

Influence of Role and Collective Identity on Japan's Policy in Providing Official Development Assistance (ODA) to India

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Abstract

Based on OECD data in 2019, Japan made India the first largest recipient of Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) in the world. This priority shows that for Japan, India is a very strategic country, causing Japan to give great priority to India. Moreover, many academics tend to view Japan as providing ODA assistance because Japan has political, economic, and other interests. However, this study attempts to use a constructivist perspective, which is a perspective that tends to look at the intrinsic values, such as the role of identity. Based on this research, the authors argue that Japan gives high priority Japan's ODA assistance to India for several reasons. The first reason is that Japan wants to strengthen its role identity as a country that cares about development in developing countries. This has resulted in Japan trying to be very active in providing ODA assistance so that development conditions, especially in the economic sector in India, are getting better. Furthermore, the second reason, Japan provided Japanese ODA assistance to India because Japan's view is Japan had the same collective identity as India. Japan and India have a collective identity as countries that adhere to an open economy and as countries that want to have a big role in economic development in the Indo-Pacific region.

Keywords: *Collective Identity, India, Japan, ODA Aid, Role Identity,*

INTRODUCTION

Japan is the fifth largest ODA provider country in the international world (OECD, 2020). Japan's activeness in providing ODA assistance shows that Japan makes the provision of ODA assistance a very important foreign policy. Japan seeks to provide ODA assistance to developing countries such as India. India was the first largest beneficiary country to receive Japan's ODA assistance (OECD, 2019). The following is a graphic data on the ranking of countries receiving Japanese ODA assistance ;

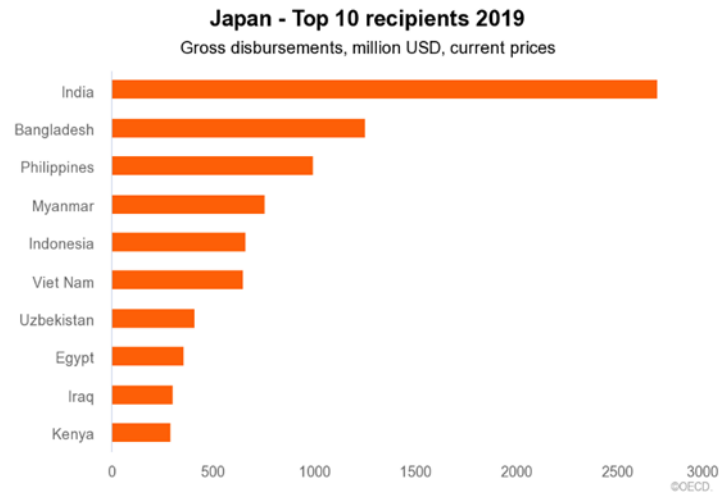


Table 1.1 Countries Recipient of Japan's ODA Assistance (OECD, 2022)

The graphic data explains that Japan makes India the first largest recipient of international ODA assistance in the world. Even the graphic data illustrates the very significant difference between India and other receiving countries such as Bangladesh, the Philippines, Myanmar, Indonesia, and others. India receives Japanese ODA assistance more than any other recipient country. This very striking difference illustrates that for Japan, India is a very important country. Based on 2018 data, Japan provided assistance to India in the form of grant assistance of 8.34 million dollars, technical cooperation of 86.15 million dollars, loans of 1,280.92 million dollars (MOFA, 2019). The provision of ODA assistance funds is intended for social and economic development in India so that it can have a positive impact on social and economic development in India.

Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe and Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi were satisfied with the role of Japan's ODA assistance which had a significant impact on social and economic development in India, especially when Japan had provided the highest ODA loan in two consecutive years through JICA (MOFA, 2017). Prime Minister Modi appreciated Japan's ODA loans for the Mumbai-Ahmedabad High Speed Rail project, the environmental management project for ship recycling in Gujarat, the northeast road connectivity improvement project (phase 2), the Kolkata east west Metro project, the Gujarat investment promotion program (MOFA, 2017).

If speak normatively and ideally, the provision of ODA assistance is actually intended for development, humanity, or altruism, as the idealists argue. The provision of ODA assistance to countries in need of assistance is an act full of moral values because ideally, state actors should

provide assistance to countries which need assistance. Morality in providing assistance to the poor in the world is an important thing (Bayram, 2016). Without an element of morality, humanitarian solidarity through assistance for social welfare is difficult to realize. In addition, the provision of ODA assistance is interpreted as a form of humanitarian solidarity to help those who need assistance. Empathy in the form of the ability to understand the suffering of others is a driving force for behavior in providing international assistance (Bayram & Holmes, 2019). Countries that have developed economies provide ODA assistance to developing countries so that developing countries have development capital and finally expected to be free from development problems such as poverty problems and others.

