



## ON IDENTITY AND INTEREST: EXAMINING JAPAN'S OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN ENVIRONMENTAL SECTOR TOWARDS THE PACIFIC ISLANDS COUNTRIES 2009-2018

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### Abstrak:

Paper ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan kebijakan asistensi lingkungan Jepang kepada Negara-Negara Kepulauan Pasifik pada tahun 2009-2018. Kebijakan ini menandai perubahan relasi Jepang ke PICs ketika sebelumnya, asistensi Jepang ditentukan oleh ide-ide intrinsik Jepang sendiri yang diterapkan dalam asistensi perikanan, ekonomi, pembangunan berkelanjutan, dan keamanan. Asistensi lingkungan menjadi tonggak perubahan prinsip pemberian bantuan dari state-led ke request-based sejak Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting edisi ke-5 (PALM5) tahun 2009. Kerangka konseptual akan menggunakan struktur identitas dan kepentingan oleh Alexander Wendt karena penulis melihat pergeseran tersebut sebagai refleksi dari perubahan cara pandang Jepang terhadap PICs. Pasifisme sebagai identitas asli Jepang mengalami rekontekstualisasi sehingga membentuk keselarasan identitas dengan PICs sebagai negara kepulauan yang rentan. Penelitian ditempuh melalui metode eksplanatif-kualitatif untuk menjelaskan proses dan hubungan sebab-akibat dari konstruksi identitas dengan kebijakan asistensi lingkungan. Penelitian ini menawarkan kebaruan yaitu dengan perspektif konstruktivisme, faktor ideasional dapat diperhitungkan dalam kebijakan Jepang ke PICs. Dari analisis tersebut, diketahui bahwa pemahaman intersubjektif antara Jepang dan PICs menghasilkan konstruksi identitas kolektif "We are islanders" yang memperlihatkan tipifikasi timbal balik yaitu physical security, ontological security, recognition, dan development. Temuan tersebut juga berimplikasi praktikal bahwa kebijakan negara tidak selalu berdasarkan aspek materiil, tetapi juga melibatkan logika kepantasan, terutama berkaitan dengan konduksi negara Utara-Selatan dan persoalan yang imparial dan lintas batas seperti lingkungan dan perubahan iklim global.

**Kata Kunci:** ODA Jepang, pasifisme, Negara-Negara Kepulauan Pasifik, asistensi lingkungan, identitas kolektif.

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## **Abstract:**

This article aims to explain Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) in environmental sector towards the Pacific Islands Countries (PICs) in 2009-2018. This policy marked the changing relations as previously, Japan's ODA to PICs was determined by Japan's own intrinsic ideas which were implemented in fisheries, economic, sustainable development, and security assistance. Environmental assistance is the milestone of the shift in aid giving principle from state-led to request-based that was started since the 5th edition of the Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting (PALM5) in 2009. Author will use the structure of identity and interest concept by Alexander Wendt, since author sees that shift in aid giving principle is the reflection of changes in how Japan define PICs. Pacifism as Japan's indigenous identity underwent recontextualization to construct a harmonious identity with PICs as vulnerable islands countries. Methodologically, this is an explanative research to examine the process and causality within the identity construction and environmental assistance policy. This research offers a novelty that with constructivism as perspective, the ideational factors can be taken into account. From the analysis, author found that the intersubjective understanding between Japan and PICs formed the collective identity formation "We are islanders" to address PICs' peculiarity in environmental problems which reveals reciprocal typifications in physical security, ontological security, recognition, and development. The findings have practical implication as well, that state behavior is not always based on material aspect, but also involve the logic of appropriateness, especially with regard of North-South relations and in the impartial issues such as environmental deterioration, natural disaster, and climate change.

**Keywords:** *Japan's ODA, pacifism, Pacific Islands Countries, environmental assistance, collective identity*

## **Introduction**

In 2009-2018, Japan provided environmental assistance as the ODA policy towards PICs. Environmental assistance in PICs was dedicatedly stated as an integral part in Chapter 3 – Section 3 of 2009 ODA White Paper. PALM5 event also confirmed the implementation of this policy.

"In May 2009, Japan hosted the PALM5 in Tomamu, Hokkaido, inviting the leaders and representatives of 16 member countries and areas of the Pacific Islands Forum. At PALM5, heated discussion on various topics, including the environment and climate change, took place under the catchphrase, "We are islanders – Towards an Eco-friendly and Rich Pacific." (MOFA Japan, 2009).

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) annual report Fiscal Year 2010-2019 shows the practice of this policy, as evidenced by the selection of 9 environmental assistance projects over the total 13 assistance projects as case studies. Environmental assistance is detailed into the areas related to natural disaster, climate change, ecosystem damage, and sustainable development (MOFA Japan, 2017).

These 9 projects are first, building the Palau International Coral Reef Center in July 2009. Second, the construction of Port Moresby Sewerage System in January 2010. Third, establishing National Disaster Management Officer in October 2010 in Fiji and Solomon Islands. Fourth, the technical cooperation by J-PRISM and SPREP on waste management. Fifth, the protection of coral ecosystem in Micronesia by University of Ryukyus and JSTA. Sixth, provided Fiji Meteorological Service to support disaster resilience in nine surrounding countries. Seventh, the initiation on renewable energy in Marshall Islands and Micronesia that was benefitting up to 20 percent of population. Eighth, increasing the capacity of clean water supply in Samoa by the cooperation within Samoa Water Authority and Okinawa Prefecture. Ninth, engaging on various sustainable development projects (adopted from JICA's annual report FY 2010-2019).

Alongside JICA's report, MOFA also issued the environmental assistance practice. In 2010, Japan provided a grant to Palau on a solar power project to mitigate dependence on imported fuels and reduce carbon dioxide emissions (MOFA Japan, 2010). In Samoa, Japan provided a technical cooperation with the National Parks and National Reserve of Samoa to facilitate bird migration as a result of the deforestation over the world (MOFA Japan, 2011).

In December 2012, Okinawa Citizens Recycling Movement helped Tonga in addressing waste problem that caused by limited land area (MOFA, 2012). In 2013, Japan completed an irrigation project with Solomon Islands Water Authority and could increase the distribution of clean water by 83

percent (MOFA Japan, 2013). In 2014, Japan supported the disaster management capacity for Fiji and Solomon Islands through updating the water measurement technology (MOFA Japan, 2014). In 2015, Japan renewed cooperation of the Regional Initiative on Solid Waste Management (MOFA Japan, 2015).

In 2016, MOFA issued two case studies of environmental projects in the ODA White Paper: capacity building for Samoa Water Authority who operated clean water supply for 85 percent of Samoan and a solar power plant in Papua New Guinea that covered 5,000 people in Manus Province (ODA Japan, 2016). As in 2016, there are also two case studies of the environmental assistance project in 2017. First, assistance for drought in Marshall Island through the construction of water reservoirs and increasing clean water supply in Fiji through Ecological Purification System technology for 20,000 residents in Viti Levu Island (MOFA Japan, 2017). Environmental assistance is becoming interesting from the process of determining this policy as for the first time, Japan changed the aid giving principle in PICs, from state-led to request-based.

