

# Narrowing the “expectations deficit”

The evolving EU-Japan security  
cooperation (2020-2022)

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With the support of the  
Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union



JAPAN SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF SCIENCE

日本学術振興会

# “Expectations deficit” in EU–Japan relations

- “Capability–Expectations Gap (CEG) = high expectations + low capabilities (Hill, 1993)
- Reversed CEG: “**Expectations deficit**” = low expectations + high capabilities (Tsuruoka, 2008)
- Also in EU-ASEAN states relations (Wong, 2012)
- Especially in the domain of (hard) security

# Indifferent security relationship

- “Reluctant partners” (Nuttall, 1996)
- “The problem (in EU-Japan relations) is that there is no problem” (EPC 2004)
- “Civilian Power” and “Ordinary Power” identities (Bacon & Nakamura, 2018)
- “A friend of a friend” (Kirchner & Dorussen, 2021)

**Table. Sources of the Expectations Deficit in EU-Japan Relations**

		ORIGINS	
		<i>Japan</i>	<i>Europe / the EU</i>
OBJECT OF LOW EXPECTATIONS	<i>Europe as a whole</i>	Focus on the US and Asia (Japan’s indifference to Europe)	Europe’s indifference (and even arrogance) to Japan / Different values and principles?
	<i>The EU as an international actor</i>	Lack of understanding on EU policy-making / Preference for bilateral relations with major EU countries	EU’s failure in its common foreign and security policy / Complexities of EU policy-making / EU’s lack of competences / Different perceptions or interests?

Tsuruoka, M. (2008) ‘Expectation Deficit’ in EU-Japan Relations: Why the Relationship Cannot Flourish. *Current Politics and Economics of Asia*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 107–26.

# Divergent threat perception and security interests

- Japan is much more focused on China as a threat, whereas the EU focuses on Russia
- Reliance on the US as a primary security provider (NATO, Japan-US alliance)
- Different concerns: immigration, terrorism, organized crime for the EU; maritime security, DPRK's nuclear/missile threats for Japan

# EU–Japan pre-2020 security relations

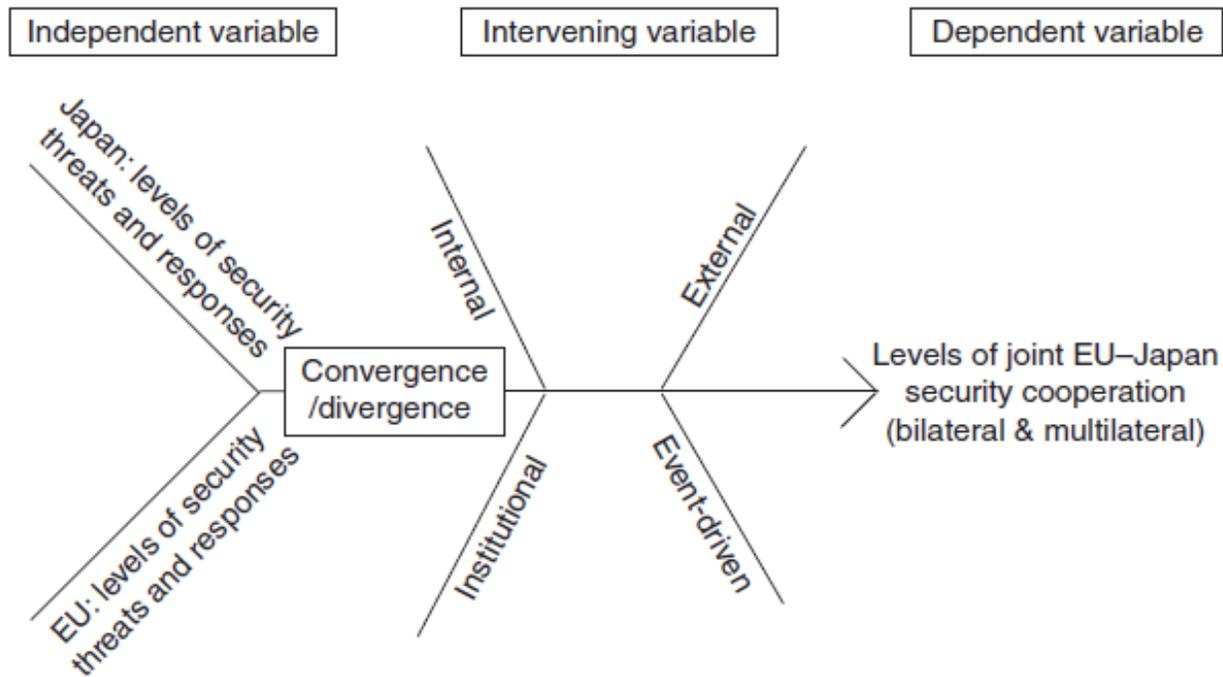


Figure 1.1 Intervening variables between levels of threat perception and levels of cooperation.

TABLE 2. KEY INSTRUMENTS OF EU-ASIA SECURITY COOPERATION (BILATERAL)

	Agreement/ Action Plan	Hard Security	Soft Security	
Bilateral	China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EU–China 2020 strategic agenda for cooperation (2013)</li> <li>• The Joint Declaration on Non-proliferation and Arms Control</li> <li>• EU–China Partnership on Climate Change (2005)</li> <li>• EU–China Roadmap on energy cooperation (2016)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EU–China informal security dialogue attended by high-level military and government officials, academics and security experts (2018)</li> <li>• EU–China dialogue on Defence and Security (2014)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EU–China Summit (since 1998)</li> <li>• EU–China High-level Strategic Dialogue (since 2010)</li> <li>• EU–China Connectivity Platform (since 2015)</li> <li>• EU–China Cyber Taskforce (2012)</li> <li>• EU–China Water Policy Dialogue (part of which is related to soft security issues such as food and energy security; since 2019)</li> <li>• EU–China Disaster Risk Management Project (2012–2017)</li> <li>• EU-led joint antipiracy exercise in the Gulf of Aden (Operation Atalanta), with China being an active contributor</li> </ul>
	Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Action Plan for EU–Japan Cooperation (2001)</li> <li>• EU–Japan Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement in criminal matters (2009)</li> <li>• EU–Japan Strategic Partnership Agreement (2018)</li> <li>• EU–Japan Partnership on Sustainable Connectivity (2019)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regular dialogues on defence and security policy between the EU and Japan</li> <li>• High-level military figures' visits between the EU and Japan</li> <li>• Defence technological and industrial cooperation agreements between EU member states (France, Germany, Italy, Sweden) and Japan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EU–Japan Summit (since 1984)</li> <li>• EU–Japan Strategic Dialogue on East Asia's Security Environment (since 2005)</li> <li>• EU–Japan Strategic Dialogue on Central Asia's Security Environment (since 2006)</li> <li>• EU–Japan High Level Group (since 2010)</li> <li>• EU–Japan Cyber Dialogue (since 2014)</li> <li>• EU–Japan expert meeting on humanitarian assistance and emergency relief (since 2016)</li> <li>• EU–Japan counter-piracy cooperation in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden</li> </ul>

Chen, X., & Gao, X. (2020). Bridging the Capability–Expectations Gap? An Analysis of the New Dynamics in the EU's Security Strategy Towards Asia. *Asia-Pacific Journal of EU Studies*, 18(3), 9–36.

