

**PPIC Statewide Survey:
Global California: Perspectives on U.S.-Japan Relations**

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**Public
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Institute
of
California**

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Press Release

SPECIAL SURVEY ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

MOST CALIFORNIANS VIEW RELATIONS AS POSITIVE, PRODUCTIVE

Residents Divided Over U.S. Military Presence in Japan Majority Want Apology for WWII Crimes

SAN FRANCISCO, California, September 5, 2001 — As the United States and Japan prepare to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Californians are overwhelmingly favorable in their opinions about Japan, according to a survey released today by the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC). But reflecting the changing global dynamics of the post-cold war era, state residents say they most prize America's *economic* ties to Japan and are evenly split over maintaining bases and troops in the Pacific Rim nation.

The large-scale public opinion survey of 2007 Californians finds that 74 percent have a favorable opinion of Japan, with two in three residents (65%) saying that Japan has had a major influence on U.S. culture and technology. Almost all residents (92%) agree that the relationship between the U.S. and Japan is important, and nearly six in 10 residents say the current state of relations between the two countries is either "good" (51%) or "excellent" (8%). Interestingly, more than half of Californians (57%) see economic issues, including trade and investment, as the most important issue in relations between the U.S. and Japan, followed by cooperation on global issues such as population and the environment (22%) and political issues such as security (15%). Those who see economic issues as most important are divided on the issue of maintaining or withdrawing troops in Japan (45% to 48%) — as are Californians overall (45% to 47%) — while those who see political and security issues as most important are most in favor of a military presence (54% to 41%).

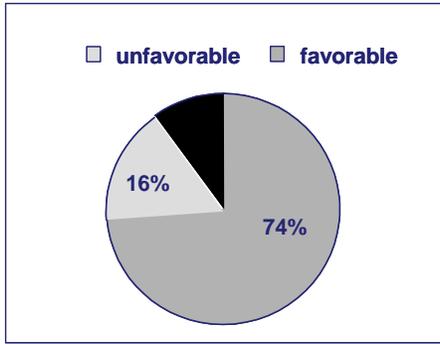
"Californians have special ties, cultural and economic, to Japan," says PPIC Statewide Survey Director Mark Baldassare. "They view the U.S.-Japan connection as critical, but they are seeking to redefine the relationship in ways that make sense in this new era of globalism."

Other Key Findings

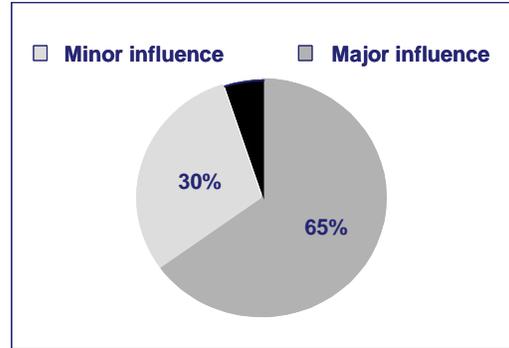
- **Fifty-two percent of Californians say that Japan should offer an official apology for war crimes committed during World War II, while 41 percent say they should not.** Older Californians feel most strongly about this matter: By a 20-point margin (56% to 36%), residents 55 and older say Japan should apologize for war crimes.
- **A majority of state residents (59%) say that the U.S. should not offer an official apology for the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, while 36 percent say they should.** Californians under age 35 are evenly divided on the question (48% to 47%), while those 55 and older overwhelmingly oppose a U.S. apology (73% to 21%).
- **Californians are slightly more likely to say that the relationship with China (43%) is more important to the U.S. than our relationship with Japan (40%).** College graduates and those earning \$80,000 or more annually are more likely to view China as most critical, while those with no college education and those earning under \$40,000 per year place greater importance on Japan.

The survey on U.S.-Japan relations is a special edition of the PPIC Statewide Survey. For information on survey methodology, see page 22. PPIC is a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to objective, nonpartisan research on economic, social, and political issues that affect Californians. The Institute was established in 1994 with an endowment from William R. Hewlett. This report will appear on PPIC's website (www.ppic.org) on September 5.

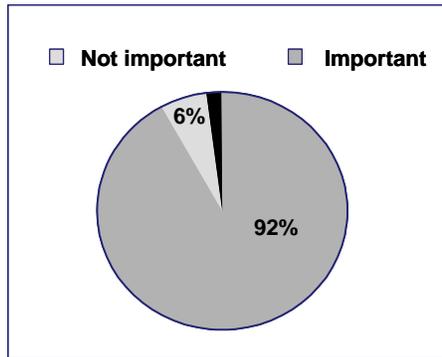
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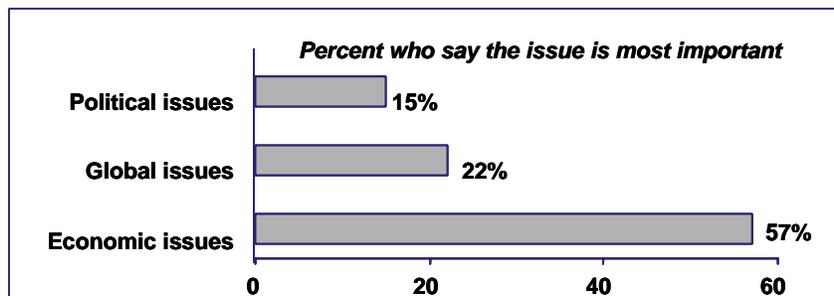
Three in four Californians have a favorable opinion of Japan



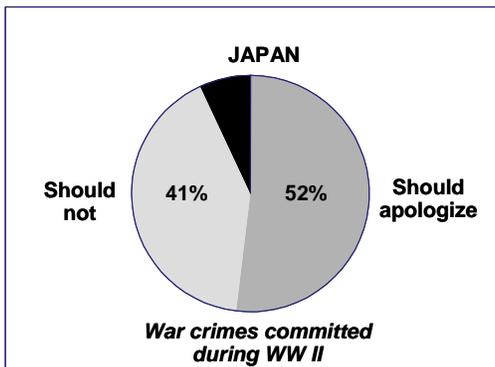
Most Californians think Japan has had a major influence on U.S. culture and technology



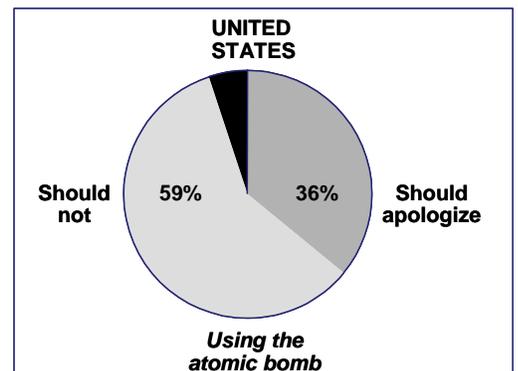
Almost all Californians believe that the U.S. relationship with Japan is important



Californians believe that economic issues are by far the most important concern in U.S.-Japan relations



A majority of Californians say that Japan should apologize for war crimes committed during WW II



Most Californians say that the United States should not apologize for dropping the atomic bombs on Japan

Introduction

September 8, 2001, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The treaty brought to a conclusion the World War II era in U.S.-Japan relations and signaled the beginning of a new chapter in political and economic cooperation. In commemoration of this event, the U.S.-Japan 21st Century Project has brought together many influential individuals and institutions to consider the future of U.S. relations with Japan.