This changing policy also reveals a new phase in Japan's ODA timeline which until 2018 have separated by three phases. First, the initial phase and evaluation which occurred from 1972-1996. The ODA policy in this phase was guided by Suzuki Pacific Doctrine and Kuranari Doctrine which stipulated fisheries as priority sector (Tarte in Arase, 2005). Second, the reaffirming partnership which took place from 1997-2008 under the first four editions of PALM. In this phase, ODA focused on economic, sustainable development, and security. PALM5 in 2009 was the beginning phase of an equal partnership with environment was main sector through request-based principle.

From these series, this research is important because development assistance as the interaction practice between donor and recipient country cannot only seen from the donor's perspective, but what ultimately determining is the interaction itself along with domestic and systemic dynamics which affect the definition of situation towards the recipient. The

long-standing partnership context is an integral part since Japan's point of view is influenced by the accumulation of experience, knowledge, and mutual understanding.

Japan and PICs have had bilateral relations since PICs' independence. The closeness can be seen from at least three factors of interest. First, geographical aspect with its shared location in the Pacific Ocean and as fellow islands country. Second, the pre-independence history when Japan was the authority of the South Sea Mandate (Micronesia, Marshall Islands, and Palau). Third, interdependence in fishery resources and in PICs' position as Japan's loyal voter on the election of the United Nations Non-Permanent Security Council Member (Kobayashi, 2018).

Japan and PICs' relationship is tied by Japan's position as donor country. ODA itself in the early phase was focusing on economic recovery and post-war reparation to restore Japan's image after the war involvement (Dewi, 2014). In PICs, Japan recontextualized this ODA policy through fishery assistance. Over time, ODA has experienced sector expansion, from the economic to the contemporary issues.

The expansion of the ODA sector was contributed by both domestic and systemic factors. From domestic factor, Japan as the newly leading industrial country in the 1960s was in under pressure to balance the economic aspect and environmental impact. Japan responded through adoption of environmentally-oriented governance, such as law on recycling, emission, and energy conservation (Schreurs, 2004). Meanwhile from systemic factor, Japan emerged as the pioneer yet front runner in human security projects. For example, Japan plays a role in international climate negotiations and one of the achievements was Kyoto Protocol.

These Japan's gait series can be drawn from identity as the point of view. Japan who embraced pacifism since Constitution 1947 makes Japan's policy should reflect its anti-war commitments. Specifically, the environmental assistance in PICs makes the ODA policy observable through the identity framework. Moreover, the policy change is preceded by various conditions

that are worth measuring the extent of Japan exposes pacifism, such as PICs' position as Japan's fish supplier, growing China presence in PICs through financial assistance, PICs' role for Japan in the international arena, and the understanding of environmental problems as the common issue in the Pacific region.

To map this research, author identifies three aspects that have been conducted by previous researchers: Japan's environmental policy, the shift in Japan's ODA priority sector, and Japan's ODA towards PICs.

On the Japan's environmental policy aspect, Takao (2012) and Schreurs (2004) mentioned Japan's adaptability to dynamics in systemic situation which encouraged the adoption of green policies to maintain Japan's image. Takao (2012) saw economic motivation to protect the industry through compliance on environmental standards. On the other hand, Schreurs (2004) saw the political motivation since Japan has not been completely detached from the shadow of war that changed Japan's political direction into a paeaceful country. The researchers contributed in demonstrating that Japan accomodates both domestic and systemic input. However, the researchers did not take into account the fundamental factor that stimulates Japan to consistently adapt. Hence, author will fill this gap through the discussion of pacifism as it is Japan's indigenous identity.

On the shifting of ODA's priority sector aspect, Dewi (2014) and Kato (2016) believed that Japan carried out changes in ODA as tool for post-war reparation in the beginning, developed as the reflection of economic excellence, and finally possessed human security as the strategic policy. Dewi (2014) explained that the end of Cold War pushed Japan to respond by dividing ODA into traditional geo-economic and human security trajectory. Meanwhile, Kato (2016) saw that the contemporary ODA refers to the prioritization of security, economy, and resources. The researchers contributed in demonstrating that changes in the ODA's priority sector are aimed to reinforce Japan's identity as a peaceful country. However, the researchers did not consider the role of the domestic political culture and

international norms as the factor in the ODA shift. Hence, author will fill this gap by discussing norms that guided the ODA travel.

On the Japan's ODA in PICs aspect, Funaki (2016) and Kobayashi (2018) argued that ODA is based on the friendly manner understanding since Japan and PICs' continuous effort to reduce partial intention. Funaki (2016) mentioned that the state-led principle is gradually leveled up to request-based principle to spot on the assistance. Meanwhile, Kobayashi (2018) discussed the ODA from the dynamics in Japan's interest, from PICs' rejection of radioactive waste plan until the achievement in establishing PALM which aims to equalize relations. The researchers contributed to demonstrate that Japan wants to build an equal partnership. However, the researchers did not explain about the understanding that triggered Japan to increasingly consider the PICs' needs. Hence, author will fill this gap by examining the connection between identity and interest which formed a mutual understanding.

Reflecting on the literature review, it is important to discuss the environmental assistance through the structure of identity and interest which represents the collective identity of Japan and PICs. Interaction that based on a harmonious identity can explain the reason of Japan's decision to change the aid giving principle and finally delivered the environmental assistance as its result. Build upon the background and literature review, author proposes a specific question: "why did Japan provide environmental assistance in 2009-2018 as the result of shift in ODA policy towards PICs?".

### **Analytical Framework**

To answer the research question, author will use the concept of the structure of identity and interest by Wendt (1994). The structure of identity and interest will explain that the collective identity is determinant to decide the environmental assistance policy. Author opts this conceptual framework based on two reasons. First, there is a gap in the previous studies which only looked at the friendly manner perspective to review ODA in PICs. This gap creates a limitation in analyzing the changes in ODA policy and its practice with lack of systematic causality to be

concluded. Moreover, author identifies the norms that matched pacifism in Japan's ODA travel, which are humanitarian and democratic norms.

Second, the structure of identity and interest can explain the state action towards its policy object to generate expectations and reciprocity in accordance with the state's behavior. This concept will examine the changes in how Japan define PICs, from 'neighboring country' to 'equal partner' as the result of intersubjective understanding.

Wendt (1994) pointed that identity is the main tool to explain international relations, including anarchy and cooperation. Structure is formed by the interrelation of social construction and its elements: shared knowledge, material resources, and social practices. State then identifies national interest based on identity dynamics because it is recontextualized in international interaction. Identity is inherent in every state's action and interest. Changes in identity are followed by interest change. On the other hand, changes in interest mean the identity change.

Indigenous identity is constructed from the blend of international culture and norms with domestic political norms (Wendt, 1992). Norm plays as a common idea to bond the behavior and interaction (Hermann & Shannon, 2001, p. 623). A continuous interaction generates an identity continuum towards policy object (Wendt, 1999). Identity has undergone recontextualization because it has contracted with the interaction object. The interaction of recontextualized identity towards the policy object delivers intersubjective understanding subsequent to the introduction process to policy object that creates expectation over shared knowledge.