# Low convergence of threat perception and insufficient security cooperation between the EU and Japan

**Threat perception increased;  
but policy diverged, cooperation insufficient**

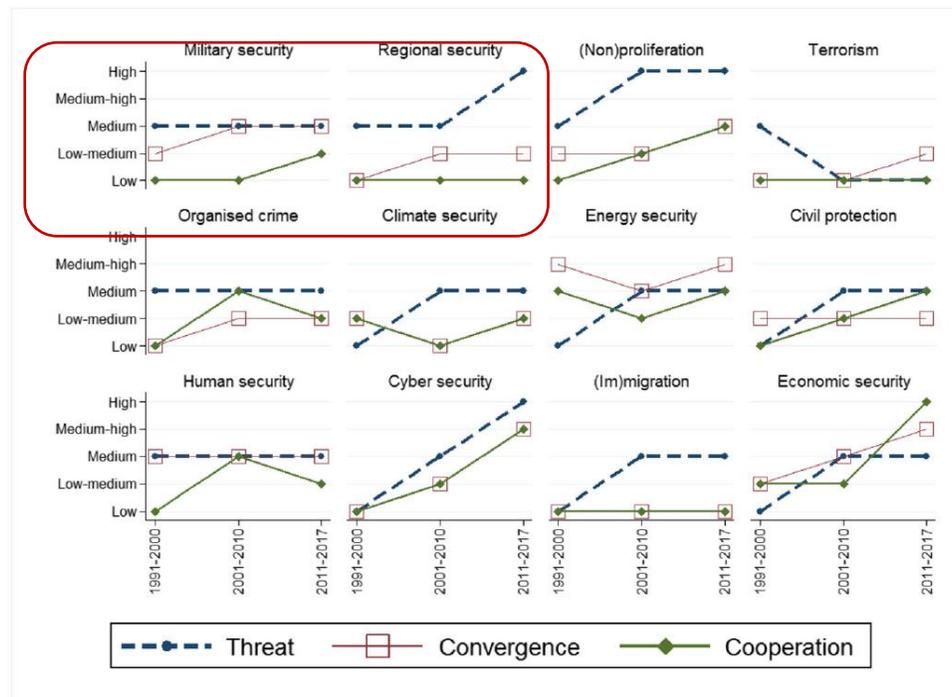


Fig. 3 EU–Japan security relations: threat perception, policy convergence and cooperation. Source: Kirchner and Dorussen 2019, p. 209.

Kirchner, E.J., Dorussen, H. “New horizons in EU–Japan security cooperation”. *Asia Europe Journal* 19, 27–41 (2021).

Lack of convergence in threat perception and policy response in a particular security sector as the major constraint on collaboration

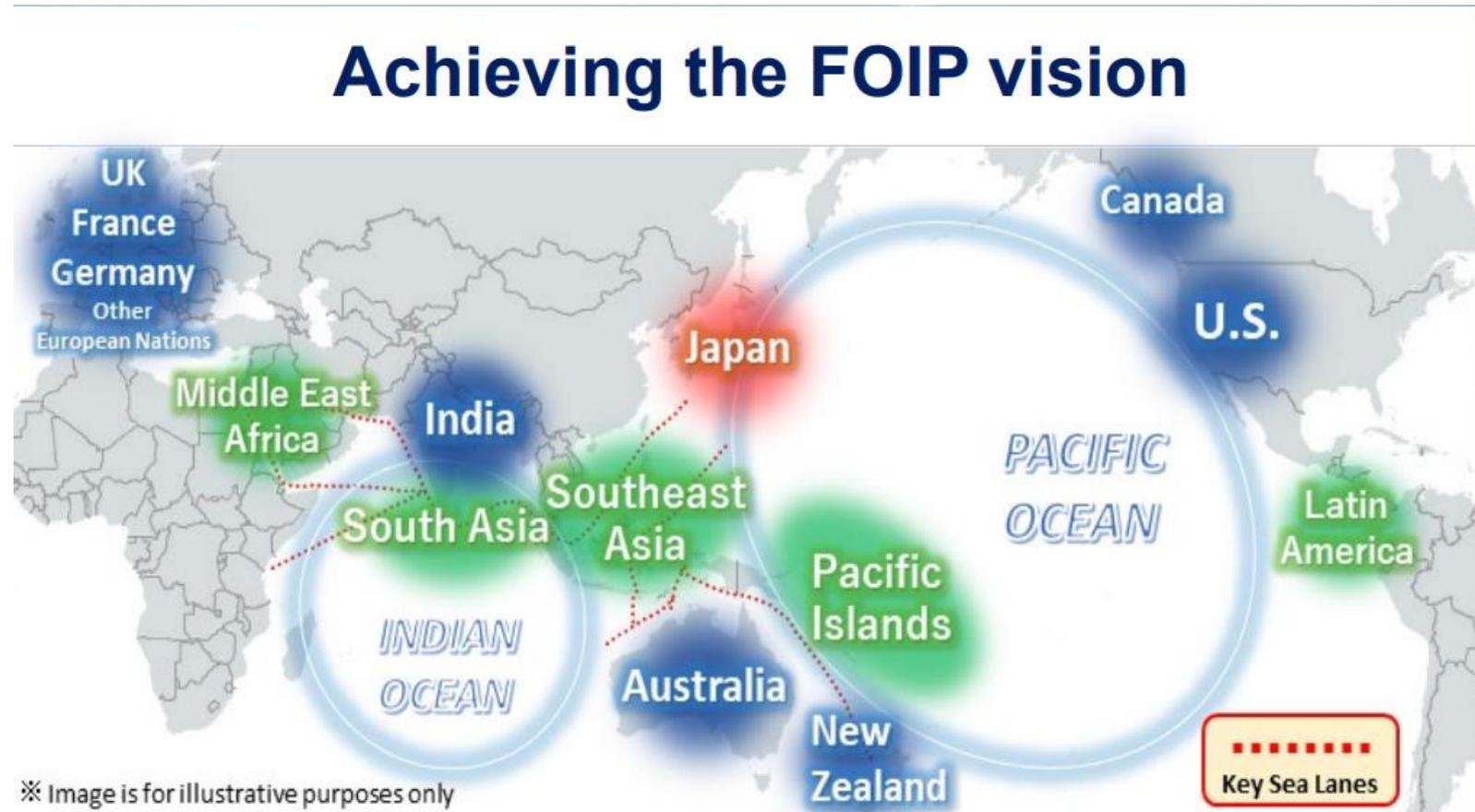
1990-2017, the scope of EU-Japan security cooperation lags behind

EU-Japan SPA provides a platform to extend security cooperation?

**Will the Indo-Pacific strategy(ies) change anything (especially in “military security” and “regional security”)?**

# Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) Vision

- Proposed by ex-PM Abe Shinzo (2016)
- Challenges of the rise of China
- “Proactive contribution to peace”
- Japan's strategic vision as a “normal” security actor
- Maritime security, connectivity, quality infrastructure, etc.



Source: “Free and Open Indo-Pacific”: Japan Ministry of Defense’s Approach

# Efforts and cooperation on FOIP in other countries and regions

➤ In collaboration with FOIP related activities of partners, Japan promotes the vision of FOIP by evoking a sense of ownership based on each vision, with a shared belief in the shared values and principles such as the rule of law.