In recognition of a shared history and the important immigration, cultural, and economic ties between Japan and California, the Public Policy Institute of California became involved in this endeavor, including in its July 2001 PPIC Statewide Survey a series of questions exploring Californians' attitudes toward Japan and U.S.-Japan relations.

The objective of the survey questions on U.S.-Japan relations is to provide policymakers, academic researchers, the media, and the general public in both nations with relevant, non-partisan, advocacy-free information on the following issues:

- Californians' views on Japan, its influence on the United States, and how much the two nations have in common.
- How Californians rate the current state of relations between the United States and Japan, how important they believe relations between the two countries are, what they see as the most important element in U.S.-Japan relations, and whether they consider relations with Japan or relations with China as more important to the United States.
- Whether the United States should maintain a troop presence in Japan, whether Japan should apologize for war crimes during World War II, and whether the United States should apologize for the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Whenever possible, we place these California attitudes in perspective by comparing our results to the responses of all Americans in recent national surveys. We also examine how Californians' attitudes toward U.S.-Japan relations vary across demographic groups (such as age, education, and income), political party registration, and region of residence. We also focus on differences in opinions between non-Hispanic whites and the growing Latino population in the state. The subsamples of blacks and Asians are too small for separate analysis.

The PPIC Statewide Survey is an ongoing project that consists of a series of surveys designed to provide timely, comprehensive, and relevant public opinion data to the state's policymakers on the political, social, and economic attitudes that shape public policy preferences and voters' choices at the ballot box. Nineteen surveys, each including 2,000 adult residents, have been conducted since the series began in April 1998. Several of the surveys have been special editions focusing on particular regions and themes. Altogether, the surveys have generated a database that includes the perceptions, opinions, and public policy preferences of over 38,000 Californians throughout the state.

Copies of earlier survey reports or additional copies of this report may be ordered by e-mail (order@ppic.org) or phone (415-291-4400). The reports are also posted on the publications page of the PPIC web site (www.ppic.org).

Californians' Opinion of Japan

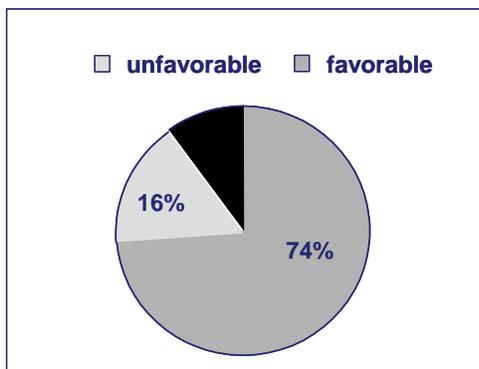
As the United States and Japan prepare to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the signing of the San Francisco peace treaty, most Californians (74%) say they have a favorable opinion of Japan: 56 percent say they have a “mostly favorable” opinion, while 18 percent report a “very favorable” opinion. Some residents (16%) are more negative: 11 percent hold a “mostly unfavorable” opinion of Japan, and 5 percent have a “very unfavorable” opinion.

Californians are similar to the nation in their views. A Gallup survey conducted in February 2001 found that 73 percent of Americans have an overall favorable opinion of Japan.

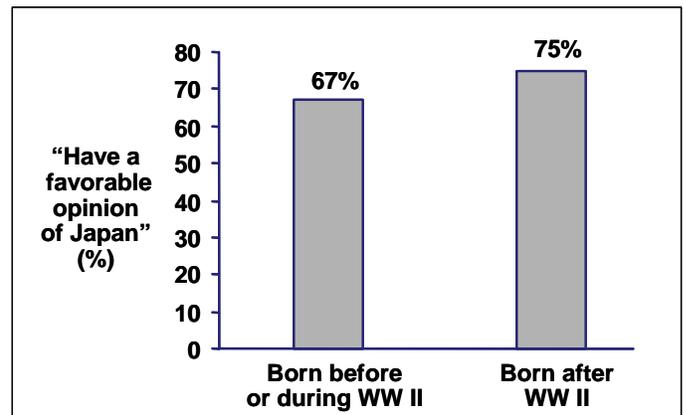
Although most Californians in all demographic groups view this Pacific Rim country in a favorable light, there are some differences. One of the most striking findings is the difference in attitude between those who were born before or during World War II and those who were born after the war. Two in three residents age 55 or older (67%) say they have a favorable opinion of Japan, compared to 75 percent of those under age 55. Similarly, 22 percent of adults 55 and older have an unfavorable opinion of Japan, compared to 14 percent of those under 55.

Overall attitudes also vary by socioeconomic status. A high percentage of people who make more than \$80,000 a year (83%) say they have a favorable opinion of Japan, compared to 75 percent of those making from \$40,000 to \$80,000 a year and 66 percent of those making less than \$40,000. Attitudes vary by level of education as well: College graduates (82%) are more likely than those with some college (75%) or no college education (60%) to express a favorable view of Japan.

Public attitudes toward Japan are consistently positive across the major regional, racial and ethnic, and political groups. San Francisco Bay area residents (77%) are the most positive, followed closely by residents of the Southern California region outside of Los Angeles (74%), Los Angeles (72%), and the Central Valley (70%). Non-Hispanic whites (76%) are somewhat more likely than Latinos (67%) to express a favorable opinion of Japan, largely because there are more “don’t know” answers in the latter group. There are no differences of opinion between Democrats (74%) and Republicans (74%), but voters outside the major parties (80%) are more favorably disposed toward Japan than either group of partisans.



Three in four Californians have a favorable opinion of Japan



Those born after WW II are more favorably disposed toward Japan than those born before or during the war

"What is your overall opinion of Japan today?"