The interactions occur on two types: positive interaction and negative interaction (Bozdaglioglu, 2003, p. 20). The positive interaction encourages collective identity formation by its collective gain. In contrast, the negative interaction results in selfish identity since the output is absolute gain.

In the context of this research, Japan and PICs have projected a collective identity "We are islanders". Through the collective identity, reciprocal typification is obtained as consequence of the structure of identity and interest (Wendt, 1994). First, physical security, which is how state perceive and pursuit security in every



situation. Second, ontological security, which is predictability of state's position regarding its own stable identity. Third, recognition, which results in position of policy object, whether support or rejection. Fourth, development, which is state's logic of appropriateness to fulfill the repository at collective level (Wendt, 1994).

From the initial findings and the gap that is conducted by structure of identity and interest as conceptual framework, author argues that the environmental assistance as the ODA policy to PICs in 2009-2018 stands for Japan's commitment to run the equal partnership which changed the aid giving principle from state-led to request-based. This decision is due to the intersubjective understanding following recontextualization of pacifism coupled with ODA norms that created a harmonious identity with PICs as the vulnerable island's countries. By positive interaction through PALM facilitation, in 2009, Japan and PICs collective identity "We are islanders" was formed.

Environmental assistance demonstrates the reciprocal typification. First, physical security to protect Japan's fishery resources. Second, ontological security to maintain status as leading aid country in PICs. Third, recognition to gain support from PICs in the international arena. Fourth, development that represents logic of appropriateness to define assistance as Japan's unconditional support to address environmental issues as it is PICs' fundamental problem.

## **Methods**

Methodologically, this is an explanative research through qualitative analysis from literature review to examine the process and causality within Japan and PICs' identity construction and the Japan's environmental assistance policy as the answer of research question and the verification of hypothesis as well. The data sources are collecting from Japanese government official release and statement (ODA White Paper, Diplomatic Bluebook, PICs' government official release and statement), books, journal article, and authoritative electronic sources.

There are two data periods. First is between 2009-2018 that shows the practice of environmental assistance to present the context of this research. Second is before 2009 to examine the dynamics in Japan and PICs' relations

and interactions which are necessary based on the structure of identity and interest concept used in this research. PICs as Japan's policy object is chosen based on Japan's classification in the 2009-2018 ODA White Paper that Japan's ODA towards the Oceania is not specifically for certain country, because it contains benefit for the whole region as PICs have similar peculiarity.

Based on research background that will be conducted using the structure of identity and interest concept, author proposes the discussion structure: (1) the environmental assistance as a shift in the ODA policy, (2) pacifism recontextualization coupled by the ODA norms in forming an identity harmony, and (3) the intersubjective understanding in the collective identity formation and its reciprocal typification.

## **Result and Analysis**

Japan was consistently renewing its relationship with PICs since the first official bilateral relations back in the 1970s. In the early phase, the relationship stood on 'neighboring country' understanding with dominant initiative from Japan, including in the context of development assistance.

PALM5 became the culmination point of strengthened relations to achieve an equal partnership followed by change in the aid giving principle from state-led to request-based, after the reaffirmation agenda on the previous ones. This change shows Japan's identity determination in recontextualizing pacifism. The intersubjective understanding then constructed the collective identity formation "We are islanders".

### **Japan's Environmental Assistance Towards Pics: A Shift In Oda Policy**

Environmental assistance is the product from the shift in ODA policy. This shift is the reflection of growing relations between Japan and PICs and was influenced by ODA policy and its dynamics at the global level.

From Japan and PICs relations aspect, author sees that Japan and PICs experienced three phases of relations: the initial phase and its evaluation, the establishment of PALM to strengthen relations, and the actual partnership that marked by shift in the aid giving principle. The relationship

dynamics is important because it has accumulated the knowledge and understanding which were originally built by the status as neighboring country in the Pacific Ocean.

In the initial phase, Japan's interest was clearly in PICs' role as Japan's number one fish supplier. Japan distributed ODA firstly to Samoa and Fiji shortly after their independence in 1972 (Kobayashi, 2018, p. 91). In the systemic realms, the trend of decolonialization was then followed by the implementation of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) that made PICs even more significant. This fact has motivated Japan to provide fishery assistance. Through fishery assistance, Japan could help PICs to optimize fishery sector while also securing fish commodities.

Upheaval occurred in 1981 when Japan planned to conduct a trial of radioactive waste disposal in Mariana Trench. This plan was suddenly rejected by PICs who was represented by former South Sea Mandate countries. Japan's effort to bridge this problem through Suzuki Pacific Doctrine was unsuccessful because Japan still has the Pan-Pacific Concept so that protest still increased. Japan's leader change from Prime Minister Suzuki who was replaced by Prime Minister Nakasone led the improving relations. In September 1984, Nakasone officially aborted the plan and was followed by Kuranari Doctrine at 1987 Japan-South Pacific Forum meeting in Fiji. Kuranari Doctrine contains principle of respect for sovereignty and self-help effort, regional cooperation, political stability, development cooperation, and people-to-people exchange (Kanasugi, 1988, p. 44).

During the 1990s, Japan's ODA in PICs stabilized at the top two position (Tarte in Arase, 2005, p. 237). Japan's approach resulted fruitful relationship. In 1996, Japan won the election of the United Nations Non-Permanent Security Council Member as the Asian representative after defeating India (Kobayashi, 2018, p. 94). Japan's triumph was also contributed by the votes of all PICs. Unity of voice in the whole region is important in the context of Japan's geopolitical position in Oceania.

Japan was seeking to further improve relations by initiating a routine bilateral meeting. In October 1997, Japan established PALM to be the main axis of diplomacy towards PICs (MOFA Japan, n.d.). The background of PALM is the status as neighboring country in the Pacific Ocean who has been in partnership since the beginning so it is important to overcome common challenges. PALM became the arena to reaffirm partnership and strengthen relations. The first four editions described it.

When in the first event, PALM began a new chapter of relationship, PALM 2000 has expressed the intention to develop symbiosis through interdependence on the sustainable development assistance (MOFA Japan, 2000). Then, PALM 2003 adopted the Okinawa Initiative into a concrete plan strategy based on human security and then enacted security as the main assistance agenda, referring to international concern on terrorism (MOFA Japan, 2003). PALM 2006 continued the PALM 2003 agenda by translating the 2003 Revised ODA Charter with the framework of democratization and human security (Lloyd & Ishizuka, 2007, p. 85). State-led as the aid giving principle was bridged by gradually increasing partnership based on cherishing fellowship.