This action of humanitarian solidarity between countries is a good sign in relations between countries because the condition of a peaceful and prosperous international community becomes more and more likely to make it happen. It is impossible for a developing country to be able to realize good social and economic development without involving other countries to provide development capital. Because in essence, humans are social creatures although it is undeniable, according to the realist perspective, humans are creatures full of anarchy. Still borrowing the realist perspective, that human nature is selfish and likes to pursue interests (Elias & Sutch, 2007). Therefore, foreign aid policy can be a tool to achieve the national interest of a country. Altruism is not the only motive in foreign aid policy but is also used to pursue national interests (Jain, 2014). Leaders in donor countries justify spending to fund foreign aid policies in order to meet their national interests (Jain, 2014). In short, the provision of foreign aid is because the donor country wants to achieve the national interest. These national interest motives can be in the form of political, economic, strategic interest motives, and others.

So it is a natural thing, when there are those who argue that the provision of Japanese ODA assistance is used to achieve the interests of the Japanese state (Varma, 2009; Jain, 2014). Japan's ODA assistance is not purely for humanitarian purposes. However, Japan's ODA assistance is used by the Japanese government as an important foreign policy to achieve various motives of Japan's interests as a donor actor. Lancaster (2007) explains that foreign aid can be used for diplomatic, development, humanitarian, and commercial purposes. There are many reasons behind a foreign policy as Donnelly argues about the basic concept of foreign policy. Donnelly (2005) states that foreign policy is driven by various motives. Various kinds of motives for these reasons cause a foreign aid policy to be issued by state actors. These motives became the driving force for foreign aid policies to be implemented. However, the study of

foreign aid policy tends to be dominated by the perspective of realists and liberals who view it from the point of view of the motives of economic, political, and strategic interests. In short, realists and liberals tend to think materialistically when looking at the phenomenon of international relations.

METHODS

Therefore, this paper explains the reasons for Japan to provide Japanese ODA assistance to India by using a constructivist perspective that offers a new perspective by highlighting hidden aspects such as the role of identity. In order to obtain an indepth and systematic answer, the systematics of this paper consists of, first, an explanation of foreign policy, foreign aid, and the role of identity in the perspective of constructivism. Second, explain the motives of role identity in the provision of Japanese ODA assistance. Third, explain about the equality of collective identity in the provision of Japanese ODA assistance in India. Fourth is conclusion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

CONSTRUCTIVISM: FOREIGN POLICY, FOREIGN AID, AND THE ROLE OF IDENTITY

Constructivism is a reaction to the perspective of a major paradigm in the study of international relations, which is realist and most importantly responds to neo-realism. Realism is a perspective that focuses on national security, state existence, profits, power, national interests (Jackson & Sorenson, 2005). Realism views the reality of international relations as a materialist reality. Of course, this perspective is different from the constructivist perspective, which is known as a new perspective in explaining the reality of international relations. Because constructivism is a paradigm that explains hidden realities that are invisible. However, constructivists have weaknesses. Nicholas Onuf (1998) explains that constructivists do not provide a general explanation of what people do, why society is different, and how the world changes. The inability to provide general explanations regarding some of these aspects shows the weakness of constructivists. Constructivists are still unable to make substantive arguments so that this results in constructivism cannot be called a theory like realism and neorealism (Hadiwinata, 2017). Nicholas Onuf (1998) himself as a major figure who introduced constructivist also argues that constructivist is not actually a theory. Regardless of whether constructivism is actually a theory or not, constructivism actually offers a middle ground

position in studying phenomena in the international world. This makes constructivism offer an alternative perspective so that it can be used to color the study of international relations.

According to Jackson and Sorenson (2005), constructivists focus on the role of thoughts, ideas, knowledge on the reality of international relations. So when constructivism views foreign policy, ideas and thoughts about foreign policy have a role in shaping identity and influencing foreign policy (Hara, 2019). Foreign policy can be formed because of the influence of the power of ideas, knowledge, norms, identities, and beliefs. These hidden aspects have a big role in influencing foreign policy, so it can be said that the constructivism perspective is different from the realist perspective, which holds that foreign policy is influenced by materialist aspects such as economic and political interests.