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	74%	16%	10%
Age			
18 to 34	74	13	13
35 to 54	77	14	9
55 and over	67	22	11
Education			
No College	60	24	16
Some College	75	14	11
College Graduate	82	11	7
Annual Household Income			
Less than \$40,000	66	19	15
\$40,000 to \$79,999	75	17	8
\$80,000 or more	83	11	6
Party Registration of Voters			
Democrat	74	16	10
Republican	74	17	9
Other Voters	80	12	8
Region of Residence			
San Francisco Bay Area	77	13	10
Central Valley	70	16	14
Los Angeles	72	18	10
Other Southern California	74	15	11
Race and Ethnicity			
White and not Hispanic	76	15	9
Latino	67	17	16
Asian*	75	17	8
Black*	66	20	14

* Small sample sizes for Asians (133) and blacks (139): Results for these subgroups should be interpreted with caution in the tables throughout this report.

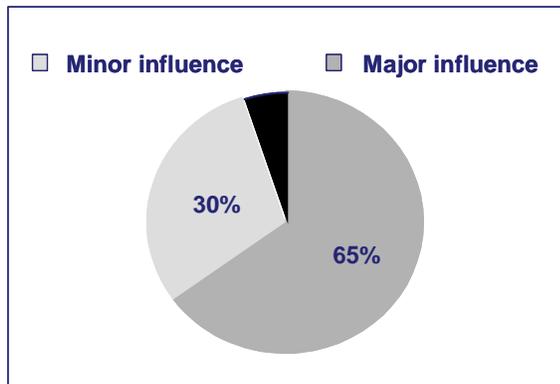
Japan's Influence on the United States

Most Californians think the Japan connection has been a significant one for the United States. Two in three (65%) say that Japan has had a major influence on U.S. culture and technology. Three in 10 (30%) believe the influence has been minor. Five percent are unsure.

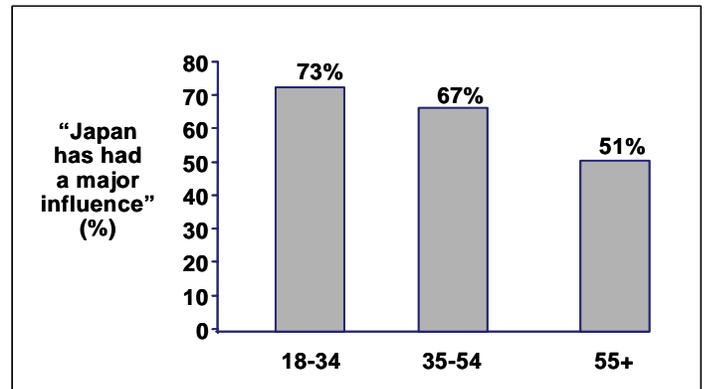
Younger Californians are more likely than older residents to say that Japan has had a major effect: Seventy-three percent of adults under 35 years old think that Japan has exerted a major influence, compared to 51 percent of those 55 and older.

Los Angeles area residents (71%) are more likely than those living in the Central Valley (66%), the rest of Southern California (62%), and the San Francisco Bay area (60%) to think that Japan has strongly influenced U.S. culture and technology.

There are no significant differences in perceptions of Japan's influence by socioeconomic status, including both income and education. Nor are there variations by political affiliation, including Democrats, Republicans, and other voters. Most non-Hispanic whites (63%) and Latinos (70%) believe that Japan has had a major influence on our nation's culture and technology.



Most Californians think Japan has had a major influence on U.S. culture and technology



Younger people are more likely to say Japan has had a major influence

"Do you think that Japan has had a major influence or a minor influence on culture and technology in the United States?"

	Major	Minor	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	65%	30%	5%
Age			
18 to 34	73	24	3
35 to 54	67	30	3
55 and over	51	40	9
Education			
No College	63	28	9
Some College	65	31	4
College Graduate	66	31	3
Annual Household Income			
Less than \$40,000	66	27	7
\$40,000 to \$79,999	65	32	4
\$80,000 or more	67	31	2
Party Registration of Voters			
Democrat	66	29	5
Republican	64	31	5
Other voters	67	30	3
Region of Residence			
San Francisco Bay Area	60	36	4
Central Valley	66	27	7
Los Angeles	71	26	3
Other Southern California	62	32	6
Race and Ethnicity			
White and not Hispanic	63	32	5
Latino	70	25	5
Asian*	54	44	2
Black*	71	23	6

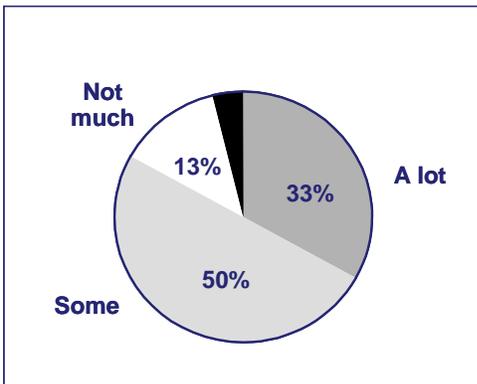
* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

Commonality Between the United States and Japan

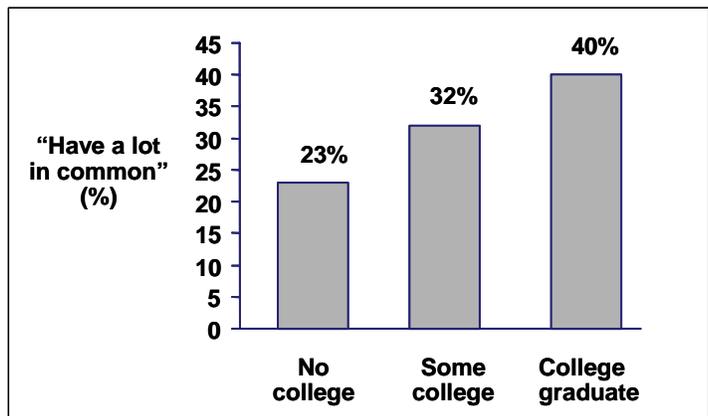
Eight in 10 Californians say that the United States and Japan have certain things in common: 33 percent believe that the two countries have “a lot” in common, and 50 percent think they have “some things” in common. Only one in eight of the state's residents (13%) believes that the United States and Japan do not have much in common.

There are, once again, important socioeconomic differences in attitudes. Respondents with college degrees (89%) or some college education (85%) are much more likely than adults who have not gone to college (73%) to say that the United States has at least some things in common with Japan. Residents making \$80,000 a year or more (92%) and those making between \$40,000 and \$80,000 (85%) are much more likely than those who make less than \$40,000 a year (77%) to say that this country has some things in common with Japan.

Californians between 18 and 34 (82%) and 35 to 54 (86%) are only a little more likely than those 55 and older (80%) to see at least some commonalities between the two countries. Eighty-six percent of non-Hispanic whites see at least some common ground, compared to 78 percent of Latinos. There is very little difference in opinion among political groups or across the regions of the state.