<p><b>Europe</b></p> <p><b>UK</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shared a view to strengthen cooperation on <a href="#">(i) maritime security, (ii) quality infrastructure, and (iii) cyber security including 5G</a> (Summit Meeting in January 2019)</li> <li><a href="#">Announced further engagement in the Indo-Pacific</a> in the UK's "Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy" (March 2021)</li> </ul> <p><b>France</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><a href="#">"France's Indo-Pacific Strategy" (July 2021)</a></li> <li>Shared a view to continue cooperation on maritime security, climate change, the environment and biodiversity, and quality infrastructure, to reinforce cooperation between defense force and to cooperate with ASEAN (Summit Meeting in July 2021)</li> </ul> <p><b>Germany</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Confirmed cooperation toward achievement of FOIP (Summit Meeting in February 2019)</li> <li><a href="#">"Policy guidelines for the Indo-Pacific"</a> (September 2020)</li> </ul> <p><b>Netherlands</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><a href="#">"Indo-Pacific: Guidelines for strengthening Dutch and EU cooperation with partners in Asia"</a> (November 2020)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Japan-Australia-India-U.S.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The four Ministers concurred on <a href="#">further developing practical cooperation in various areas</a> such as quality infrastructure, maritime security, counter-terrorism, cyber security, humanitarian assistance/disaster relief, education and human resource development, in order <a href="#">to promote FOIP</a>. (The Second Japan-Australia-India-U.S. Foreign Ministers' Meeting in October 2020)</li> <li>The four leaders concurred to develop cooperation in the areas of vaccine, critical and emerging technologies, climate change, infrastructure, space, and cyber security. They also concurred to hold the Japan-Australia-India-U.S. summit every year, and to <a href="#">continue broadening coordination and building up concrete cooperation with a range of partners, for the realization of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific."</a> (Japan-Australia-India-U.S. Leaders' Video Conference in March 2021, Japan-Australia-India-U.S. Summit Meeting in September 2021)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Canada</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Further strengthen the strategic partnership under the vision of FOIP (Summit Meeting in August 2019)</li> <li>Published <a href="#">"Shared Japan-Canada Priorities Contributing to a Free and Open Indo-Pacific"</a> (Foreign Ministers' Meeting in May 2021)</li> </ul>	
<p><b>EU</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><a href="#">"Connecting Europe &amp; Asia: The EU Strategy"</a> (September 2018)</li> <li>Signed a document entitled <a href="#">"The Partnership on Sustainable Connectivity and Quality Infrastructure between Japan and the European Union"</a> (September 2019)</li> <li>Foreign Minister MOTEGI attended the EU Foreign Affairs Council and <a href="#">explained the vision of FOIP</a> (January 2021)</li> <li><a href="#">"Council conclusions on an EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific"</a> (April 2021)</li> <li><a href="#">"A Globally Connected Europe"</a>, EU's geostrategic and global approach to connectivity (July 2021)</li> <li><a href="#">"Joint Communication on the EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific"</a> (September 2021)</li> </ul> <p><b>V4</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shared the view to promote cooperation toward FOIP ("V4 plus Japan" Foreign Ministers' Meeting in May 2021)</li> </ul>	<p><b>ASEAN / Mekong countries</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adopted <a href="#">"ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific" (AOIP)</a> (June 2019)</li> <li>The Leaders of the Mekong countries <a href="#">noted with appreciation on Japan's vision to promote a FOIP</a> to contribute to the peace, stability and prosperity in the region and the world. (Joint Statement of the Mekong-Japan Summit in November 2020)</li> <li>Adopted <a href="#">"Joint Statement of the 23rd ASEAN-Japan Summit on Cooperation on ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific"</a> (November 2020). It was confirmed that the AOIP and Japan's FOIP <a href="#">share fundamental principles</a> and to strengthen ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership through enhanced practical cooperation and synergy in the four areas as outlined in the AOIP, namely, maritime cooperation, connectivity, SDGs, and economic and other possible areas of cooperation.</li> </ul>	<p><b>US</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><a href="#">Announced concrete cooperation to maintain and reinforce FOIP</a> (Summit Meeting in September 2018, visit of Vice President Pence to Japan in November 2018, Summit Meeting in May 2019)</li> <li><a href="#">Shared the view with the Biden administration to work together for the realization of FOIP</a> (QUAD Leaders' Summit meeting in September 2021)</li> </ul>	
	<p><b>India</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><a href="#">"Act East" policy</a> (Prime Minister Modi's speech in June 2018)</li> <li>Published <a href="#">"India-Japan Development Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific"</a> (Summit Meeting in October 2018)</li> <li>Announced <a href="#">"Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative"</a> (November 2019)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Australia</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The leaders affirmed that the two countries share a vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific, and shared the view on working together for regional stability and prosperity (Summit Meeting in November 2018)</li> <li><a href="#">"An open, inclusive and prosperous Indo-Pacific"</a> (Prime Minister Morrison's foreign policy speech in June 2019). Promote <a href="#">"Pacific Step-up"</a> in the Pacific Island region.</li> <li>The leaders confirmed that Japan and Australia, as "Special Strategic Partners" which share the basic values such as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law and strategic interests, will <a href="#">together work toward realizing a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific"</a>. (Summit Meeting in November 2020)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pacific Island Countries</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>PIF Leaders <a href="#">welcomed Japan's contribution</a> through "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy" (PALM 9 in July 2021)</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Africa</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>AU Leaders <a href="#">take good note of the initiative of a free and open Indo-Pacific</a> (TICAD7 Yokohama Declaration 2019, adopted in August 2019)</li> <li>Cooperation under the vision of FOIP has been affirmed with six countries. (Foreign Minister Motegi's visits to Africa, December 2020 and January 2021)</li> </ul>		<p><b>NZ</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Materialize the partnership in achieving FOIP in coordination with New Zealand's <a href="#">"Pacific Reset" policy</a> on the Pacific (Summit Meeting in September 2019)</li> <li>Reaffirm strengthening of cooperation particularly in the areas of <a href="#">(i) Oceans, (ii) Climate Change, and (iii) Connectivity</a> (Joint Declaration between Foreign Ministers in October 2019)</li> </ul>

# Indo-Pacific: A new focal point of EU-Japan cooperation?

- The growing importance of India and the need to balance relations with China; the Indo-Pacific arena offers the perfect showcase for what the EU and Japan can do best together.

(Gilson, Julie. *EU–Japan Relations and the Crisis of Multilateralism*. Routledge, 2019, p. 235)

- Japan and Europe share fundamental values such as democracy and can expect continued substantial cooperation as strategic partners...The Japanese government needs to continue pursuing active diplomacy to further heighten the interest of European countries, the EU and NATO in the Indo-Pacific, and deepen their engagement.

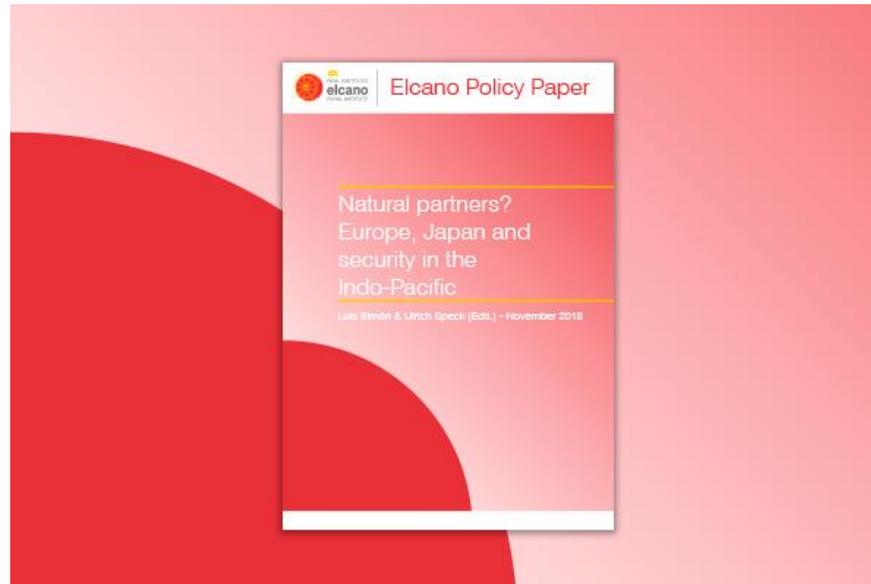
(JIIA, Strategic Annual Report, 2021)

21 NOV 2022

## Why Japan could be the key to the EU's Indo-Pacific ambitions



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## What's Next for EU-Japan Security Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific?

# Research Design

- **Research question**

Has the longstanding “expectations deficit” in EU-Japan relations undergone any transformations in the recent three years?

- **Data collection**

- (1) **Traditional media:** News items from *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Nikkei* (March-June, 2020 & 2021) (n=2,043); texts of news items containing the co-occurrence of keywords “EU” (欧州連合) and “Indo-Pacific” (インド太平洋) in the three newspapers in 2020-2022 (n=378)
- (2) **Social media:** Twitter account “Mission of Japan to the EU” (March-June, 2020 & 2021) (n=177)
- (3) **Elite interviews:** Transcripts of interviews with 20 relevant Japanese elites (journalists, officials or diplomats, scholars, etc.) (n=20)

- **Methodology: Mixed methods**

- (1) **Quantitative**—Content analysis, Text analysis (Semantic network analysis)
- (2) **Qualitative**—Discourse analysis (Critical Discourse Analysis approach, CDA), Semi-structured interview