PALM5 in 2009 marked a new phase. PALM5 has accumulated relations from the early phase to the strengthening relations until finally reckoning PICs' needs in the Japan's ODA policy. PICs' request to implement the Pacific Environment Community idea back at PALM 2000 was welcomed with assistant in the environmental sector: climate change, rising sea level, renewable energy, waste management, nature conservation, fisheries, natural disaster, biodiversity, education, and vulnerability of remote islands (MOFA Japan, 2009). This agenda was packaged by peace and prosperity commitment coupled with request-based principle. It is worth noting that request-based principle has been stated in the 2003 Revised ODA Charter and finally through transparency facilitation at PALM, this principle can be applied towards PICs in 2009.

PALM6, PALM7, and PALM8 apparently still continued the PALM5 legacy (MOFA Japan, 2012). Specifically, PALM6 emphasized the prioritization on the environment and climate change. Then PALM7 developed human resources aspect to tackle natural disaster, climate change, and the environment issues (MOFA Japan, 2015). United Nations recognized PALM7 as the SDGs partner by the shared awareness of the remote islands characters (United Nations, n.d.). PALM8 was even more clear, as Japan facilitated PICs' idea represented by Samoa: "Blue Continent", a PICs' desire to address vulnerability in climate change and natural disaster (MOFA Japan, 2018).

From the dynamics of the relations, the breakthrough that had been initiated since initial phase to the strengthening relations led Japan to be among of the leaders in PICs. On the other hand, PICs' role is also being taken into account so that Japan was able to change the aid giving principle based on mutual understanding as an equal partner. The indication can also be seen from grant distribution to PICs which is up to 81.2 percent. Grant could be the symbolization of equal partner, considering PICs have a high ratio of foreign aid over GDP and relied on donor countries for national development.

The relations dynamics which conclude that the achievement of the equal partnership was related to the dynamics of ODA as well. ODA as center of assistance policy allows Japan to specifically reconfigure assistance toward certain recipient countries, including PICs. Author sees three important moments in ushering the change of the aid giving principle in PICs. First, the background and the expansion which took place in 1947-1972. Second, the systemic expansion and development of philosophy that occurred in 1973-2002. Third, the revision of the ODA Charter from 2003 till date.

The history of ODA began on Japan's desire to join the international community after previously being directly involved in the World War. In 1951, Japan's wish was accepted through the San Francisco Treaty that required Japan to pay the war compensation (Kato in Kato et al., 2015). Peace

constitution which was drafted by the Allies forced Japan to be took the role in this agenda. In 1954, Japan established ODA to provide economic support to the developing countries. The ODA destination was firstly to Philippines, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and South Korea (Huda, 2016). In addition to Japan's obligation and post-war reparations agenda, economic support and cooperation was also useful for the bilateral relations, as well as promoting Japan's industrial product such as power plant and transportation means. In the 1960s, ODA began to grow its assistance organizationally such as by joining OECF and DAC in 1961, joining OECD in 1964, and facilitating the establishment of JICA in 1974 (Toba, 2002).

The 1970s marked the ODA expansion against the backdrop of systemic changes that affected domestic situations, such as Japanese soybean embargo by the United States in 1973, the global oil crisis, and protests in Bangkok and Jakarta regarding the dominance of Japanese company. ODA was one of the strategic instrument to tackle these problems. Such as ODA expansion to the Middle East, Africa, and South America to deal with food and energy issues. Then increased grants to achieve healthy economic growth and the people-to-people exchange to rebuild trust in the Southeast Asia.

Japan's ODA turned to be the largest foreign aid in 1989-2000. The broadened assistance—thanks to the rapid economic growth—has increased ODA capacity in the recipient countries. The initial success phase was utilized to constituted the 1992 ODA Charter to stress Japan's commitment on the global development.

The 1992 ODA Charter contains norms and philosophy: humanity, interdependence in international community, protecting the environment, and self-help effort (Nakaya, 1996). Reflecting peace commitment, Japan also set ODA's long-term focus: without using military instrument, compatibility with recipient's needs, conservation project, and adapt to the humanitarian and cultural context (Huda, 2016).

At the beginning of millennium, ODA was influenced by the 9/11 thus expanding the ODA's range to address the international security. Alongside of showing Japan's adaptability to systemic situation, ODA was also intended to resettle domestic public's criticism who were questioning ODA's linierity with the foreign policy objectives. Public highlighted surrounding events, such as the emergence of China as new economic power and the North Korean nuclear activity (Sunaga, 2004). Japan responded these by announcing the 2003 Revised ODA Charter in August 29, 2003. The Japanese government accomodates the aspiration that ODA is should not limited to "helping the poor" but also is able to ensure Japan's interest in international community.

Humanitarian and democratic norms played an important role because the norms' existence led ODA to be acceptable for both domestic public, recipient countries, and the international community. The 2003 Revised ODA Charter made ODA meaningful for ensuring Japan's peace and prosperity. From this, author sees Japan's national interest was pursued through the recontextualization of pacifism according to situation definition towards recipient.

The 2003 Revised ODA Charter has five basic pillars: self-help, human security, equality, Japanese experience and expertise, international collaboration, and addressing the priority issues (MOFA Japan, 2003). Through ODA, Japan can aim the distinctive program with a positive interaction. Aside to support the recipient country, Japan can maintain its identity as a peaceful country. This reciprocal typification is also known as the politics of 'raising the flag' (Lloyd & Ishizuka, 2007).

In February 10, 2015, Japanese Cabinet set Cabinet decision on the Development Cooperation Charter (DCC). DCC marked the 60th anniversary of ODA with the jargon "for peace, prosperity, and a better future for everyone" to show that ODA is now able to address individual issues (Government of Japan, 2015). ODA can be conducive to the government-government and government-agency interaction. In the other words, ODA adapts to the

domestic needs (public and agency), bilaterally (recipient and regional), and to the international community.

In 2002-2017, ODA distributed a total USD 220,197.49 million assistance with 47.94 percent of grants and 52.06 percent of loans (adopted from Japan's ODA White Paper). In the global statistics, loan schemes outweighed grants. This is becoming problematic when it is compared to the data in certain countries. In PICs for example, the grant amount is four times more than loans. From this comparison, it can be interpreted that there is such a norm that bind Japan's interaction with recipients so that global and per country statistics can differ.

In PICs, Japan's decision is related to the dynamics of relations and during this statistical period, Japan and PICs' relations were strengthening and acquiring an equal partnership. The environmental assistance in 2009-2018 represents relations that took the advantage of the request-based principle following declaration of "We are islanders", which means that relations were considering the basic character of remote islands with its environmental vulnerability. Furthermore, it is necessary to look at the Japan's identity construction along with ODA norms since shift in the ODA policy shows the pacifism recontextualization and the changes in how Japan define PICs.

### **Recontextualization Of Pacifism In The Environmental Assistance**

The recontextualization of pacifism led a harmonious identity. Japan as the donor country contracted PICs as its recipient. The request-based principle demonstrates the equal and collective relations. Japan as the donor constructed the harmony guided by the ODA norms.

The construction of Japan's identity needs to be examined since Japan's action and interest is rooted by identity. The 1947 Constitution is the starting point. This Constitution which is also known as Peace Constitution should determine Japan's further gait in international system. Global changes and Japan's adaptability then reveal the recontextualized identity to confirm ODA's position in pacifism exposure.