Over 80 percent of the state's residents think that Japan and the United States have “a lot” or “some things” in common



The opinion that Japan and the United States have a lot in common increases with education

**"Would you say that Japan and the United States have a lot in common,
only some things in common, or not much in common?"**

	A Lot	Some	Not Much	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	33%	50%	13%	4%
Age				
18 to 34	28	54	14	4
35 to 54	36	50	11	3
55 and over	33	47	17	3
Education				
No College	23	50	21	6
Some College	32	53	12	3
College Graduate	40	49	9	2
Annual Household Income				
Less than \$40,000	28	49	18	5
\$40,000 to \$79,999	31	54	13	2
\$80,000 or more	43	49	7	1
Party Registration of Voters				
Democrat	35	51	11	3
Republican	35	50	13	2
Other voters	33	50	15	2
Region of Residence				
San Francisco Bay Area	33	50	13	4
Central Valley	30	50	16	4
Los Angeles	34	49	15	2
Other Southern California	32	53	11	4
Race and Ethnicity				
White and not Hispanic	35	51	11	3
Latino	27	51	17	5
Asian*	23	57	18	2
Black*	29	46	19	6

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

Current State of U.S.-Japan Relations

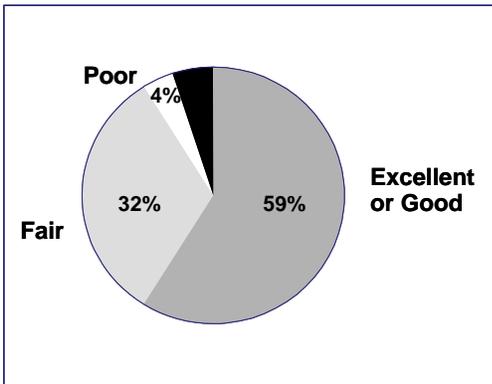
Most Californians feel that U.S.-Japan relations are on solid ground today. Nearly six in 10 residents say the current state of relations between this country and Japan is either “good” (51%) or “excellent” (8%). One in three residents rates the relations between the two countries as “fair” (32%), and very few (4%) say relations are “poor.”

A nationwide Harris survey in March 1999 had similar results: 53 percent of Americans rated relations between the United States and Japan as excellent or good, and 37 percent thought relations were fair or poor.

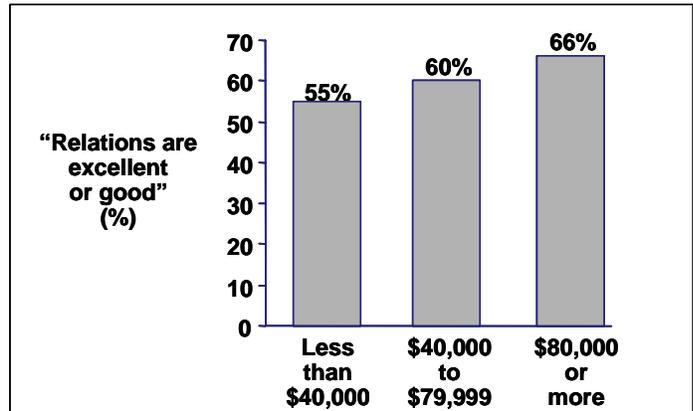
This positive perception is consistent across all age groups and decreases only slightly with age: 55 percent of those 55 and older rate relations as excellent or good, compared to six in 10 residents between the ages of 18 and 54.

There are, once again, socioeconomic differences. Californians with a college degree (64%) or some college education (60%) express more positive feelings about U.S.-Japan relations than do residents with no college education (51%). Similarly, positive ratings increase with income: 55 percent of those making less than \$40,000 a year rate the current state of relations as either good or excellent, compared to 66 percent of those making \$80,000 a year or more.

Non-Hispanic whites (61%) and Latinos (59%) give similar ratings of U.S.-Japan relations. There are no differences in evaluations across political groups or regions of the state.



Most people believe relations between the two nations are excellent or good



Residents with higher incomes feel more optimistic about U.S.-Japan relations

**"How would you rate the current state of relations
between the United States and Japan?"**

	Excellent/ Good	Fair	Poor	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	59%	32%	4%	5%
Age				
18 to 34	59	33	3	5
35 to 54	61	29	4	6
55 and over	55	35	6	4
Education				
No College	51	35	7	7
Some College	60	32	4	4
College Graduate	64	30	2	4
Annual Household Income				
Less than \$40,000	55	33	6	6
\$40,000 to \$79,999	60	33	4	3
\$80,000 or more	66	28	2	4
Party Registration of Voters				
Democrat	57	34	5	4
Republican	61	30	4	5
Other Voters	61	33	2	4
Region of Residence				
San Francisco Bay Area	58	32	5	5
Central Valley	58	31	5	6
Los Angeles	57	34	5	4
Other Southern California	59	32	2	7
Race and Ethnicity				
White and not Hispanic	61	31	3	5
Latino	59	32	5	4
Asian*	55	38	3	4
Black*	48	36	8	8

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

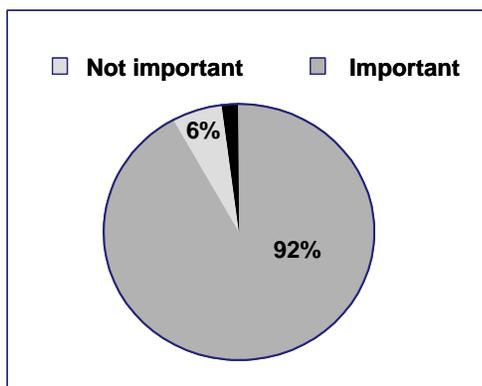
Importance of U.S.-Japan Relations

Almost all Californians (92%) agree that our relationship with Japan is important. More than half (55%) say this relationship is “very important,” while one in three (37%) describes the ties as “somewhat important.” Only 6 percent say that relations with Japan are not too important.

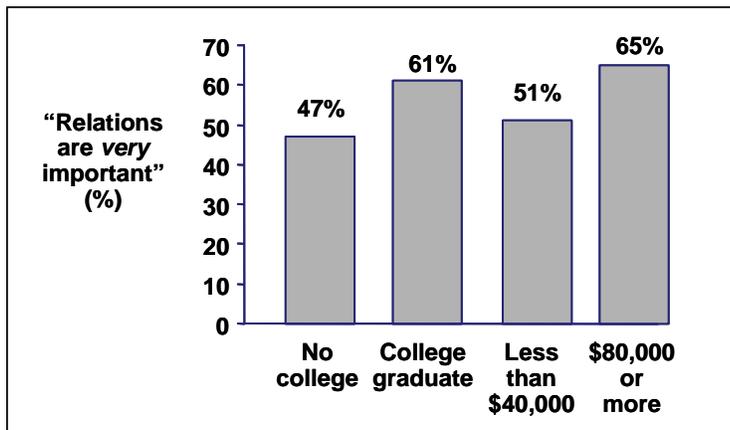
There are age differences in perceptions of the U.S.-Japan ties: Those under 55 (58%) are more likely than those 55 and older (48%) to say relations with Japan are very important for the United States.