When related to foreign aid policies, according to the perspective of constructivism, foreign aid becomes a norm that should be practiced in the international community, that rich countries must provide foreign assistance to poor countries for the sake of better people's lives (Lancaster, 2007). Foreign aid is seen as part of an effort to comply with societal norms in international relations because it is related to the issue of morality in society. As is well known, norms are the hallmark of the constructivist perspective. Norms are the basis for international actors to act and decide foreign policy. State actors providing foreign aid can be due to complying with humanitarian norms which are the basis for state actors at the international relations level as a form of concern for morality in society. Because, indeed for constructivism, morality and ethics in the provision of foreign aid are very important (Malacalza, 2019). For constructivists, norms of morality and norms of social justice can be the basis for providing foreign aid and this is the difference between constructivism and realists in providing foreign aid. Meanwhile, the liberals still think norms of morality and norm of social justice. However, the study of morality in the provision of foreign aid raises debates in scientific methodology and epistemology.

There are many concepts that are part of the constructivism perspective such as norms, ideas, ideologies, and even identities. However, this paper uses the concept of identity which is part of a constructivist perspective to analyze Japan's ODA assistance policy to India. Identity is defined as self understanding of the actor (Wendt, 1999). Identity can also be interpreted as a social category, a person's label, or a characteristic attribute (Fearon, 1999). Identity can be a sign of identification of actors in taking part in the international community so that it will make

it easier for these actors to achieve strategic interests and of course will make it easier for these actors to find friends in international cooperation.

Alexander Wendt (1999), a constructivist figure, explains that there are several types of identity, namely personal or corporate identity, type identity, role identity, and collective identity. The state is an actor whose policies are motivated because there are various kinds of personal or corporate identity interests, types, roles, and collectives (Wendt, 1999). First, personal identity. Personal identity is an actor who is personally institutionalized so that the actor becomes an entity that is different from the others (Wendt, 1999). The figure of the actor only has one identity, for example, a distinctive character inherent in society, a distinctive character inherent in the state. The character is inherent in the actor so that this identity makes him identified as different from the others.

Second, type identity. The concept of this type of identity was adopted by Wendt of Jim Fearon, which is defined as a social categorization and is labeled on a person who has characteristics, such as behavioral traits, values, special skills (such as language), knowledge, experience, historical similarities, and others (Fearon, 1997; Wendt, 1999). An actor can have many type identities and the characteristics that underlie type identity are based on intrinsic elements. For example, America has a type identity as a capitalist country.

Third, role identity. Role identities are roles that are institutionalized in the social structure prior to interaction (Wendt, 1999). This role identity is defined as a label that exists within an actor who is expected to be able to carry out obligations in the form of taking actions, attitudes, functions in a certain situation (Fearon, 1999). Role identity can not emerge only from the recognition of the country but also from recognition from other countries. When implementing in the field, the state does not only think about personal interests but also thinks about the positive impact of its policies on the international community. For example, America has a role identity as the world's police so that America plays a role in international security.

Fourth, collective identity. This collective identification is interpreted as the relationship between oneself and other parties does not have a difference (Wendt, 1999). Between actors have identities that are not different so that an action appears in the form of a common policy. This collective identity equation makes state actors have a common policy so as to create a good cooperation. Collective identity gives rise to a group consisting of actors who have collective interests. The actors have a common goal of welfare and they work together to solve collective problems (Wendt, 1999). For example, America and Israel have a collective identity

in the form of common political goals, so this makes America and Israel have a good cooperative relationship.

This identity has a role in influencing foreign policy. Identity is an intrinsic element but has a role in determining foreign policy in a country. If state actors do not find a common identity with other state actors, it will be difficult to find common interests. Likewise, when state actors do not understand their identities, they will find it difficult to determine their interests behind their foreign policies. Thus, it is very important for state actors to understand their identities so that these actors can successfully take part in international relations.