Peace Constitution was promulgated on November 3, 1946 and came into force on May 3, 1947. In article 9, the Constitution explicitly renounces any war and military instrument to commit peace and respect for humanity and sovereignty.

*“Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.”* (Government of Japan, n.d.).

Peace principles guide the structure of political decision along with changes in the domestic and systemic situation. However, the emergence of pacifism was not without a problematic cause. Japan's defeat in the World War II put Japan under Allies control. In August 26, 1945, Allies declared Postdam Declaration which aimed in reconstructing Japan, including to modify the Meiji Constitution in the pretext that Japan should remove barrier on democracy (Parisi, 2002). The Allies Mandate leader, General Douglas Mac Arthur approved the draft and it was eventually adopted as Japan's constitution.

Constitution meant a trade off. Japan as a sovereign entity must abolish military and war, with United States being responsible for ensuring Japan's security. Furthermore, Allies' dictation in Japan's constitution was intended to make Japan no longer be an aggressive country and would not possible to develop military power (Kades, 1989, p. 217).

At first, the anti-war clause meant to be the symbol of Japan's defeat, exhaustion, and occupation (Hook & McCormack, 2005). But gradually, pacifism was finally internalized in the Japanese society. Allies' dictation was supported by understanding within Japanese society after experienced the terrible war. These encouragements from international norms and domestic culture led Japanese government to take the portion of pacifism (Urata, 1980).

The narration of pacifism was also reproduced in the society especially via peace education. Through this construction, the understanding of pacifism was broadened, not limited to specifically anti-war and anti-military, but also reached out the international political economy aspect for example, considering that Japan was emerging as a leading industrial country at the moment.

Debate over constitution amendments has surfaced on several occasions. It stems from dissatisfaction about the genealogy of constitution and the development of situation that was deemed to require more comprehensive national security instrument than just the alliance with the United States, such as North Korea's nuclear activity and the aggressiveness of China's geopolitical strategy. But lastly, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in 2013 stated that even if amendment is indeed attempted, the emphasis about a peaceful country remains a fixed price, regardless of whether the amendment will be set or not, or whether Japan will return the military again or not (Abe & Tepperman, 2013).

Pacifism led Japan to bring up a unique approach to its national security. Beside the traditional security which is guaranteed by the United States, Japan run the international security framework by peaceful means. Such as when conflict in the Middle East occurred during Gulf War and Global War on Terror, Japan opted to provide humanitarian assistance for the affected people, instead of dispatching security forces and involve in conflict. Not only that, Japan also utilizes 'non-security' instrument to attain security objectives, such as the economic power, which is translated into ODA policy.

Initiative and leadership in the human security agenda is the actual manifestation of Japan's pacifism and its security profile. Human security is linear with pacifism because its fulfillment does not require any military equipment. Pacifism transformed from the war and military renunciation into an emphasis on the impact of unsustainable growth that creates vulnerability for individuals. Human security commitment was expressed through 500 million yen funding in the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security

(MOFA Japan, 2003). This pillar was continued by Yoshiro Mori who increased financial contribution by 10 billion yen. Mori himself was the initiator of the United Nations Commission on Human Security which was established in January 2001 together with Kofi Annan, Sadako Ogata, and Amartya Sen.

ODA is one of the most representative policy in observing pacifism through human security. Coincide with the 60th Japan's National Foundation Day, the Japanese government declared Japan's dedication to the international peace with the ODA travel as its explication (MOFA Japan, 2005).

The environmental assistance towards PICs shows similar intentions. It even has an adding value as it was coinciding with the 60th years of ODA. "We are islanders" clause indicates that Japan and PICs formed collective identity. Meanwhile, the request-based principle shows that ODA was formulated democratically following the harmonious identity prior equal partnership.

ODA is considered 'future proof' since it is a practice of Japan's indigenous identity so that ODA meets the qualifications of peace commitment that defined in Japan's constitution. ODA also reflects the dynamic of pacifism and is able to guide every action and interest.

The construction of pacifism which at the end proves ODA as one of identity practices shows the existence of norms in its travel. Norms are justified after that ODA has developed from being merely a foreign policy instrument of donor country and then has gone travel to be an interaction to harmonize the identity between both donor and recipient country.

ODA was established in 1954 based on Japan's obligation to wage the post-war reparations program. As a result, developing countries who were benefited by the ODA caused in increasing image of Japan. ODA became a strategic tool to overcome energy crisis through assistance in the Middle East and the South America (Lewis-Workman, 2018). Japan's adaptability to these changes led the Japan's ODA to be the largest development assistance distributor in 1989.

Another changes occurred in the early 1990s when Japan responded the concern of domestic public who began to be critical in viewing ODA. The 1992 ODA Charter is basically the adaptation of the 1990 Houston Summit by G-7 which enacted democracy as the international norm. Japan then offered a new paradigm of ODA, namely promotion of humanitarian values. ODA began to be utilized to address the humanitarian issues and the spread of democracy as well, such as humanitarian assistance in East Timor in 1999 and in Afghanistan and Iraq during war on terror period (Lewis-Workman, 2018).

In addition to the humanitarian and democratic norms in the ODA, Japan was also improving information disclosure to increase public's accessibility. Japan's ODA information on the MOFA website then became the most accessible aid documents, including for the English speakers (Sato & Asano in Sato & Hirata, 2008).

Japan constantly attempted to convince the public about ODA. The 2003 Revised ODA Charter is aimed to emphasize the description of Japan's identity: a peaceful country, a developed country, responding to changes, and reflecting the universal values (Lewis-Workman, 2018, p. 90). The 2003 Revised ODA Charter states the purpose of ODA "... thereby helping to ensure Japan's security and prosperity" which means as a Japanese corporate idea but is still bound by other norms that are in line with the 1992 ODA Charter: contributing to peace and development in international community.

The aid giving principle has developed from being originated on poverty rates to being needs based. However, the needs based can not be directly implemented since it is necessary to through past relationship reaffirmation phase. In PICs for example when this principle started to be set in 2009. Then from priority sector, ODA experienced shift from initially on the economic and infrastructure to being nuanced on human security. The Japanese government has a cooperation with United Nations through United Nations

Trust Fund for Human Security to ensure that the aid principle in human security is well implemented.

Problem arose when the ODA budget declined due to Japan's economic downturn, which was from 1.17 billion yen in 1997 to 0.54 billion yen in 2014 that slipped down Japan to the fourth rank in DAC (Ogawa, 2019, p. 12). These statistics was in the same time with the emergence of China as a new donor player in Oceania. In the region that is predominantly composed of South Country, namely Africa, South America and Oceania, China has distributed larger aid and only in South and Central Asia this condition has not yet occurred. China's progress then shows that Japan needed to seek advantages of Japan's own ODA in order to maintain the leader position in PICs in the corridor of peace. If China can be explosive in financial assistance, Japan explored identity to avoid head to head. With a smaller budget, Japan needed to go on through various adaptations, including the adoption of humanitarian and democratic value.