Once again, there are also sharp differences between socioeconomic groups. People with college degrees (61%) or some college education (56%) are more likely than those with no college education (47%) to say that relations with Japan are very important for this country. Similarly, the perception of importance increases with income: Relations with Japan are rated very important for the United States by 51 percent of those earning \$40,000 a year or less, by 57 percent of those with incomes of \$40,000 to \$80,000, and by 65 percent of those earning \$80,000 a year or more.

Democrats (60%) are slightly more likely than Republicans (54%) and other voters (56%) to say that U.S. relations with Japan are very important for the nation. There are no large differences between racial or ethnic groups or across regions of the state.



Almost all Californians believe that the U.S. relationship with Japan is important



Perceptions vary by socioeconomic status

"How important to the United States are relations with Japan?"

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Too Important	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	55%	37%	6%	2%
Age				
18 to 34	58	36	4	2
35 to 54	58	35	5	2
55 and over	48	39	10	3
Education				
No College	47	40	9	3
Some College	56	37	5	2
College Graduate	61	33	5	1
Annual Household Income				
Less than \$40,000	51	38	8	3
\$40,000 to \$79,999	57	38	4	1
\$80,000 or more	65	30	4	1
Party Registration of Voters				
Democrat	60	33	6	1
Republican	54	40	5	1
Other Voters	56	36	6	2
Region of Residence				
San Francisco Bay Area	54	39	5	2
Central Valley	53	37	7	3
Los Angeles	58	36	5	1
Other Southern California	54	37	7	2
Race and Ethnicity				
White and not Hispanic	56	37	6	2
Latino	55	36	6	3
Asian*	54	39	6	1
Black*	48	40	8	4

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

Most Important Issue in U.S.-Japan Relations

More than half of Californians (57%) see economic issues, including trade and investment, as the most important issue in relations between the United States and Japan. Significantly smaller percentages think that cooperation on global issues such as population and the environment (22%) or political issues, including security, (15%) is most important. Six percent mention other issues or have no opinions.

In a nationwide Harris survey in March 1999, 70 percent of Americans said economic issues were most important. Californians are less likely to name economic issues because they are twice as likely as Americans as a whole (22% to 11%) to name cooperation on global issues as most important. Both surveys found about one in six naming political issues as most important.

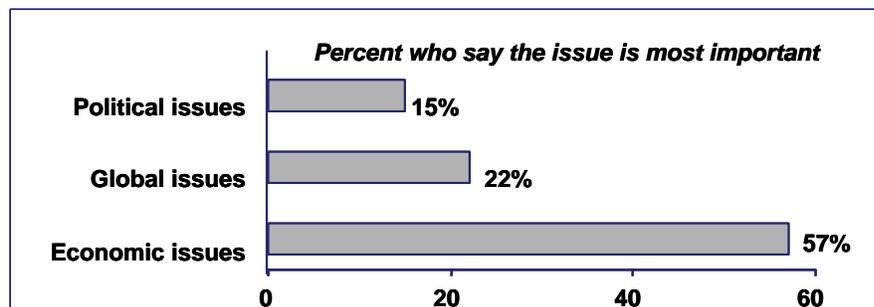
Of the California residents in the survey who think that U.S.-Japan relations are “very important,” six in ten also agree that economic issues are the most important factor in the relationship between the two countries.

Majorities in all age groups consider economic relations to be the most important priority: 59 percent of Californians 18 to 34 years old, 60 percent of residents 35 to 54 years old, and 52 percent of those 55 and older are of this opinion.

Opinions vary with socioeconomic status. College graduates (64%) and those with incomes of \$80,000 or more a year (69%) are the most likely to rate economic issues as the most important issue in U.S.-Japan relations. Just under half of Californians (49%) with no college education or who are making less than \$40,000 a year say that economic issues are most important; these two groups are more likely than others to mention political issues and global cooperation.

Republicans (65%) are more likely than Democrats (53%) and other voters (58%) to believe that economics is the most important issue. Democrats (27%) and other voters (23%) are more inclined than Republicans (13%) to name global cooperation on matters such as population and the environment as the prime area of concern in U.S.-Japan relations. Opinions regarding the importance of political issues do not vary significantly with partisan affiliation.

Non-Hispanic whites (60%) are more likely than Latinos (50%) to think that economics is the essential issue. Latinos are more likely than others to mention political issues such as security as the most important area in U.S.-Japan relations. There is little variation in opinions across regions.



Californians believe that economic issues are by far the most important concern in U.S.-Japan relations

"Which of the following do you think is the most important issue in relations between the United States and Japan – political issues, including security; economic issues, including trade and investment; or cooperation on global issues, such as the environment and population?"

	Political	Economic	Cooperation	Other/ Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	15%	57%	22%	6%
Age				
18 to 34	19	59	19	3
35 to 54	13	60	22	5
55 and over	12	52	25	11
Education				
No College	18	49	25	8
Some College	16	57	23	4
College Graduate	12	64	19	5
Annual Household Income				
Less than \$40,000	18	49	26	7
\$40,000 to \$79,999	15	59	21	5
\$80,000 or more	12	69	15	4
Party Registration of Voters				
Democrat	15	53	27	5
Republican	16	65	13	6
Other Voters	13	58	23	6
Region of Residence				
San Francisco Bay Area	13	56	25	6
Central Valley	15	57	22	6
Los Angeles	19	55	21	5
Other Southern California	14	57	21	8
Race and Ethnicity				
White and not Hispanic	12	60	21	7
Latino	22	50	24	4
Asian*	10	65	18	7
Black*	15	54	25	6

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

Relative Importance of Japan and China

One factor that could influence the currently strong relationship between the United States and Japan is the growing political and economic importance of another Asian country – China – now the most populous nation on earth. Californians are about equally likely to say Japan (40%) as to say China (43%) when asked which relationship is more important for the United States today. Ten percent say both nations are equally important, while 7 percent give other answers or are not sure.