Meanwhile, if it is related to the case study of Japan's ODA assistance to India, there are several Japanese motives for giving high priority to the provision of Japanese ODA assistance to India. Japan's motive for providing Japanese ODA assistance to India is, first, Japan wants to strengthen its role identity as a country that cares about development conditions in developing countries. The identity obtained from the process of social relations with the international community is finally proven by Japan way which is active and consistent in providing Japanese ODA assistance to India, which is a developing country in the Indo-Pacific region. This could be an opportunity to strengthen the identity of Japan's role in the Indo-Pacific region which is known as a strategic area for Japan. Second, Japan is of the view that Japan and India have a collective identity as fellow open economy countries. Japan and India also have a collective identity in the form of the same goal of being a country that has a role in economic development in the Indo-Pacific region.

JAPAN'S ODA ASSISTANCE POLICY AS A GLOBAL STRATEGY

Japan's mainstay foreign policy is Japan's ODA assistance policy because Japan uses Japan's ODA assistance as a means to achieve national interests as well as to make a positive contribution to ODA recipient countries. Therefore, Japan's ODA assistance policy is designed for the benefit of the Japanese economy and the use of Japan's ODA assistance tends to be prioritized for infrastructure development projects (Jain, 2019). Of course this is done in order to meet the interests of Japan as well as the needs of ODA recipient countries.

Japan's seriousness towards ODA assistance is evidenced by Japan's actions that have made several changes to the ODA charter because this ODA charter is the basis of Japan's ODA assistance policy. The first change, the 1992 ODA charter was revised in 2003 (MOFA, 2015).

The revision of the ODA Charter in 2003 was carried out by the Koizumi government on August 29, 2003 (Edstrom, 2008). The 2003 ODA charter states that the basic policy of Japan's ODA assistance is to support the independence of developing countries, adhere to a human security perspective, is based on justice, utilizes Japanese expertise and experience, and promotes collaboration and partnership in the international world (MOFA, 2003). Meanwhile, the ODA charter in 1992 stated that the basic principles of providing Japanese ODA assistance are environmental care, the use of ODA for the military should be avoided, maintaining peace, spreading democratic values and human rights (MOFA, 1992). The big change lies in the effort to adopt the concept of human security as an important concept that was included in the ODA charter in 2003 because that concept will become an important foundation in providing Japanese ODA assistance.

Then came the second change. After the 2003 ODA charter was revised, a few years later the latest version appeared, namely the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter (Jain, 2019). There was a change in naming it to the Development Cooperation Charter. The use of the phrase "Development Cooperation" is intended to emphasize international cooperation carried out by the government and agencies affiliated with the government in the context of development in developing regions (MOFA, 2015). The meaning of the vocabulary "Development" has a broad meaning so that it is interpreted as building peace and governance, spreading the values of human rights and humanitarian assistance (MOFA, 2015). The 2015 Development Cooperation Charter emphasizes the concept of development cooperation in the international community so that this has an impact on the concept of providing Japanese ODA assistance to be based on development cooperation. Japan emphasizes development cooperation through a strategy of establishing development cooperation with various actors such as UN peacekeepers, private parties, NGOs, and local governments.

The new 2015 charter was made taking into account the impact of regional and international security changes on Japan's ODA assistance (Trinidad, 2018). The facts prove that China is a security threat to Japan so that China gets the main attention for Japanese officials. As is known, China uses foreign aid as a means to achieve its national interests. China uses aid as a foreign policy tool that is expected to help China create international environmental conditions that can benefit China's development, support China to become a stronger global power so that it can influence global governance, and reward countries that comply with the One China policy (Fuchs & Rudyak, 2019). When China uses foreign aid as a foreign policy

tool used to achieve national interests, then of course Japan makes China a big threat. So it is not surprising that Japan and China compete with each other to achieve their national interests through foreign aid. Foreign aid has become their soft power to fight for influence in the international community.

However, the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter tends to be controversial. The ODA Charter previously prohibited Japan from using ODA for military purposes. However, the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter wants a balance between development and security (Furuoka, 2016). The latest ODA assistance guidelines can be said to have violated Japan's policy regarding the prohibition of using Japan's ODA assistance for military purposes. Therefore, the reform of the ODA assistance policy through the issuance of the Development Cooperation Charter in 2015 can be considered as a political strategy of the Abe government so that Japan's ODA assistance can be aligned with the national security strategy.

The 2015 Development Cooperation Charter explains in detail Japan's national interest in development cooperation through the provision of Japanese ODA assistance. In the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter, it is explained that cooperation is used to secure Japan's national interests such as maintaining peace and security, achieving prosperity, creating a stable, transparent international environment, and maintaining the international order based on universal values (MOFA, 2015). Japan's explanation of Japan's national interest in development cooperation through Japan's ODA assistance is explained openly and in detail as if to emphasize that Japan's ODA assistance is indeed Japan's soft power which is very important because it can be used to achieve Japan's national interests.