From these ODA travel, it can be seen that changes in ODA demonstrate Japan's adaptation needs in domestic and systemic situations. This adaptation is crucial because with pacifism, Japan's national interest needs to be pursued in a unique way. Such in achieving the national security without military instruments. Or plays major role in the human security projects and use ODA as the practice of Japan's excellence. Japan's ODA policy interaction was guided by the humanitarian and democratic norms. The humanitarian norms conveyed pacifism provide human security through the ODA. Meanwhile, democratic norms was bringing pacifism into the dissemination of the ODA practices which affected the decision in the ODA's priority sector since each recipient country could require a different approach. The environmental assistance in PICs is an actual practice. The shift in priority sector to the environmental was due to aspirational principle as the marker for Japan and PICs' collective identity formation.

Pacifism that has been understood to be sheltered in the ODA policy verifies the recontextualization of Japan's identity. Guided by the ODA norms,

Japan was also taking its historical, experience, and knowledge aspects into account so the strengthened relationship of Japan and PICs delivered the intersubjective understanding in the framework of equal partnership.

Figure 1. Recontextualization of Pacifism in the Environmental Assistance

Phase of relations	Assistance period	Priority sector	Identity jargon	Aid giving principle	ODA norms	Identity formation
Introduction & evaluation	1972-1981	Fishery	-	-	↓	↓
	1982-1986					
	1987-1996					
Strengthen partnership	1997-2008	Economi	-	State-led	↓	↓
		Sustainable development	"One for all, all for one"			
		Security	-			
		Economi	"Okinawa Partnership"			
Equal partnership	2009-2018	Environmental	"We are islanders"	Request-based	Humanitarian & democracy	Collective identity

Figure 1 is visualizing the identity recontextualization that coupled by the ODA norms in humanitarian and democracy so that delivered shift in aid giving principle from state-led to request-based to form a collective identity. The humanitarian norm emerged from Japan's security approach which is the endorsement of human security in the international community. This norm was internalized through the expansion of ODA sector to the human-centered issues such as health, food, and the environment. Meanwhile, democratic norm emerged from Japan's regard to the domestic and systemic inputs in determining the ODA policy. This norm then internalized in the request-based principle and its whole process prompting it.

Japan's environmental assistance towards PICs is the policy implementation of the recontextualization of pacifism. In this policy, Japan was engaging PICs to formulate the assistance as MOFA's third-party partner has recommended Japan to involve PICs more in the bilateral relations (MOFA Japan, 2009). PALM5 then became momentum of the norms

internalization and the intersubjective understanding in delivering request-based principle and the environment as ODA's priority sector, in line with PICs' needs. The environmental assistance still took place throughout the PALM5-PALM8 period that confirms the collective identity "We are islanders".

### **The Collective Identity Formation "We Are Islanders"**

Japan and PICs collective identity formation culminated when the aid giving principle changed to request-based yet was promulgating the environmental assistance policy. From a constructivist perspective, the identity projection depicts Japan and PICs intersubjective understanding that followed by a harmonious identity. The collective identity "We are islanders" then reveals the reciprocal typification under the environmental assistance policy.

The intersubjective understanding led Japan to provide assistance in the peaceful approach and take PICs' perspective into account as the object of interaction. Japan moved towards PICs and measured policy to be taken, which was looking at PICs identity attributes.

PICs that consist of Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu are identical with environmental issues and its attributes, such as climate change, rising sea level, marine ecosystem, and natural disaster. These problems worm the other aspects such as land area coverages issue and limited access to the international market.

These attributes then describe PICs' vulnerability coupled by its interrelated implications and is circulating in human and natural resources and financial aspect. The environmental issues is amplifying the other problems. PICs themselves have been vocal in uttering international concern about their environmental problems. In the 2015 Suva declaration, PICs insisted the environment regimes to address climate change which had a direct impact to PICs (Atteridge & Canales, 2017, p. 7).

For Japan, the environmental assistance has a strategic meaning in terms of its role as donor countries' leaders. Meanwhile for PICs, this assistance typified the identity interaction between PICs who need a contribution from donor countries to tackle their fundamental problem and Japan who should practice a peaceful meaning in its every action and interest. Shared attribute as fellow islands country also eased the identity harmonization in the assistance policy. PICs have also considered Japan as equal partner since Japan willed to change the aid giving principle. The intersubjective understanding under a positive interaction constructed the collective identity formation which was proven through statements and jargon from both Japan and PICs.

Prior to PALM5, PICs have expressed the urgency of equal partnership projection through idea of "common vision for future" at PALM 2000 which was PICs' longing to regard every issue as a common problem (MOFA Japan, 2000). At PALM 2003, PICs continued to voice out these vision in line with the international community support for PICs' concern (MOFA Japan, 2003). Although it did not explicitly mention the request-based discussion, PICs provided an understanding for Japan to increase PICs' parity and participation in assistance policy.

Environmental assistance is stressed through equal partnership objective in the bilateral interactions. PALM5 established actual relationship with assistance through request-based principle, after PALM 1997-PALM 2006 strengthened the relationship foundation. PALM5 marked the collective identity formation "We are islanders".

Japan and PICs considered assistance in a harmonious identity framework so that its practice was more reliable. At PALM5 with the title "We are islanders – towards an eco-friendly and rich Pacific", Prime Minister of Japan, Taro Aso stated:

*"I would like to explain the major results of the summit meeting. First, in the area of the environment and climate change, I heard directly from the leaders of the Pacific island countries about the*



*serious situations their countries are faced with. I advocated the Pacific Environment Community initiative which will enable Japan to address the issues in this area as equal partners with the Pacific island countries, and we agreed to nurture this initiative together.”* (MOFA Japan, 2009).

Japan also believed this assistance is also can be utilized in emphasizing Japan’s concern and commitment in climate change problem globally. On the other hand, PICs also saw this assistance is relevant to tackle PICs’ fundamental problem. At the PALM5 press conference, Prime Minister of Niue, Toke Talagi responded Japan’s view:

*“Let me say how very pleased we are with Japan's advocacy for the Pacific Islands in relation to climate change and the protection of the environment. Prime Minister Aso has indicated the fact that we are joined by the Pacific Ocean, and we are very keen to ensure that we protect the Pacific Ocean.”* (MOFA Japan, 2009).

From the statement of Japan and Niue, it can be seen that the intersubjective understanding determined the commitment of the cooperation. Cooperation will run seamlessly if there is a reciprocity between Japan and PICs internally and at systemic level realm.

Furthermore, at PALM6 with jargon “We are Islanders - For Growing 'Kizuna' (Strong Bonds) in the Pacific”, Japan and PICs formulated pillars of cooperation for the next three years: disaster management, environment and climate change, sustainable development, human security, people-to-people exchange, and maritime (MOFA Japan, 2012).