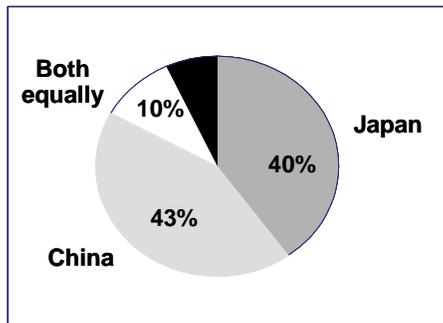
In a nationwide Harris survey conducted in March 1999, most Americans said that our relationship with Japan (47%) is more important than our relationship with China (36%).

Even those in the California survey who say that the U.S. relationship with Japan is “very important” are equally divided over whether the relationship with Japan or China is most important (41% to 43%). The same is true among those with an overall favorable opinion of Japan (42% to 44%), those who think Japan and the United States have a lot in common (45% to 43%), those who think Japan has had a major influence on this nation (42% to 42%), and those who think current relations are excellent or good (43% to 44%).

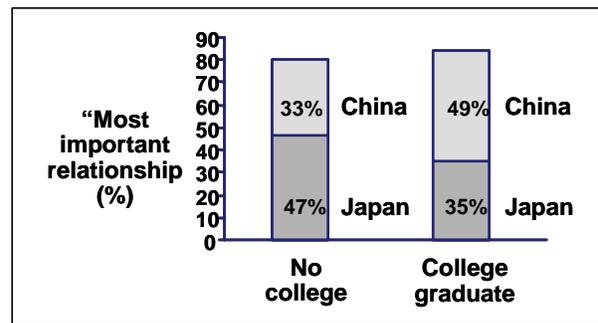
There are some age differences: Residents under age 55 are as likely to name one country as the other, while residents 55 and older are slightly more inclined to say China is more important than Japan (44% to 36%).

Once again, there are significant differences among socioeconomic groups. College graduates are more likely to say our relationship with China is more important than our relationship with Japan (49% to 35%), while those with no college education think that our relations with Japan are more important than our ties with China (47% to 33%). Similarly, those with incomes of \$80,000 a year or more place more importance on China than Japan (49% to 38%), while those with incomes under \$40,000 place more importance on Japan than China (43% to 37%).

There are some regional differences. San Francisco Bay area residents are more likely to give U.S. relations with China higher priority (48% to 33%), while elsewhere in California, opinion is about evenly divided. There are also racial/ethnic differences. Non-Hispanic whites rank China as more important than Japan (44% to 39%), while Latinos consider Japan more important than China (49% to 36%). There is little difference between Republicans and Democrats on this issue, but voters outside of the major parties are more likely to name U.S. relations with China as more important than relations with Japan (48% to 35%).



People are equally divided over whether our relationship with Japan or China is more important



Those with no college education say Japan is most important, while college graduates say China

"Which relationship do you think is more important for the United States today – the relationship with Japan or the relationship with China?"

	Japan	China	Both (volunteered)	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	40%	43%	10%	7%
Age				
18 to 34	41	44	7	8
35 to 54	41	41	11	7
55 and over	36	44	11	9
Education				
No College	47	33	9	11
Some College	40	44	7	9
College Graduate	35	49	11	5
Annual Household Income				
Less than \$40,000	43	37	9	11
\$40,000 to \$79,999	41	46	9	4
\$80,000 or more	38	49	9	4
Party Registration of Voters				
Democrat	40	42	10	8
Republican	41	45	8	6
Other Voters	35	48	12	5
Region of Residence				
San Francisco Bay Area	33	48	12	7
Central Valley	42	40	8	10
Los Angeles	40	43	9	8
Other Southern California	43	41	10	6
Race and Ethnicity				
White and not Hispanic	39	44	10	7
Latino	49	36	8	7
Asian*	34	46	12	8
Black*	41	42	9	8

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

U.S. Troops in Japan

U.S. military troops have been stationed in Japan since the end of World War II. This military presence has been a controversial issue recently for both nations as they seek to redefine their relationship in the post-Cold War era. Californians are just as likely to support a U.S. military presence in Japan (45%) as to favor withdrawing the troops and letting Japan provide its own military defense (47%). Eight percent are not sure.

In a Harris nationwide survey in March 1999, 63 percent of Americans said that the United States should maintain the bases as they are now, while 31 percent thought that the United States should *reduce* American forces in Japan. The question wording was different, making direct comparisons difficult. Still, Californians today seem remarkably ambivalent toward a military presence in Japan.

State residents who say that U.S.-Japan relations are “very important” are divided on the issue of maintaining or withdrawing the troops (49% to 44%). A similar split is evident for those who have a favorable opinion of Japan (47% to 46%), who think that Japan and the United States have a lot in common (46% to 48%), who think that Japan has had a major influence on the United States (45% to 47%), and who think that current relations between Japan and the United States are excellent or good (48% to 46%).

However, Californians' differing views on the most important issue in U.S.-Japan relations does influence how they feel about U.S. troops in Japan. Those who see economic issues as most important are divided on a continued U.S. military presence (45% to 48%), while those who see political and security issues as most significant are most in favor (54% to 41%) of keeping U.S. troops in Japan, and those who view global cooperation on issues such as the environment and population are most opposed (50% to 39%) to maintaining a U.S. military presence.

Support for a military withdrawal is strong among 18 to 34 year olds (51%), while those 35 and older are evenly divided on the issue of maintaining or ending a military presence.

Interestingly, there are no major socioeconomic differences on the question of U.S. military involvement in Japan. There are no differences across income levels. College graduates are slightly more in favor of troop withdrawal, but opinions are fairly evenly divided across education levels. There are also no major variations in attitudes across racial and ethnic groups.

There are, however, some differences across partisan lines. A majority of Republicans (54%) are in favor of a continued U.S. military presence, while Democrats (50%) and other voters (50%) lean toward a troop withdrawal.

San Francisco Bay area residents are more in favor of troop withdrawal than continuing to station troops in Japan (50% to 39%). In other regions, opinions on this issue are evenly divided.

“The United States currently has troops in Japan as part of a security treaty. In the future, would you prefer for the United States to maintain a military presence in Japan or for the United States to withdraw its troops and have Japan provide its own military defense?”

	Maintain Presence	Withdraw Troops	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	45%	47%	8%
Age			
18 to 34	42	51	7
35 to 54	47	46	7
55 and over	44	42	14
Education			
No College	45	45	10
Some College	48	44	8
College Graduate	43	49	8
Annual Household Income			
Less than \$40,000	43	46	11
\$40,000 to \$79,999	47	47	6
\$80,000 or more	46	48	6
Party Registration			
Democrat	42	50	8
Republican	54	39	7
Other Voters	43	50	7
Region of Residence			
San Francisco Bay Area	39	50	11
Central Valley	46	44	10
Los Angeles	45	47	8
Other Southern California	46	48	6
Race and Ethnicity			
White and not Hispanic	45	46	9
Latino	44	49	7
Asian*	46	42	12
Black*	46	48	6

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

Japan Apology for World War II Crimes

Another controversial issue in U.S.-Japan relations is whether Japan has done enough to apologize and pay for the war crimes the nation committed against American soldiers and Asian countries during World War II. Along these lines, a narrow majority of Californians (52%) wants Japan to offer an official apology for its war crimes, while 41 percent think it's not necessary.