# Data collection: EU and Indo-Pacific

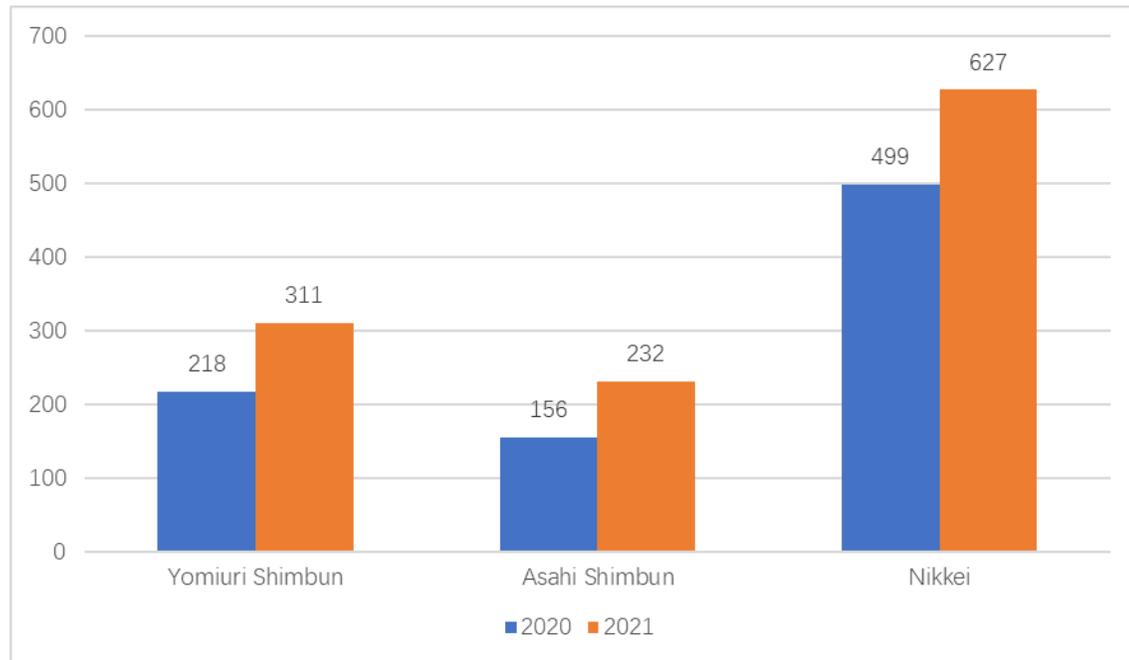


Figure 1 No. of news items with EU-related keywords in three Japanese newspapers (March-June, 2020 and 2021)

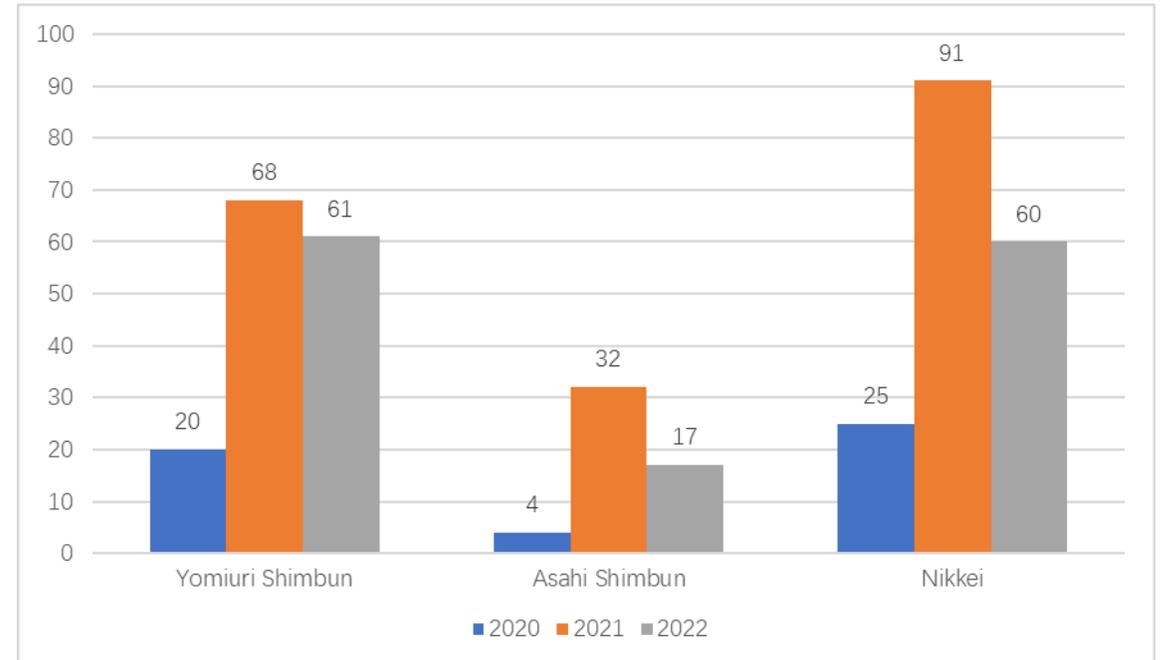


Figure 2 No. of news items mentioning both "EU" and "Indo-Pacific" in three Japanese newspapers (2020-2022)

# High salience and positive evaluation of the EU in the context of "Indo-Pacific"

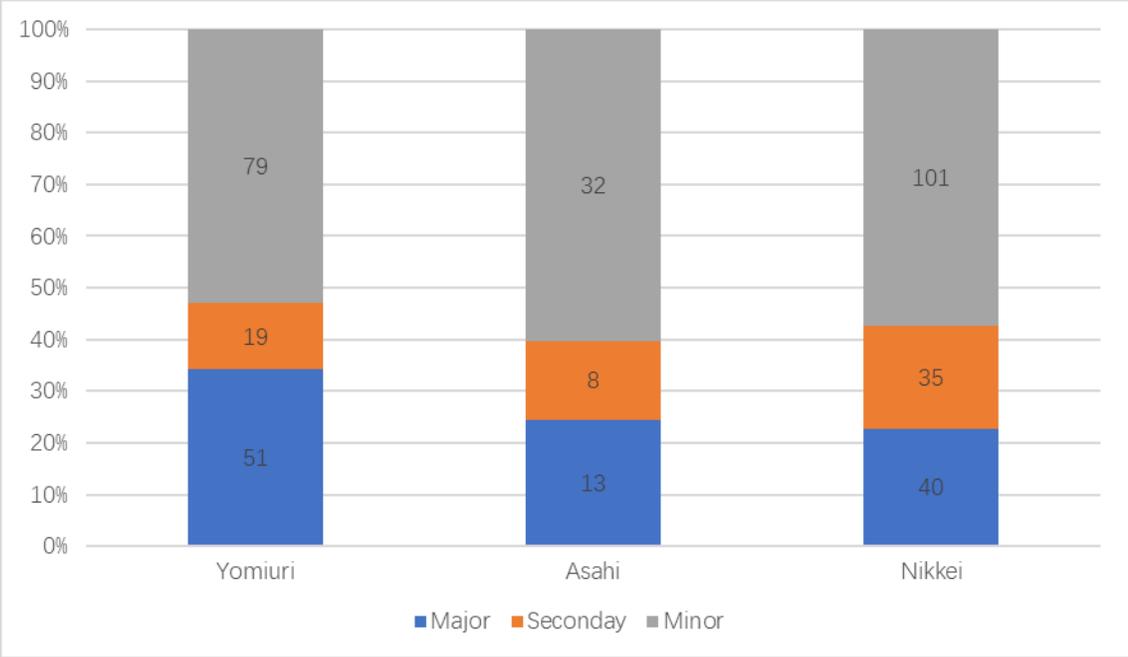


Figure 5 Centrality of the EU in the context of "Indo-Pacific" in three Japanese newspapers