When Japan uses Japan's ODA assistance as a tool to achieve its national interests, then Japan has priority types of Japanese ODA assistance in each region and behind this policy, of course, there is a special motive behind it. For example, the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter explained that Japan wants to strengthen economic development through increasing trade, building infrastructure, and strengthening connectivity in the Asian region (MOFA, 2015). Therefore, Japan provided ODA assistance in the form of Yen loans for high - speed rail projects in India and this is a project funded by Japan's ODA assistance in the form of the largest Yen loans ever (Jain, 2019). This is because, according to Jain's analysis (2019), Japan's ODA loan assistance for infrastructure development in the form of high-speed rail transportation in India is used by Japan to achieve Japan's national interests in the form of economic interests, national security, and defense.

JAPAN'S ODA AID TO INDIA: STRENGTHENING ROLE IDENTITY

Japan gives great priority to the provision of Japanese ODA assistance to India because it wants to strengthen the identity of its role as a country that has a role in contributing to the development of other countries through the provision of assistance in developing countries. Borrowing the opinion of Alexander Wendt (1999), role identity is an institutionalized role in the social structure. Role identity can arise because there is a process of social relations between the country and other state actors so that it creates a form of identity in the eyes of other state actors (Rosyidin, 2020). So it can be said that role identity can arise as a result of the perspective of other state actors in assessing other countries based on the experience of the process of social relations.

The identity of the role that Japan has can emerge because of the process of Japan's social relations with other country actors through the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD). The OECD is an international organization engaged in economic cooperation and international development and is active in making policies aimed at prosperity and equality for all (OECD, 2022). Japan was involved in the founding of the OECD organization which was founded on April 28, 1964 so that this made Japan committed to realizing the goals of the OECD (OECD, 2022). The number of countries that are members of the OECD is 38 countries (OECD, 2022). This resulted in Japan carrying out a process of social relations with OECD member countries so that a logical consequence emerged in the form of the formation of the identity of Japan's role in the eyes of OECD member countries.

As for ODA assistance, the OECD has a role in monitoring the development of the distribution of ODA assistance from various countries to other countries. The Chairman of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Erik Solheim said that Japan could achieve a position as the 4th largest DAC donor country and could increase the effectiveness of development cooperation (OECD, 2014). Erik Solheim's words show a picture of the identity of Japan's role that is formed in the view of Erik Solheim as the representative of the OECD international organization which consists of 38 countries that Japan has a role in providing an impact on development through ODA assistance. The process of social relations between Japan and OECD member countries creates an identity for Japan's role as a country that has a role in development through ODA assistance.

In order to strengthen the identity of Japan's role as a country that has concern for development in recipient countries, Japan is increasingly taking an active role in development through ODA assistance. In fact, in the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter, Japan recognized itself as the main actor responsible for the international community, actively contributing and trying to become a leader in overcoming challenges in the international community such as development challenges and humanitarian concerns (MOFA, 2015). This is evidenced by the provision of Japanese ODA assistance to India for development. Japan's ODA assistance consists of, first, grant assistance, namely financial assistance without payment obligations and is used for social and economic development such as hospitals, schools, roads, and others (JICA, 2019). Second, technical cooperation, namely human resource development assistance in the field of social and economic development in the form of increasing technical standardization and utilizing Japanese knowledge, experience, and technology. Third, loan assistance, namely loan assistance with low interest rates and long repayment periods and is used for state development projects, infrastructure, and programs that require large funds. The following is data on the amount of Japan's ODA assistance to India in 2015-2019 (in million dollars);

Year	Grant Assistance	Technical Cooperation	Loan Assistance
2015	4.90	35.11	826.95
2016	7.81	48.52	951.28
2017	1.35	162.60	1,390.52
2018	8.34	86.16	1,280.92
2019	7.48	106.40	1,681.14
Total	29.88	438.79	6,130.81

Table 1.2 Data on Japan's ODA Assistance to India in 2015-2019 (Processed from JICA Annual Report 2015-2019)

The data on the provision of Japanese ODA assistance to India is evidence of Japan's efforts to consistently actively strengthen the identity of Japan's role as a country that has concern for development in recipient countries through ODA assistance. If referring 2015 Development Cooperation Charter, Japan establish development cooperation through ODA assistance for Japan's national interest (MOFA, 2015). One of Japan's national interest is strengthening the identity of Japan's role. The identity of this role made Japan move to play an active role in contributing to the development of conditions in India. Japan is not only thinking

about the interests of its country behind the ODA assistance policy in India, but Japan is also thinking about how the ODA assistance can have a positive impact on India.