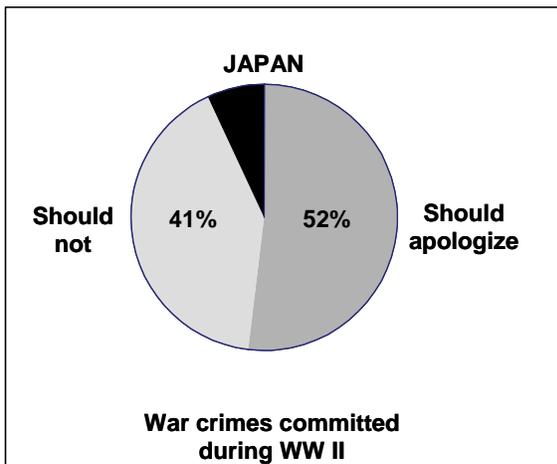
Opinions on whether Japan should or should not apologize are evenly divided among those who have an overall favorable opinion of Japan (48% to 46%) and who feel that the United States and Japan have a lot in common (47% to 48%). However, in other cases, a narrow majority believes that Japan should offer an apology – 50% to 43% among those who believe that current relations between the two countries are excellent or good, 50% to 44% among those who think that relations with Japan are very important for the United States, and 51% to 43% among those who feel that Japan has had a major influence on U.S. technology and culture.

In all age groups, most believe that Japan should apologize. However, it is older residents who feel most strongly about this matter. By a 20-point margin (56% to 36%), residents 55 and older say that Japan should offer an official apology for war crimes.

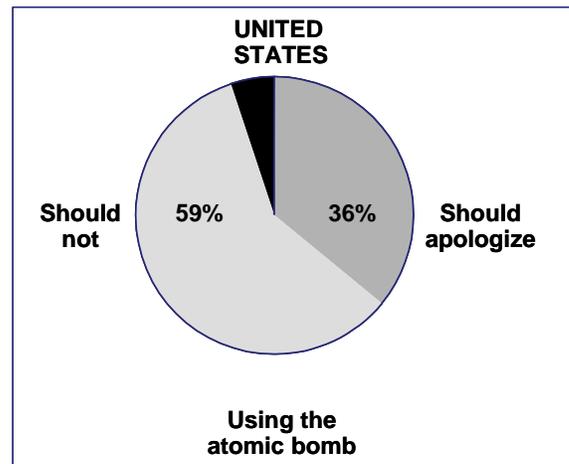
There are also significant differences by socioeconomic status. A strong majority of adults with no college education (60%) feel that Japan should apologize, while those with college degrees are divided (49% to 44%) on whether or not there should be an apology. Similarly, a solid majority of adults with incomes less than \$40,000 a year (57%) favor an apology, while those with incomes of \$80,000 or more are divided (45% to 49%).

Republicans are divided on the issue (45% to 46%), while Democrats are more in favor than opposed (52% to 41%), as are other voters (52% to 42%). Also, support for a Japanese apology is stronger in Democratic-leaning Los Angeles (55%) and the San Francisco Bay Area (54%) than elsewhere in the state.

Non-Hispanic whites are almost evenly divided on the issue of a Japanese apology (49% to 43%), while Latinos (61%) overwhelmingly support the idea.



A majority of Californians say that Japan should apologize for war crimes committed during WW II



Most Californians say that the United States should not apologize for dropping the atomic bombs on Japan

**"Should Japan offer an official apology for war crimes committed during World War II,
or should Japan not offer an official apology for this?"**

	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	52%	41%	7%
Age			
18 to 34	50	43	7
35 to 54	51	42	7
55 and over	56	36	8
Education			
No College	60	32	8
Some College	47	45	8
College Graduate	49	44	7
Income			
Less than \$40,000	57	34	10
\$40,000 to \$79,999	51	44	5
\$80,000 or more	45	49	6
Party Registration			
Democrat	52	41	7
Republican	45	46	9
Other Voters	52	42	6
Region of Residence			
San Francisco Bay Area	54	40	6
Central Valley	51	41	8
Los Angeles	55	39	6
Other Southern California	49	43	8
Race and Ethnicity			
White and not Hispanic	49	43	8
Latino	61	32	7
Asian*	55	37	8
Black*	50	46	4

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

U.S. Apology for Atom Bombs

A majority of Californians wants an apology from Japan for war crimes, but how do they feel about the United States apologizing to Japan for dropping atomic bombs on two large Japanese cities? Six in 10 Californians (59%) say that the United States should not apologize for the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, while about one in three adults (36%) say there should be a U.S. apology.

According to a 1995 national survey by Gallup, *USA Today*, and CNN, 73 percent of Americans said that we should not offer an official apology for the bombings. This national survey, taken at the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombings, shows considerably less support for an apology than we find in the current California survey, which uses the same question wording.

Most Californians in all groups feel that the United States should not apologize, including 59 percent of those who have an overall favorable opinion of Japan, 60 percent of those who think the United States and Japan have a lot in common, 59 percent of those who believe that current relations between the two countries are excellent or good, 57 percent of those who think that U.S. relations with Japan are very important, and 56 percent of those who feel that Japan has had a major influence on U.S. culture and technology.

Among those who think that Japan should apologize for war crimes, more think that the United States should also apologize for the atomic bombings (54% to 41%). Similarly, among those who think that our nation should not have to apologize for dropping the atomic bombs, most also think that the Japanese should not apologize for war crimes (59% to 36%).

Although most Californians do not think that this country should apologize to Japan for the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, older Californians have stronger opinions. Three in four residents (73%) 55 and older say we should not apologize, compared to 58 percent of those between 35 and 54, and 48 percent of those 18 to 34. In fact, those under 35 are evenly divided on the question of a U.S. apology.

Republicans (74%) feel more strongly that a U.S. apology should not be made than either Democrats (55%) or other voters (58%). Still, strong majorities across all voter groups are opposed to the idea of the United States apologizing for the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At every education and income level, more residents say that the United States should not apologize than say that it should. Interestingly, the largest amount of support for not apologizing is seen in the higher socioeconomic groups – that is, among those earning over \$80,000 (66%) a year and having at least some college education (63%). It is those with no college education (43%) and incomes below \$40,000 (43%) who are most likely to support the idea of a U.S. apology.