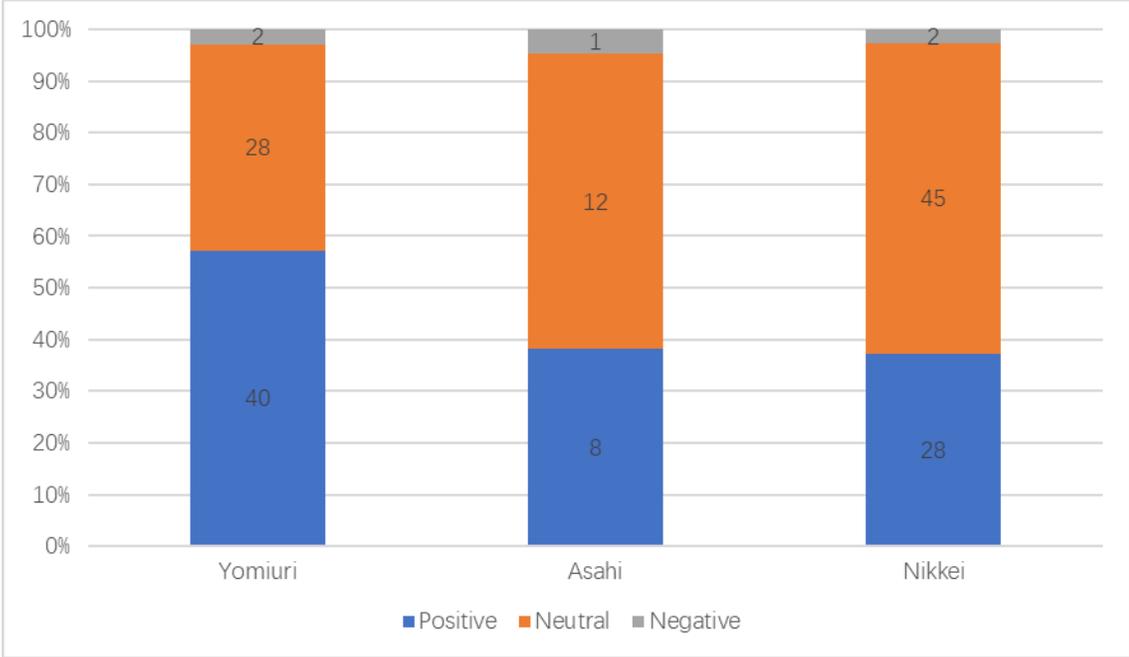


Figure 6 Evaluation of the EU in the context of "Indo-Pacific" in three Japanese newspapers

## Much more active online PR campaigns from Japan to the EU

No. of post: 2020 (9) → 2021 (168, EU-related only)

The new ambassador (since October 2020): MASAKI Yasushi (official account 19.6% retweeted)



Today Ambassador Masaki @Europarl\_EN #AFET/D-JP. "Our 🇯🇵 🇪🇺 shared conviction that sustainable growth is only possible by developing transparent, open, inclusive and sustainable connectivity, and within a rule-based order..."

▶ See the summary here: [eu.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr\\_en/11\\_000...](https://eu.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_en/11_000...)

Yasushi MASAKI.Amb. of Japan to EU. 駐EU大使 正木 靖 @y... · Apr 13  
I appreciated the many important points raised which will contribute to the development of Japan's strategy to work with the EU + other like-minded partners, incl. on #Connectivity, #IndoPacific & the multilateral rules-based order. @Europarl\_EN #AFET/D-JP

### Connectivity for Resilience (1)

Japan and the EU are natural partners. Why?

- Shared strategy
- Achievements and Trust
- A head start for tangible results
- Forging inclusive partnerships



12:32 AM · Apr 14, 2021 · Twitter Web App



**Mission of Japan to the EU** @JapanMissionEU

Japan-EU-Djibouti joint naval exercise was held on May 10 in the Gulf of #Aden. Together with partners, we will further contribute to protecting the world's maritime domain & strengthening the stability, prosperity & sustainable development in the #IndoPacific region.



防衛省・自衛隊 and 3 others

5:28 PM · May 11, 2021 · Twitter Web App

**Mission of Japan to the EU** @JapanMissionEU

The Security & Defense Consultation was held today. We are committed to promoting security cooperation including joint exercises & capacity building in #IndoPacific & #Africa region. [bit.ly/3tkcTaA](https://bit.ly/3tkcTaA) @eu\_eas @EUNAVFOR @jmsdf\_pao\_eng



**Mission of Japan to the EU** @JapanMissionEU

The 27th Japan-EU Summit was held today!

- Flourishing partnership in #IndoPacific & worldwide
- Defeating #COVID19
- Launch of Japan-EU Green Alliance
- Digital, trade, #connectivity, innovation
- Secure, democratic, & stable world upholding the rules-based international order

菅義偉 @sugawitter · May 27

日本の政府関係者

Had a fruitful meeting with @eucopresident and @vonderleyen, exchanging views on COVID-19, climate change and others.

With EU's growing interest and presence in the Indo-Pacific, we will strengthen our partnership toward realizing a free and open order in the region.

Show this thread

6:31 PM · May 27, 2021 · Twitter Web App

**Mission of Japan to the EU** @JapanMissionEU

Together with the like-minded partners, Japan will contribute to promoting the peace & stability in #Indopacific region based on the rules-based international order. #JapanEUSummit

Japan Joint Staff @JapanJointStaff · May 25

Please show this photo movie about #JointTraining strengthening mutual cooperation.



1:47 2.3K views

10:54 PM · May 25, 2021 · Twitter Web App

**Mission of Japan to the EU** @JapanMissionEU

Japan Maritime Self-Defense Fleet conducted joint training in the waters around Okinawa with French Navy. Very important training for maintaining stability in the #IndoPacific region

JMSDF Self-Defense Fleet ENG @JMSDF\_SDF\_ENG · May 6

4 MAY, JS MASYUU conducted multi-lateral training in the waters around Okinawa with @MarineNationale FS SURCOUF. #FOIP #readiness =mod.go.jp/msdf/sf/englis...



1:47 11.1K views

7:56 PM · May 7, 2021 · Twitter Web App

**Mission of Japan to the EU** @JapanMissionEU

Webinar Announcement

On June 23, 9:00-9:45(CET) Japanese Defense Minister KISHI Nobuo @epc\_eu will be at EPC Talks Geopolitics!! (invitation only)

How can we further deepen their political & defense cooperation? Register Now!

@ModJapan\_en @KishiNobuo #IndoPacific



EPC Talks Geopolitics with Kishi Nobuo

2:00 PM · Jun 14, 2021 · Twitter Web App

Figure 8 Tweets about EU-Japan security cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region from the Twitter of “Mission of Japan to the EU”

# Expected strategy: Indo-Pacific

- Augusto Santos Silva (Portuguese FM): “The EU and Japan have a very close position (regarding security strategy in the Indo-Pacific region)”.

(Nikkei, May 27, 2021)

- Minister Motegi welcomed the Council conclusions on the “EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific” as EU’s strong will for its engagement with the Indo-Pacific region. High Representative Borrell expressed his gratitude for Minister Motegi’s explanation of the vision of a “Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)” at the EU Foreign Affairs Council in January, and stated that it contributed to the formulation of the “EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific”.

(Japan-EU Foreign Ministers’ Meeting, May 4, 2021)

- DM Kishi also emphasized the importance of Japan and EU nations’ confronting them together, that are sharing common values, and making our cooperation for maintaining and enhancing the vision of a “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” irreversible.

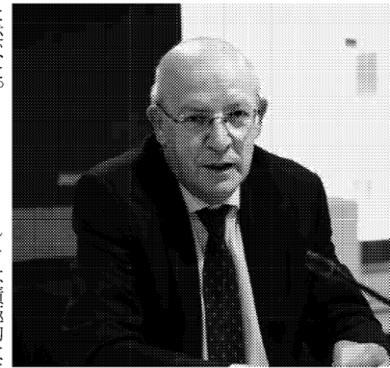
(Kishi Nobuo, the first Japanese defense minister to speak at the European Parliament, June 17, 2021)

- The EU is strengthening its military presence in the Indo-Pacific region.

(Yomiuri, April 21, 2021)

- Today the COVID-19 pandemic, the growing impacts of climate change and new security challenges in the Indo-Pacific and worldwide make our cooperation more necessary than ever.

(EU-Japan Summit 2021 Joint Statement, May 27, 2021)



サントスシルバ外相は「EUと日本の立場は非常に近い」とした（ブリュッセル）



EUのインド太平洋戦略の大枠の主なポイント

- ▶インド太平洋地域での政治、通商での立場を強化
- ▶海洋安全保障対策への参画。合同訓練など視野に
- ▶高速・大容量通信規格「5G」整備やデータ保護など、安全なデジタル戦略の促進
- ▶中国との投資協定、オーストラリア、インドネシアなどの通商協定締結
- ▶価値観を共有する国々と、各分野での対話・連携を強化

駐日欧州連合代表部 Retweeted  
防衛省・自衛隊 @ModJapan\_jp

【岸防衛大臣の動静：欧州議会への岸防衛大臣の出席（オンライン形式）】  
6月17日17時から、#岸防衛大臣 は日本の防衛大臣として初めて、欧州議会「安全保障・防衛小委員会」の公開セッションに出席しました。  
Translated from Japanese by Google

[Kishi Defense Minister's Movement: Attendance of Kishi Defense Minister to the European Parliament (online format)]  
From 17:00 on June 17th #岸防衛大臣 Was the first Japanese Defense Minister to attend a public session of the European Parliament's Security and Defense Subcommittee.