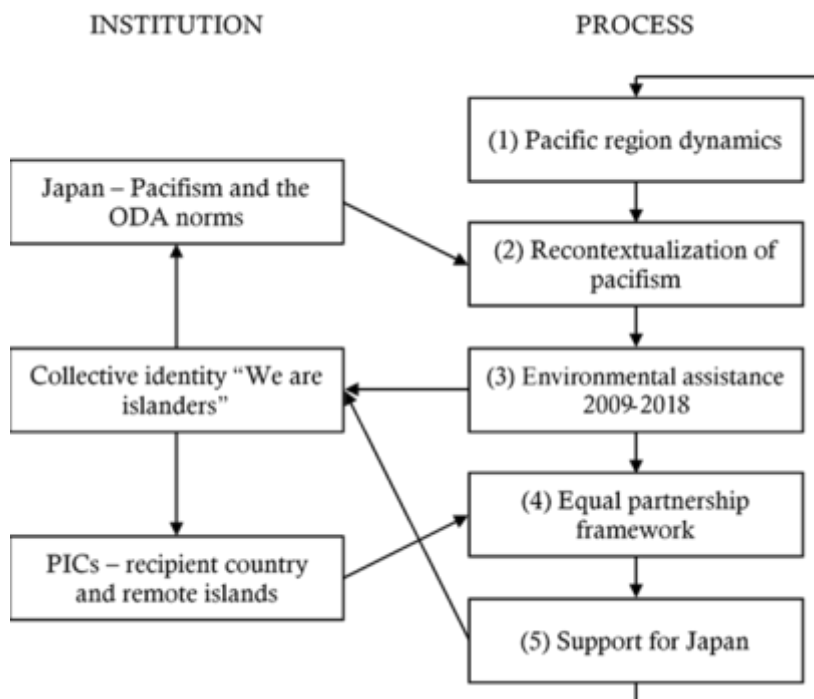
Then at PALM7, the theme “We are Islanders -Commitment to the Pacific from Iwaki, Fukushima: Building Prosperous Future Together-” underscored commitment to improve disaster resilience. PICs who represented by President of Palau, Tommy Remengesau Jr. appreciated strengthening ties as collective and partnership for peace and prosperity in the Pacific region (MOFA Japan, 2015).

The “We are islanders” jargon at PALM8 led Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe and Prime Minister of Samoa, Tuilaepa Malielegaoi put forward “Blue continent” conception which in Pacific context means protecting the blue sea and in global context has a similar urgency as “save the green” since ‘green’ as environment means ‘blue’ for the Pacific. Japan spotted that the environmental problems in PICs is a holistic approach because the impacts are territorial and multi-sectoral. PICs then expressed appreciation for Japan’s assistance:

*“The Pacific Ocean unites our islands in common purpose – it is our home and our key to a future of infinite promise. A shared Ocean means a shared responsibility and shared benefits for our environment, our economies and our communities.”* (Pacific Islands Forum, 2018).

From Japan and PICs’ interaction at both before 2009 and during the period of environmental assistance in 2009-2018, it has been known that Japan and PICs were practicing a collective identity. This identity shifted the substance of assistance through request-based principle.

Figure 2. Japan and PICs Intersubjective Understanding Codetermination Process



Source: adopted from Wendt, 1992, p. 406

Figure 2 visualizes the codetermination process in the intersubjective understanding of Japan and PICs in the environmental assistance policy. It can be seen that Japan with its pacifist identity attributes and PICs with its vulnerable islands country attributes have achieved an identity harmony and served into a policy implementation in the PALM5-PALM8 period through collective identity "We are islanders". This policy was adopted after Japan mapped PICs' needs and the situation development in Oceania that raised knowledge about the environmental sector as the link between recontextualized identity and Japan's interest.

These identity and interest was growing expectation for Japan to provide assistance based on PICs' request, in accordance with the equal partnership framework. Grant is the suitable practice. Japan's grants in PICs was 81.2 percent, a higher proportion than Japan's grants globally which was only 47.94 percent. This process proves that Japan was indeed moving

towards PICs as the policy object with the result of reciprocal typification. The collective identity led PICs to have a strong rationale to support Japan further beyond their bilateral cooperation.

The arena which was also the beginning process of codetermination was identified in the importance of PICs' fishery resources for Japan, China's presence in the region as a new donor power, Japan's position in the international arena, and that Japan itself perceives PICs' environmental problem from the logic of appropriateness to support development in PICs. These dynamics then became an important stimulus situation in viewing the reciprocal typification, which are physical security, ontological security, recognition, and development.

The physical security is constructed on the fact that Japan relies on fish supplies from PICs. The importance of PICs fisheries is also stated in the Diplomatic Bluebook:

*“the Pacific Island countries have amicable relations with Japan, and they are important partners for Japan with regard to international cooperation and the supply of fishery resources.”*  
(MOFA Japan, 2012, p. 19).

Japan utilizes ODA to secure fishery access in PICs' EEZ with import schemes and tuna access approvals. Competition in fishery access, among of them were from the United States through the 1987 Fishery Treaty and Taiwan who takes advantages of its multinational companies, was actually triggered Japan to come up with new idea. One of the idea is background by the raising concern about the economic and ecological imbalance because of the intense fishing.

PALM5 that was the momentum in assistance changing into the environmental sector made Japan utilized the assistance to maintain fish supply. The environmental assistance projects could help it, both in the context of PICs' trust towards Japan and securing fish' yield since marine ecosystem is protected as well. As of 2018, Japan has 40 fishing licenses that cover the Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, and Tuvalu's

EEZs under Nauru Agreement (Nguyen & Dayant, 2019). This is the same amount as the United States has and sit in the second rank below China who has 69 licenses. However, this number is obtained through much less ODA distribution. This means that environmental assistance has proven to be successful in conducting pacifism to secure fishery supply from PICs.

Meanwhile, the ontological security typification is constructed from Japan's motivation to contain China's presence in PICs so that Japan was still able to be the donor's leader. Japan's effort was not by pouring out the money, but instead avoiding donor-centric scheme. Japan provided PICs in overcoming vulnerability and optimizing PICs' debt management (Zappone, 2019). The China's presence was also discussed in the PALM5. Japan and PICs highlighted China's strengthening influence which underpinned much in financial aid. Japan responded it that if China is now focusing the aid in financial and infrastructure, then Japan has also done so and is currently pursuing more collective actions.

First, build equal partnership as fellow islands country. Second, provide beneficial cooperation to improve the living standard. Third, the economic and environmental development to protect the sea, as the execution of "We are islanders – towards an eco-friendly and rich Pacific" (MOFA Japan, 2009). Meanwhile, PICs who were represented by Niue argued that the financial and environmental assistance are equally urgent. But, the concern about land sinking threats over PICs has made Japan's advocacy significant and distinctive.

About the recognition typification, the environmental assistance policy with its request-based principle is meant as relations that recognized the urgency of each party. The environmental assistance was the best answer which covered PICs' needs in dealing with their vulnerability.

The interaction demonstrated PICs' recognition towards Japan as an equal and symbiotic partner. Japan was interested in manifesting peace and prosperity which is in accordance with PICs' foreign policy principle "friends to all, enemy to none" (MOFA Japan, 2018). The important impact from this

recognition was reinforce Japan's position in wider arena, such as related to the United Nations' one state one vote system. Japan acknowledged the outcome of this process.