The identity of Japan's role as a country that cares about development through ODA assistance can be an opportunity for Japan to strengthen Japan's self-image in the Indo Pacific region. Identity is the basis of interest (Wendt, 1992). Interest is inseparable from the identity of the actor. ODA assistance can be a tool to achieve interests in the form of strengthening Japan's image in the Indo-Pacific region. ODA assistance can also be used by Japan to build economic strength in India so that it will have a large impact in the Indo-Pacific region. Moreover, Japan has made the Indo-Pacific region a priority for attention in Japan's foreign policy through the Free and Open Indo-Pacific policy in order to secure Japan's national interests (MOFA, 2018). Japan's economic interests in the Indo Pacific region are pursuing economic prosperity through the construction of connecting lines such as infrastructure development (MOFA, 2018). It is not surprising, then, that Japan's ODA assistance projects are focused on the transportation sector such as mass transportation, even more than 60% of ODA loans are for the transportation sector in India (Jain, 2019). Because this is done to make it easier for Japan to carry out economic activities such as business in India and furthermore it is hoped that Japan can provide a lot of influence in the world economy in the Indo Pacific region. If Japan can exert influence in the Indo Pacific region, then this could be an opportunity for Japan to become a country that has great influence at the international level. So it is not surprising when Japan uses ODA assistance as a tool to achieve Japan's national interests so that Japan pays great attention to ODA assistance as a major foreign policy priority. This is because Japan's ODA assistance is a foreign policy that is believed to be effective in achieving Japan's interests.

JAPAN'S ODA AID TO INDIA : COLLECTIVE IDENTITY MOTIVE

Japan gives great priority to the granting of Japanese ODA to India because Japan is of the view that Japan and India have a common collective identity in the form of equality as an open economy country as well as common goals as fellow countries that want to have an influence on economic development in the Indo-Pacific region. Alexander Wendt (1999) explains that collective identity is an identity between an actor and other actors are the same. There is a common identity between the two parties so that they have the same policy and can cooperate.

The following is an explanation of the similarity of collective identities owned by Japan and India, thus making Japan give a big priority in providing Japanese ODA assistance to India, first, collective identities in the form of Japan and India have similarities as countries that adhere to an open economic system in the form of open international trade. Collective identity as fellow adherents of an open international trade system makes Japan give high priority in providing Japanese ODA assistance to India. Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe and Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi share the same commitment, namely to create openness in the Indo-Pacific region (MOFA, 2015). Even Foreign Minister Fumi Kishida through his speech, said that the leadership of Japan and India in the Indo-Pacific region can promote order supported by the values of democracy, an open economy, and the rule of law (MOFA, 2015). This economic openness is manifested in open international trade relations between Japan and India. In economic relations, Japan and India use the principle of an open international trade regime (MOFA, 2015). According to the World Bank (2018), countries that are open to international trade are faster to innovate, increase productivity, and can provide income as well as many better opportunities for their people. Open trade can also benefit low-income households by providing affordable goods and services to consumers (World Bank, 2018).

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe expressed his favor for an open and free economic system at the United Nations General Assembly in 2018 (Mainichi, 2018). Shinzo Abe stated in his speech at the UN General Assembly that since the end of the war, Japan has benefited from trade under a free and open economic system (Mainichi, 2018). A free and open economic system does lead to an open international trade direction as well. Japan is free to establish trade cooperation with any country supported by international trade policies issued by state actors who are friends of Japan's cooperation. Of course, the international trade policy benefits Japan as an actor in international trade so that when Japan runs export-import trade and establishes many industrial companies in countries that become partners with it, Japan does not experience many obstacles.

Therefore, Japan gives great priority in providing ODA assistance to India. Japan considers Japan and India to have a collective identity as countries that adhere to an open economic system such as open international trade. The similarity of this economic system can benefit Japan when Japan establishes international cooperation with India. Japan can benefit from easy access through India's open economic policy, which makes it easier for Japan to carry out import-export trades with India and establish many industrial companies in India.