6:43 PM · Jun 17, 2021 · Twitter for iPad

Mission of Japan to the EU @JapanMissionEU

FM MOTEGI' mtg w/ HR&V.P Borrell @JosepBorrellF:  
- welcomes "EU Strategy for Cooperation in the #IndoPacific"  
- Exports of #COVID19 vaccines to ensure smooth shipments  
- & #GAVI's #COVAX Vaccines Summit in June  
- Climate Change, WTO reform, Digital, N.Korea  
-Next Summit

MOFA of Japan @MofaJapan\_en · May 6, 2021  
Japan government organization  
Japan-EU Foreign Ministers' Meeting  
mofa.go.jp/press/release/...

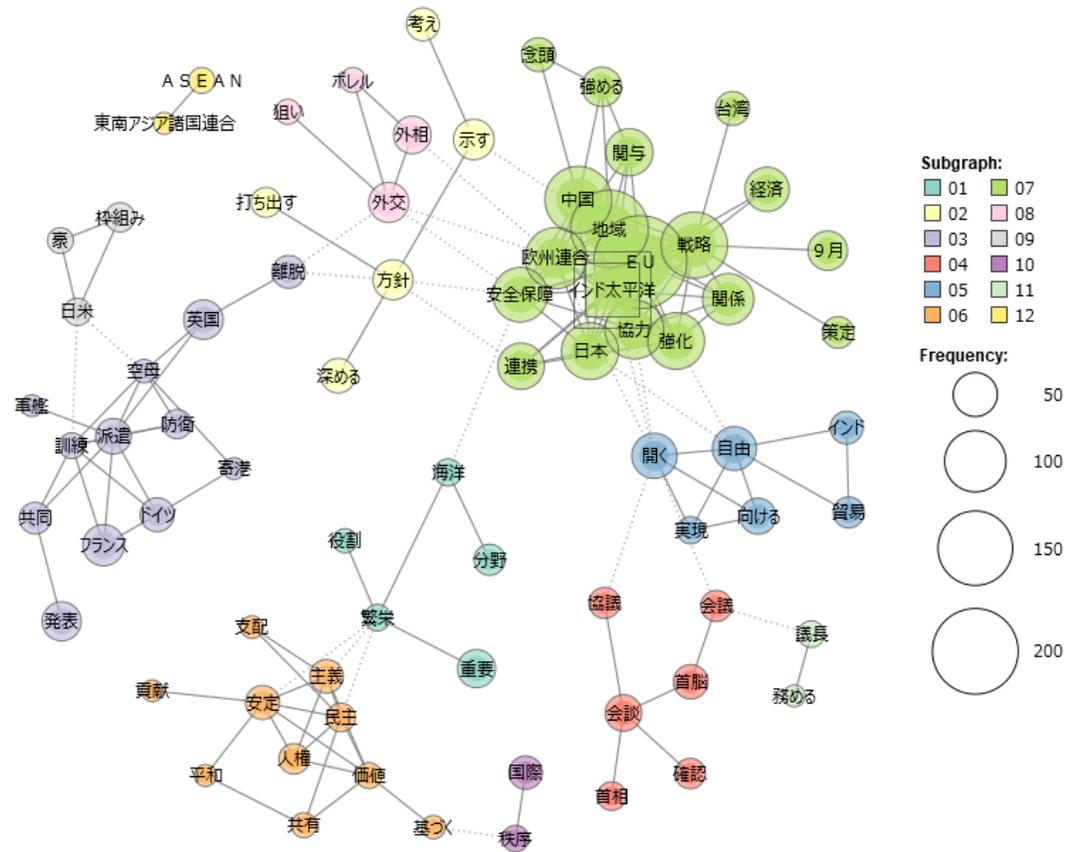
# High-frequency words

- **Method:** Text analysis
- **Samples:** texts of news items in the three media's news items comprising the keywords “EU” (欧州連合) and “Indo-Pacific” (インド太平洋) in Japanese from 2020 to 2022
- **Units of the corpus:** 7,080 paragraphs (consisting of 17,236 sentences)
- **Morphological parser:** ChaSen
- **Software:** KH Coder

Nouns		Adjectives/Adverbs		Verbs		Places/Organizations	
協力cooperation	156	自由free	74	示すshow	78	E U EU	588
関係relationship	151	重要important	60	開くopen	70	中国China	379
強化enhancement	126	安定stable	47	強めるstrengthen	63	インド太平洋Indo-Pacific	372
安全保障security	123	初めてfirst-ever	34	向ける turn towards	50	日本Japan	262
連携alignment	102	強いstrong	29	巡る concerning	42	欧州Europe	192
関与engagement	82	平和peaceful	24	深めるdeepen	41	米国US	181
会談talk	80	必要necessary	23	述べるstate	29	英国UK	117
協定agreement	60	可能possible	21	進めるpromote	29	台湾Taiwan	105
発表announcement	57	大きいlarge	21	打ち出すlaunch	25	フランスFrance	102
貿易trade	54	新たなnew	19	行うconduct	24	ドイツGermany	82
加盟accession	51	主要major	17	基づくbased on	23	インドIndia	60
防衛defence	51	安全safe	14	受けるreceive	23	ロシアRussia	55
会議meeting	50	多様diverse	14	続けるcontinue	22	アジアAsia	48
共同joint	49	独自unique	14	求めるpursue	19	ウクライナUkraine	39
協議discussion	49	緊密close	13	位置づけるposition	18	オーストラリアAustralia	37
派遣deployment	49	近いnearly	11	持つhave	18	南シナ海 South China Sea	30
合意agreement	45	幅広いwide	10	目指すaim	18	A S E A N ASEAN	29
投資investment	45	明らかevident	9	語るspeak	16	東欧Eastern Europe	23
重視emphasis	41	明確clear	9	加えるadd	15	香港Hong Kong	16
確認confirmation	40	厳しいsevere	8	高めるenhance	14	G 7 G7	16

Table 1 Top 20 high-frequency words in texts about the EU in the context of the Indo-Pacific in Japanese newspapers (2020-2022)

## Word Clusters



- **Cluster 07: Indo-Pacific (インド太平洋)**- EU (EU/欧州連合)-China (中国)-Japan (日本)-Taiwan (台湾)-security (安全保障)-enhancement(強化/強める)-cooperation(協力)-alignment(連携)-engagement(関与)-maritime (海洋)-security (安全保障)-defence(防衛)
- **Cluster 03:** defence (防衛) -dispatch (派遣)-aircraft carrier (空母)-warship (軍艦)-joint (共同)-training (訓練)-stopping at a port (寄港)-Germany (ドイツ)-France (フランス)
- **Cluster 06:** democracy (民主主義)-values (価値)-stable (安定)-peaceful (平和)-human rights (人権)-shared (共有)-based (基づく)-international (国際)-order (秩序)
- **Other actors:** UK (英国), ASEAN (ASEAN/東南アジア諸国連合), Quad (日米, 豪, インド)

- Shared values and common strategic goals
- Security-oriented agenda-setting
- Positive evaluations, high expectations of cooperation

# The EU's expectations of Japan

No.	Contributor(s)	Newspaper	Headline	Date
1	Patricia Flor, (Ambassador, Head of the Delegation of the EU to Japan)	<i>Nikkei</i> ( <i>Nikkei Asian</i> <i>Review</i> )	EU-Japan partnership has a bright future	2021.2.15
2	Patricia Flor, and Philippe Setton, (Ambassador of France to Japan)	<i>Asahi</i> <i>Shimbun</i> ( <i>Asahi</i> <i>Shimbun Asia</i> <i>&amp; Japan</i> <i>Watch/AJW</i> )	POINT OF VIEW/ For a strengthened partnership between the European Union and Japan in the Indo-Pacific	2022.2.22
3	Ursula von der Leyen (President of the European Commission)	<i>Yomiuri</i> <i>Shimbun (The</i> <i>Japan News)</i>	EU to “expand cooperation” with Japan	2022.5.13
4	Richard Tibbels (Special Envoy for the Indo-Pacific at the EEAS)	<i>Yomiuri</i> <i>Shimbun</i>	EU Special Envoy: Expecting Japan as G7 Presidency’ 「G7議長国 日本に期 待」 EU特使	2022.12.15

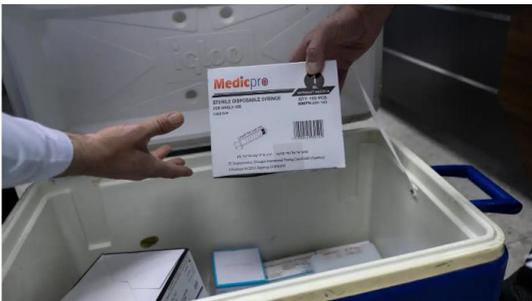
Table 2 Op-eds/Interviews by EU officials in Japanese newspapers (2020-2022)

OPINION

EU-Japan partnership has a bright future

Agreements form solid basis for joint action in post-pandemic world

Letter to the editor February 15, 2021 19:30 JST



Palestinian medics unpack Moderna's COVID-19 vaccines on Feb. 3. EU and Japan can cooperate in COVAX facility aiming to provide vaccines to developing countries. © AP

From Patricia Flor, Ambassador, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to Japan.