*"These countries are Japan's neighbors across the Pacific Ocean. They are friendly toward Japan, and close partners who understand and support Japan's position in the United Nations and other international arena."* (MOFA Japan, n.d.).

One of the key event was the United Nations Non-Permanent Security Council Member election as Asian representatives. According to Japan, since the 1996 edition, the whole PICs have always voted Japan unanimously (MOFA Japan, 2018).

The environmental assistance was also in line with the several events in Japan's international interactions. In August 19, 2008, United Nations set the agenda focus towards PICs until 2022, namely climate change and global warming which will be carried out through Inter-Agency Climate Change Centre. In the Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 document, the United Nations' main priorities will be climate change, disaster resilience, and environmental protection (United Nations, 2017). With conformity to the United Nations' agenda, environmental assistance is relevant to reinforce Japan's position in international interactions.

The advantage occurred through the recognition as equal partner so that Japan and PICs became the each other's carrying capacity. Japan took example of Vanuatu, which was declared as an important partner and has always supported Japan's position in the idea of reforming the United Nations Security Council (MOFA Japan, 2019).

Development as reciprocal typification is the manifestation of Japan's logic of appropriateness to support the development in PICs. As fellow country in the Pacific Ocean, with collective identity, Japan and PICs practically discussed the peculiarity which is related to climate change and rising sea level that environment is the root as well as the answer.

The nature of impartial and cross border impact in environmental problem is actually helped PICs. Coupled by the fellow remote islands character factor, Japan certainly understood this issue. In September 24, 2019, Japan Coast Guard reported that an island named Esanbe Hanakita Kojima disappeared (The Mainichi, 2019). This stressed the urgency of the environmental assistance, as well as proved the impartiality of environment and climate change impact which is also occurred in PICs.

From Solomon Islands, Environmental Research Letters reported that during 2011-2016, five islands were submerged and another sixes suffered coastline reduction followed by drift of people's home (Hayden, 2016). While in Vanuatu, tropical cyclone Pam in 2015 left 75,000 people homeless (Connors, 2016).

Japan itself has 7,166 small islands that cover an area of 386,720 kilometers square and are the dwelling of 2.6 millions inhabitant as of 2007 (Kakazu, 2011, p. 9). Japan has a remote islands area management that consists of land conservation, utilization of marine resources, and environmental conservation with Okinawa model projects. Japan then brought the Okinawa model for PICs' remote islands management. Some of them were technical cooperation from the Okinawa Citizens Recycling Movement in waste management in Tonga and project of increasing clean water supply in Samoa. Japan's experience in managing remote islands and bringing it through ODA is the justification about the existence of Japan's logic of appropriateness in supporting PICs' development.

Environmental assistance with request-based principle and grant as its dominant scheme to support PICs' development once again testiy Japan and PICs collective identity formation. The assistance' output was aimed to gradually replace high dependency on foreign aid by increasing PICs' resilience in dealing with their peculiarity and vulnerability.

## **Conclusion**

Japan's decision to provide the environmental assistance as Japan's ODA policy towards PICs in 2009-2018 proves the underwent

recontextualization of Japan's pacifism thanks to the existence of humanitarian and democratic norms that bind Japan and PICs' interactions. The recontextualized pacifism contributed to ease the intersubjective understanding process between Japan as donor country and PICs as vulnerable islands countries.

PALM5 was the momentum that marked collective identity formation "We are islanders". Shift in aid giving principle from state-led to request-based practically made Japan to change assistance sector to the environmental since it was the PICs' needs. This action came from the shared knowledge as the result of intersubjective understanding between Japan and PICs identity attributes respectively.

Aside from Japan and PICs relations, changes in ODA policy was also can not be separated from various inputs. First, the recommendation from MOFA's third party partner in 2008 to involve PICs more in ODA. Second, UN programme for PICs year 2009-2022 that focus on climate change. Third, Japan's logic of appropriateness which allowed Japan to address PICs' peculiarity in threat of the rise of sea level, natural disaster, and limited land-to-land access. Environmental assistance was then being understood as the comprehensive answer to this fundamental problems.

To sum up this finding, author will explain Japan and PICs identity continuum to conclude the answer of why did Japan implement the ODA policy towards PICs in environmental sector. Identity continuum testified Japan and PICs' collective identity "We are islanders" as the result of shift in the aid giving principle from state-led to request-based that brought environmental assistance into ODA policy. The collective identity formation is possible because Japan and PICs have a positive interaction. Japan as a pacifist donor country needed to strengthen partnership with PICs as the contested region between the other donor countries and so did the peculiarity of PICs itself which were stimulating Japan's action.

Meanwhile, PICs as vulnerable islands countries believed that Japan is an equal partner to tackle the environmental issues as these are PICs' main



problem and needs. This positive interaction allowed PICs to grow expectations and also give support to Japan in the international arena.

The request-based aid giving principle and its environmental assistance which was constructed by a positive interaction then shows Japan and PICs interdependence, common fate, homogenization, and self-restrain that is even more hammering down the collective identity formation.

Japan upgraded the partnership to PICs from the substance of ‘neighboring country’ to ‘equal partner’. From PICs, the strengthen partnership have increased PICs’ role and importance for Japan’s position in the Oceania and the international arena as well. This type of partnership clearly shows an interdependence relation. Collective identity “We are islanders” expresses common fate. As islands country, the similar fundamental problem is identified and Japan provided an assistance policy that represented the logic of appropriateness in PICs’ development.

The collective identity is also denoting homogenization. Japan that defined PICs as “indispensable for Japan’s peace and prosperity” in midst of PICs’ commitment about “friends to all diplomacy” created homogeneity in systemic interaction. PICs as recipient countries which were contracted with all embroiled donor countries were still believed that Japan’s ODA was a decisive and distinctful assistance since Japan willed to address PICs peculiarity through request-based aid giving principle.

Through the collective identity, Japan and PICs could still maintain each identity attributes that clarify the self-restrain in identity continuum. From Japan, in the contested pacifism which is necessary to be adaptive and dynamic, with environmental assistance, the peace and prosperity was still can be Japan main identity in the bilateral relations with PICs. On the other hand, PICs’ advocacy on environmental sector in the midst of financial aid popularity shows that PICs wanted the donor countries to tackle PICs’ fundamental problem with an equal partnership approach.

The collective identity continuum gained collective advantage between Japan and PICs with the matter of both logic of consequences and logic of

appropriateness as the reciprocal typification. Japan can secure fishery resources, contain on growing China's presence in Oceania, and achieved PICs' support in international arena without harming the pacifism identity because Japan was willing to address PICs' fundamental problem that is in the environmental issues.

Particularly, by conducting this study, author suggests that the perspective of Global North-Global South relations can be the prospect of further research. The identity and interest behind Japan's environmental assistance towards PICs to shows that the environmental deterioration, natural disaster, and climate change are the impartial yet cross-border problems so that should be able to bridge the gap between the North and the South

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