A majority of residents in every region opposes a U.S. apology to Japan: Southern California residents (62%) feel the strongest about this, followed by residents living in the Central Valley (59%), Los Angeles (58%), and the San Francisco Bay area (54%).

As for racial and ethnic differences, non-Hispanic whites (67%) are mostly opposed, while Latinos are mostly in favor (54%) of a U.S. apology.

"Should the United States offer an official apology to Japan for the atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II, or should the United States not offer an official apology for this?"

	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
Percent of California Adults	36%	59%	5%
Age			
18 to 34	47	48	5
35 to 54	36	58	6
55 and over	21	73	6
Education			
No College	43	49	8
Some College	32	63	5
College Graduate	33	62	5
Annual Household Income			
Less than \$40,000	43	50	7
\$40,000 to \$79,999	35	61	4
\$80,000 or more	30	66	4
Party Registration of Voters			
Democrat	38	55	7
Republican	22	74	4
Other Voters	40	58	2
Region of Residence			
San Francisco Bay Area	39	54	6
Central Valley	33	59	7
Los Angeles	38	58	4
Other Southern California	32	62	6
Race and Ethnicity			
White and not Hispanic	28	67	5
Latino	54	41	5
Asian*	36	56	8
Black*	45	50	4

* Small sample sizes for Asians and blacks.

Survey Methodology

The PPIC Statewide Survey is directed by Mark Baldassare, a senior fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California, with research assistance from Lisa Cole and Eric McGhee. The findings of this survey are based on a telephone survey of 2,007 California adults interviewed from July 1 to July 10, 2001. A series of questions on U.S.-Japan relations was included in the survey for release in September as part of the activities of the U.S.-Japan 21st Century Project marking the fiftieth anniversary of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The survey benefited from consultation with Howard Shatz, Orville Schell, Patrick Smith, and staff at the Consul General of Japan in San Francisco. However, the survey methodology, questions, and content of this report were solely determined by Mark Baldassare.

Interviewing took place on weekend days and weekday nights, using a computer-generated random sample of telephone numbers, ensuring that both listed and unlisted telephone numbers were called. All telephone exchanges in California were eligible for calling. Telephone numbers in the survey sample were called up to five times to increase the likelihood of reaching eligible households. Once a household was reached, an adult respondent (18 or older) was randomly chosen for interviewing by using the "last birthday method" to avoid biases in age and gender. Each interview took an average of 20 minutes to complete. Interviewing was conducted in English or Spanish. Maria Tello translated the survey into Spanish.

We used recent U.S. Census and state figures to compare the demographic characteristics of the survey sample with characteristics of California's adult population. The survey sample was closely comparable to the census and state figures. The survey data in this report were statistically weighted to account for any demographic differences. The sampling error for the total sample of 2,007 adults is +/- 2 percent at the 95 percent confidence level. This means that 95 times out of 100, the results will be within 2 percentage points of what they would be if all adults in California were interviewed. The sampling error for subgroups is larger. The sampling error for the 1,595 registered voters is +/- 2.5%. Sampling error is just one type of error to which surveys are subject. Results may also be affected by factors such as question wording, question order, and survey timing.

Throughout the report, we refer to four geographic regions. "Central Valley" includes Butte, Colusa, Fresno, Glenn, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, Placer, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Shasta, Stanislaus, Sutter, Tehama, Tulare, Yolo, and Yuba Counties. "SF Bay Area" includes Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma Counties. "Los Angeles" refers to Los Angeles County, and "Other Southern California" includes the mostly suburban regions of Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and San Diego Counties. These four regions were chosen for analysis because they are the major population centers of the state, accounting for approximately 90 percent of the state population; moreover, the growth of the Central Valley and "Other Southern California" regions have given them increasing political significance.

We present specific results for Latinos because they account for about 24 percent of the state's adult population and constitute one of the fastest growing voter groups. The sample sizes for the African American and Asian subgroups are not large enough for separate statistical analysis, but these groups are included in tables. We contrast the opinions of Democrats and Republicans with "other" or "independent" registered voters. This third category includes those who are registered to vote as "decline to state" as well as a fewer number who say they are members of other political parties. In some cases, we compare PPIC Statewide Survey responses to responses in national surveys by Gallup in February 2001, Harris in March 1999, and CNN/Gallup/*USA Today* in November 1995.

PPIC STATEWIDE SURVEY: CALIFORNIANS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT
JULY 1-10, 2001
2,007 CALIFORNIA ADULT RESIDENTS; ENGLISH AND SPANISH
MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 2% AT 95% CONFIDENCE LEVEL FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

The survey included the following questions on Japan and U.S.-Japan relations.

1. What is your overall opinion of Japan today – is it very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?
 - 18% very favorable
 - 56 mostly favorable
 - 11 mostly unfavorable
 - 5 very unfavorable
 - 10 don't know
2. Would you say that Japan and the United States have a lot in common, only some things in common, or not much in common?
 - 33% a lot in common
 - 50 only some things in common
 - 13 not much in common
 - 4 don't know
3. Do you think that Japan has had a major influence or a minor influence on culture and technology in the United States?
 - 65% major influence
 - 30 minor influence
 - 5 don't know
4. How would you rate the current state of relations between the United States and Japan – excellent, good, fair, or poor?
 - 9% excellent
 - 50 good
 - 32 fair
 - 4 poor
 - 5 don't know
5. How important to the United States are relations with Japan – very important, somewhat important, or not too important?
 - 55% very important
 - 37 somewhat important
 - 6 not too important
 - 2 don't know
6. Which of the following do you think is the most important issue in relations between the United States and Japan – political issues, including security; economic issues, including trade and investment; or cooperation on global issues, such as the environment and population?
 - 15% political issues
 - 57 economic issues
 - 22 global issues
 - 1 other
 - 5 don't know
7. Which relationship do you think is more important for the United States today – the relationship with Japan or the relationship with China?
 - 40% Japan
 - 43 China
 - 10 both equally (*volunteered*)
 - 7 don't know
8. The United States currently has troops in Japan as part of a security treaty. In the future, would you prefer for the United States to maintain a military presence in Japan or for the United States to withdraw its troops and have Japan provide its own military defense?
 - 45% U.S. should maintain a military presence
 - 47 U.S. should withdraw its troops
 - 8 don't know
9. Should Japan offer an official apology for war crimes committed during World War II, or should Japan not offer an official apology for this?
 - 52% should
 - 41 should not
 - 7 don't know
10. Should the United States offer an official apology to Japan for the atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II, or should the United States not offer an official apology for this?
 - 36% should
 - 59 should not
 - 5 don't know

PPIC STATEWIDE SURVEY

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