Search bar

The Asahi Shimbun > Opinion > Views > article

POINT OF VIEW/ For a strengthened partnership between the European Union and Japan in the Indo-Pacific

PATRICIA FLOR and PHILIPPE SETTON/ special to The Asahi Shimbun February 22, 2022 at 13:00 JST

Share Tweet Print



Patricia Flor, Ambassador of the European Union to Japan, left, and Philippe Setton, Ambassador of France to Japan (Provided by the EU Delegation to Japan and the French Embassy in Tokyo)

Von der Leyen: Ukraine crisis shows Japan, EU can rely on each other

Share Tweet



©European Union 2020 European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen

By Tomoko Hatakeyama / Yomiuri Shimbun Correspondent 15:41 JST, May 12, 2022

日本経済新聞

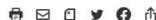
朝刊・夕刊 LIVE Myニュース

トップ 速報 オピニオン 経済 政治 ビジネス 金融 マーケット マネーのまねび テック 国際

インド太平洋地域の平和安定「共通の利益」駐日EU大使

フォローする 2021年2月15日 19:30

保存



パトリシア・フロア駐日EU大使

インド太平洋戦略「EUと日本、協力強化を」 きょう閣僚フォーラム、駐日仏・EU大使が寄稿

News article snippet with title 'インド太平洋戦略「EUと日本、協力強化を」' and sub-headline 'きょう閣僚フォーラム 駐日仏・EU大使が寄稿'. Includes a small photo of Patricia Flor and Philippe Setton.

EU、日本と対露連携強化

「ブリュッセル」駐日EU大使が寄稿。EUと日本は、ロシアの侵襲に際して、対露連携を強化する。...

制裁残虐行為をやめるまで

「ロシアの侵襲に際して、対露連携を強化する。EUと日本は、ロシアの侵襲に際して、対露連携を強化する。...



「G7議長国 日本に期待」 EU特使 「日本は重要なパートナーで、来年の先進7か国首脳会議（G7サミット）の議長国としての役割にも期待している」と語った。...

14日、東京都内で取材に応じるティベルス・EUインド太平洋特使—松久高広撮影

# “Japan is our closest strategic partner in the Indo-Pacific region”

## Joint Statement EU-Japan Summit 2022

(the 28th EU-Japan summit in Tokyo, Japan)

1. We, the leaders of the European Union (EU) and Japan, reaffirm our **close and comprehensive partnership** based upon the EU-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and Strategic Partnership Agreement, grounded in common interests and the shared values of freedom, respect for human rights, democracy, the rule of law, open, free and fair trade, effective multilateralism and the rules-based international order.

...

4. ... We will enhance cooperation for a **free and open Indo-Pacific**, which is inclusive and based on the rule of law and democratic values, as well as unconstrained by coercion, based upon our respective, complementary strategies for the Indo-Pacific region.

**Source:** European Council, EEAS

## EU-Japan summit, 12 May 2022

### Main results

The President of the European Council, Charles Michel, and the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, representing the EU, met Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida at the 28th EU-Japan summit in Tokyo, Japan.

The leaders of the EU and Japan reaffirmed their **close and comprehensive partnership**.

The EU and Japan have a deep and dynamic relationship. **Japan is our closest strategic partner in the Indo-Pacific region.** Russia's war against Ukraine has shown that deeper cooperation is not a luxury, it's a vital necessity.

— Charles Michel, President of the European Council



Press statement by Charles Michel, President of the European Council, following the 28th EU-Japan summit

# Elite interviews

How would you define the current relationship between your country and the European Union?

The only options in play are 'friend' or 'partner'. None of the others make sense for EU-Japan relations.

The phrase 'like-minded partner' is often used in official documents.



**Charles Michel** ✓  
@eucopresident

...

パートナー。同盟国。友人。

Partners. Allies. Friends.

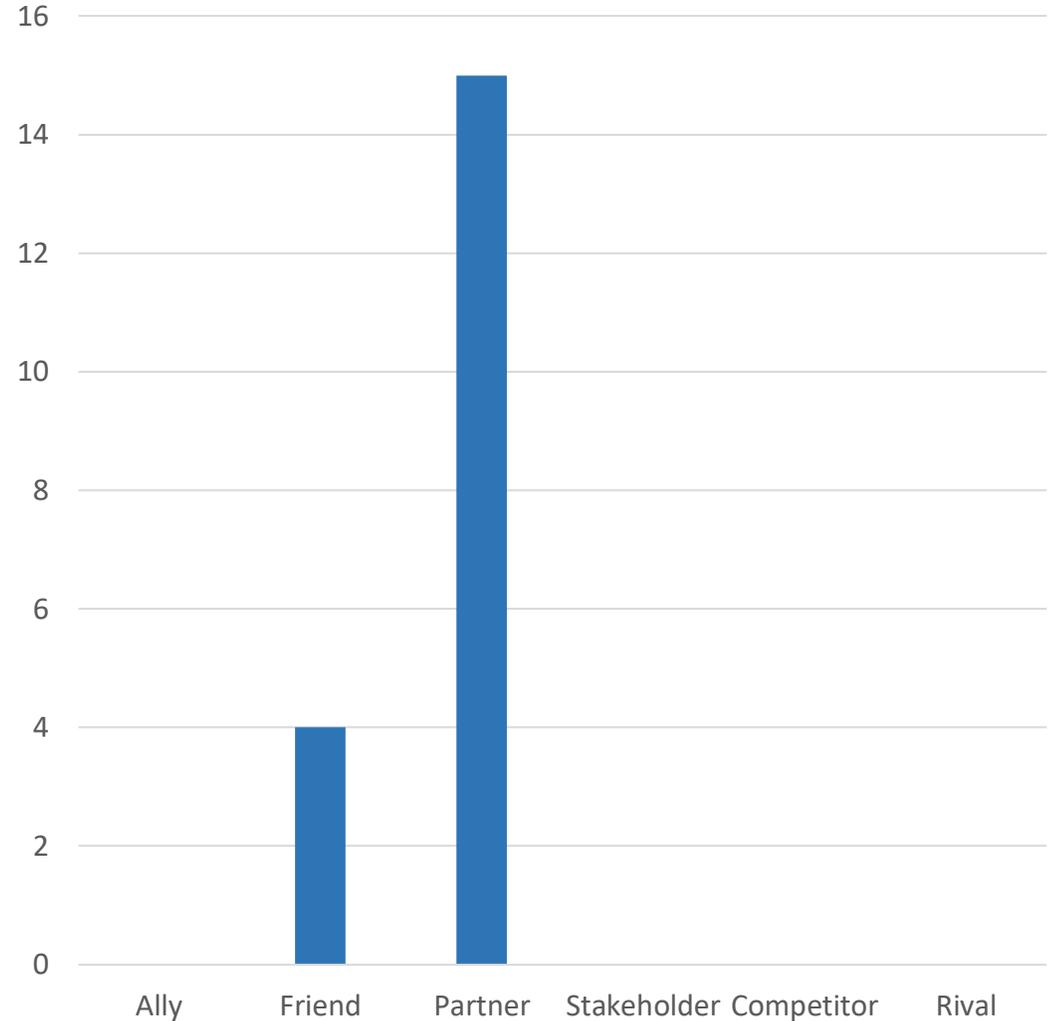
@kishida230

#EUJapanSummit

翻译推文



11:00 · 2022/5/12 · Twitter for iPhone



11. In September 2021 the EU launched its Indo-Pacific Strategy. On a scale of 1 to 5, how important do you think this is for your country? Why?

