2006	6	50	34	9	1	100		

		Q28a. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Japanese? Do you associate with the Japanese or not? a. violent					
		Yes, associate	No, do not associate	DK/Refused	Total		
China	Spring, 2016	74	22	4	100		
	Spring, 2006	65	23	12	100		

		Q28b. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Japanese? Do you associate with the Japanese or not? b. arrogrant				
		Yes, associate	No, do not associate	DK/Refused	Total	
China	Spring, 2016	70	25	5	100	
	Spring, 2006	69	17	14	100	

		Q28c. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Japanese? Do you associate with the Japanese or not? c. hardworking					
		Yes, associate	No, do not associate	DK/Refused	Total		
China	Spring, 2016	34	57	9	100		
	Spring, 2006	61	26	14	100		

		Q28d. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Japanese? Do you associate with the Japanese or not? d. nationalistic				
		Yes, associate	No, do not associate	DK/Refused	Total	
China	Spring, 2016	41	46	13	100	
	Spring, 2006 66 17 17 100					

		Q28e. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Japanese? Do you associate with the Japanese or not? e. modern				
		Yes, associate	No, do not associate	DK/Refused	Total	
China	Spring, 2016	50	38	12	100	
	Spring, 2006	68	19	13	100	

		Q28f. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Japanese? Do you associate with the Japanese or not? f. honest					
		Yes, associate	No, do not associate	DK/Refused	Total		
China	Spring, 2016	15	74	12	100		
	Spring, 2006	15	67	18	100		

		Q28Na. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Chinese? Do you associate with the Chinese or not? a. violent				
No, do notYes, associateDK/RefusedTotal						
Japan	Spring, 2016	71	24	5	100	
	Spring, 2006	50	47	4	100	

Q28Nb. Which of these characteristics do you associ Chinese? Do you associate with the Chinese arrogrant					
		No, do not DK/Refused Total			
Japan	Spring, 2016	81	15	4	100
	Spring, 2006	66	31	3	100

		Q28Nc. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Chinese? Do you associate with the Chinese or not? c. hardworking				
		No, do not No, do not Yes, associate DK/Refused Total				
Japan	Spring, 2016	42	50	8	100	
	Spring, 2006	64	34	2	100	

	Q28Nd. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Chinese? Do you associate with the Chinese or not? d. nationalistic							
		No, do not No, do not Yes, associate DK/Refused Total						
Japan	Spring, 2016	76	17	7	100			
	Spring, 2006							

		Q28Ne. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Chinese? Do you associate with the Chinese or not? e. modern				
		No, do not No, do not Total				
Japan	Spring, 2016	25	71	4	100	
	Spring, 2006	29	69	2	100	

		Q28Nf. Which of these characteristics do you associate with the Chinese? Do you associate with the Chinese or not? f. honest				
Yes, associate No, do not DK/Refused Tota						
Japan	Spring, 2016	12	82	6	100	
	Spring, 2006	23	71	6	100	

		Q84. Thinking about Japan, overall, do you think that Japan has apologized sufficiently for its military actions during the 1930s and 1940s, that Japan has not apologized sufficiently or do you think no apology is necessary?						
		Yes, has apologized sufficiently	No, has not apologized sufficiently	No apology necessary	DK/Refused	Total		
China	Spring, 2016	10	77	2	10	100		
	Spring, 2013	4	78	2	16	100		
	Spring, 2008	8	76	2	14	100		
	Spring, 2006	3	81	4	12	100		
Japan	Spring, 2016	53	23	17	7	100		
	Spring, 2013	48	28	15	9	100		
	Spring, 2008	42	41	10	6	100		
	Spring, 2006	40	44	14	2	100		

In Spring 2006 and Spring 2008, the wording was modified for Japan only to read as follows: 'Now thinking about our country, overall, do you think that Japan has apologized sufficiently for its military actions in the Pacific War and World War II during the 1940s, that Japan has not apologized sufficiently, or do you think no apology is necessary?'

		Q100. How concerned are you, if at all, that territorial disputes between China and neighboring countries could lead to a military conflict? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?						
		Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not too concerned	Not at all concerned	DK/Refused	Total	
China	Spring, 2016	18	41	24	14	3	100	
	Spring, 2014	15	47	26	8	4	100	
Japan	Spring, 2016	35	45	14	5	1	100	
	Spring, 2014	41	44	10	3	1	100	