Second, Japan gives great priority to ODA assistance to India because Japan views that Japan and India have a common collective identity, namely common goals as fellow countries that want to have influence in economic development in the Indo-Pacific region. The Japanese Foreign Minister, Fumio Kishida said that the relationship between Japan and India has been strengthened in recent years but still needs to be improved in order to make a greater contribution to the Indo-Pacific region (MOFA, 2015). India and Japan which are committed to promote peace and prosperity through economic growth as well as development in the Indo Pacific region (Pmindia, 2018). From there it can be seen that there is indeed a common collective identity in the form of a common goal between Japan and India in the form of a desire to have a big influence in the Indo Pacific region. The ideals of the Japanese and Indian governments are the same so that this has an impact on the Japanese perspective on India. Japan thinks India is the right country to be a friend for cooperation in providing a role in the Indo Pacific region. Collective identity has a big impact on Japan in determining who becomes friends in cooperation. Collective identity plays a role in realizing Japan's interests more easily because Japan understands other state actors who have a common goal with it.

The similarity in the goals of Japan and India regarding the Indo-Pacific region can be seen from Japan's policy for India. Fumio Kishida explained that Japan will contribute to the “Make in India” program led by Prime Minister Modi in order to support India to become the basis of economic development in the Indo Pacific region and even globally (MOFA, 2015). In 2018, there were many private sector investment projects proposed by 60 Japanese companies and presented to Prime Minister Modi (Pmindia, 2018). The projects are facilitated by India and JETRO. These projects can be used to give a greater impetus to the “Make in India” program (Pmindia, 2018). If the “Make in India” program is successful, it can realize the impact of economic growth in the Indo-Pacific region.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Japan gives great priority in providing ODA assistance to India. Because, Japan think that Japan and India have a common collective identity in the form of a common goal, which is to have an influence on economic development in the Indo Pacific region. This intrinsic element in the form of collective identity can actually provide an emotional bond that binds cooperative relations in the form of providing Japanese ODA assistance to India. Not only that. Collective identities are like invisible attribute labels that can make it easier for Japan to identify friend or enemy. If the identity is the same, then Japan will

be closer and if it is not the same, then Japan will not provide a very large amount of ODA assistance.

CONCLUSION

Japan is a country that gives a big priority in providing ODA assistance to India, thus placing India as the first largest recipient of Japanese ODA assistance internationally in 2019. Even when compared to Bangladesh as the second largest recipient country of Japanese ODA assistance, India and Bangladesh have gaps striking difference. This phenomenon is a sign that Japan considers India to be a very important country for Japan. There are several ulterior motives behind Japan's policy of giving high priority to providing ODA assistance to India. First, the role identity motive. Japan wants to strengthen its role identity as a country that has a role in the development of other countries through the provision of ODA assistance. The role identity is obtained from the process of Japan's social relations with OECD countries so that it gives birth to a role identity as a country that cares about development through the provision of ODA assistance. When Japan has obtained this role identity, Japan wants to continue to work hard to strengthen that identity through providing ODA assistance to India. Furthermore, the ODA assistance can help improve Japan's self image in the Indo- Pacific region as well as help Japan and India jointly exert influence in economic development in the Indo Pacific region.

Second, the motive of collective identity. Japan views Japan and India as having the same collective identity in the form of a common goal as fellow countries that adhere to an open economy, such as open international trade. In addition, Japan views Japan and India as having a collective identity as countries that want to have influence in economic development in the Indo-Pacific region. This collective identity was able to direct Japan to make a policy of prioritizing the provision of ODA assistance to India. Collective identity helps Japan find friends with whom it can work together to exert influence in the Indo Pacific region. The role of collective identity also helps Japan to make it easier to realize the interests of the Japanese state.

Therefore, foreign aid policy is not only influenced by materialist elements as in the perspective of realists and liberals such as economic and political interest motives. There are other sides that are intrinsic, such as role identity motives and collective identity that influence an aid policy. This constructivist perspective emphasizes the strength of identity as an element that influences the policies and interests of a state actor. From the perspective of constructivism,

it can be learned that often the power of thoughts, ideas, thoughts, and even the identity of a state actor can have a major influence on the foreign aid policy of a state actor. This phenomenon can color the condition of international relations which is no less big than the role of wealth, power, authority, profit, loss which is often the point of view of realists and liberals.

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