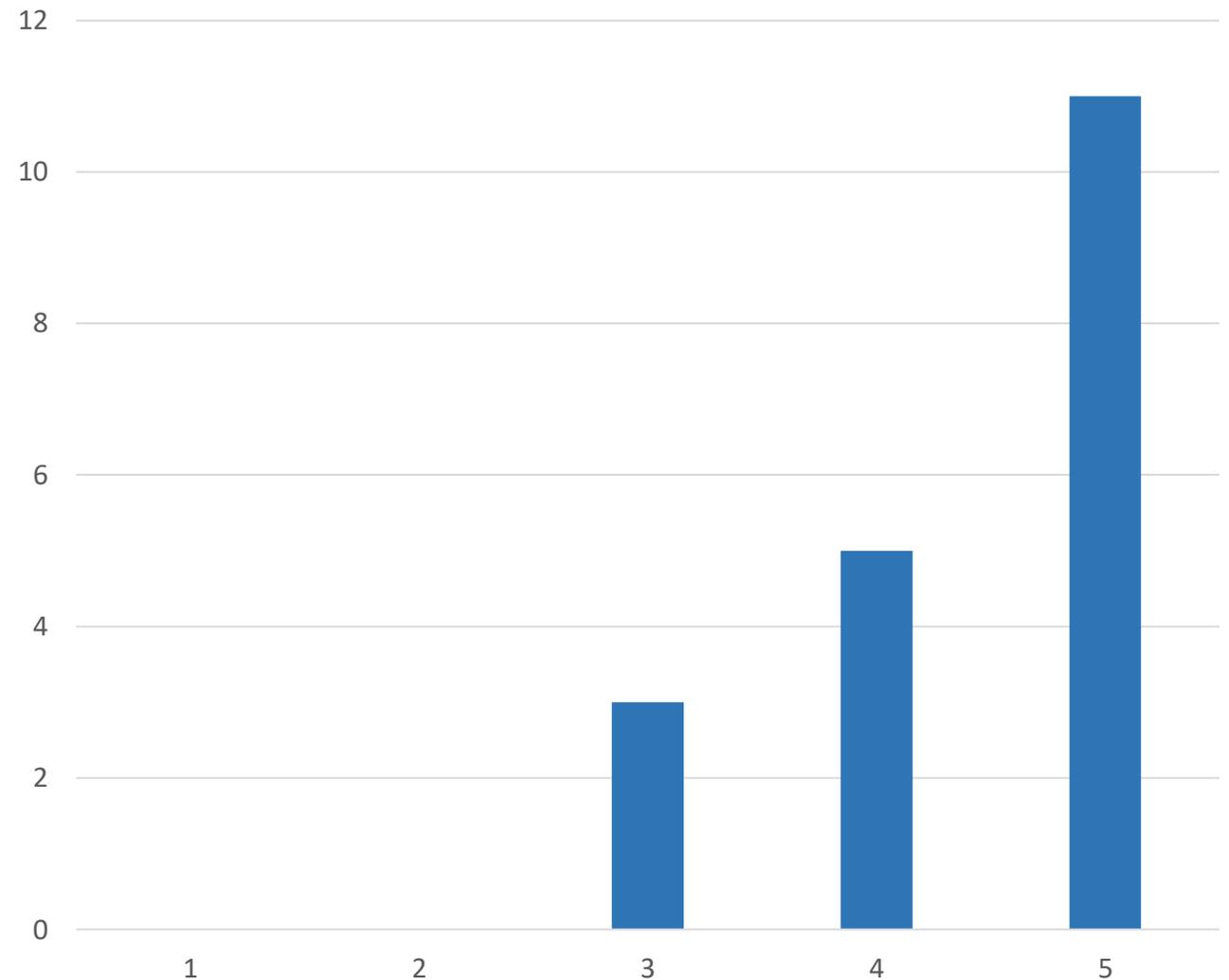
Mean = 4.4  
Mode = 5  
Median = 5

The Indo-Pacific Strategy is very important for Japan.

Priorities within this strategy are connectivity, digital issues and supply chains.

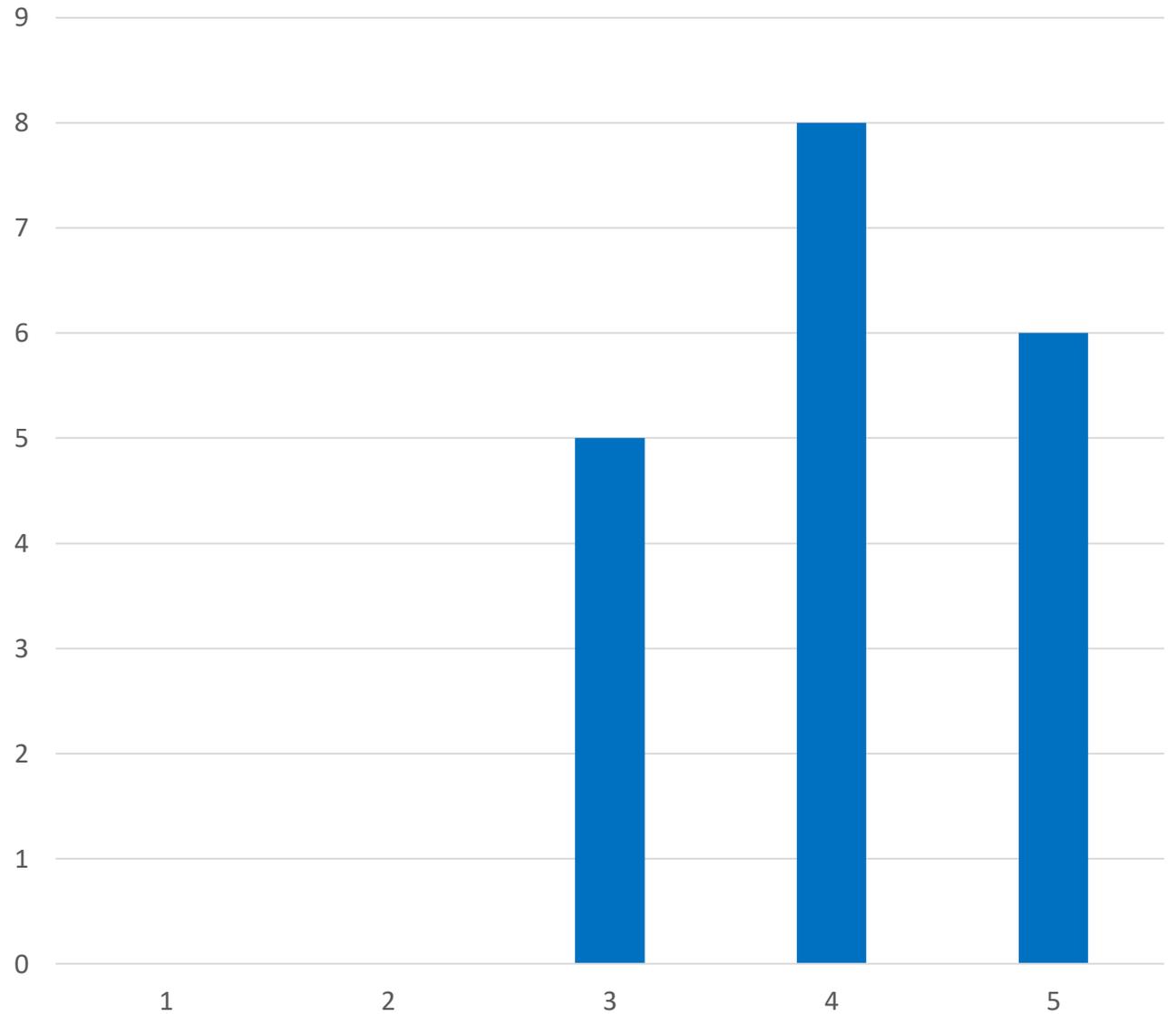
People were less inclined to mention hard or soft security in this context, which suggests perhaps that security issues are not seen as central to the IPS itself.

Importance of Indo-Pacific Strategy for Japan



22. On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate the importance of the EU to your country currently?

Mean = 4.05  
Median = 4  
Mode = 4

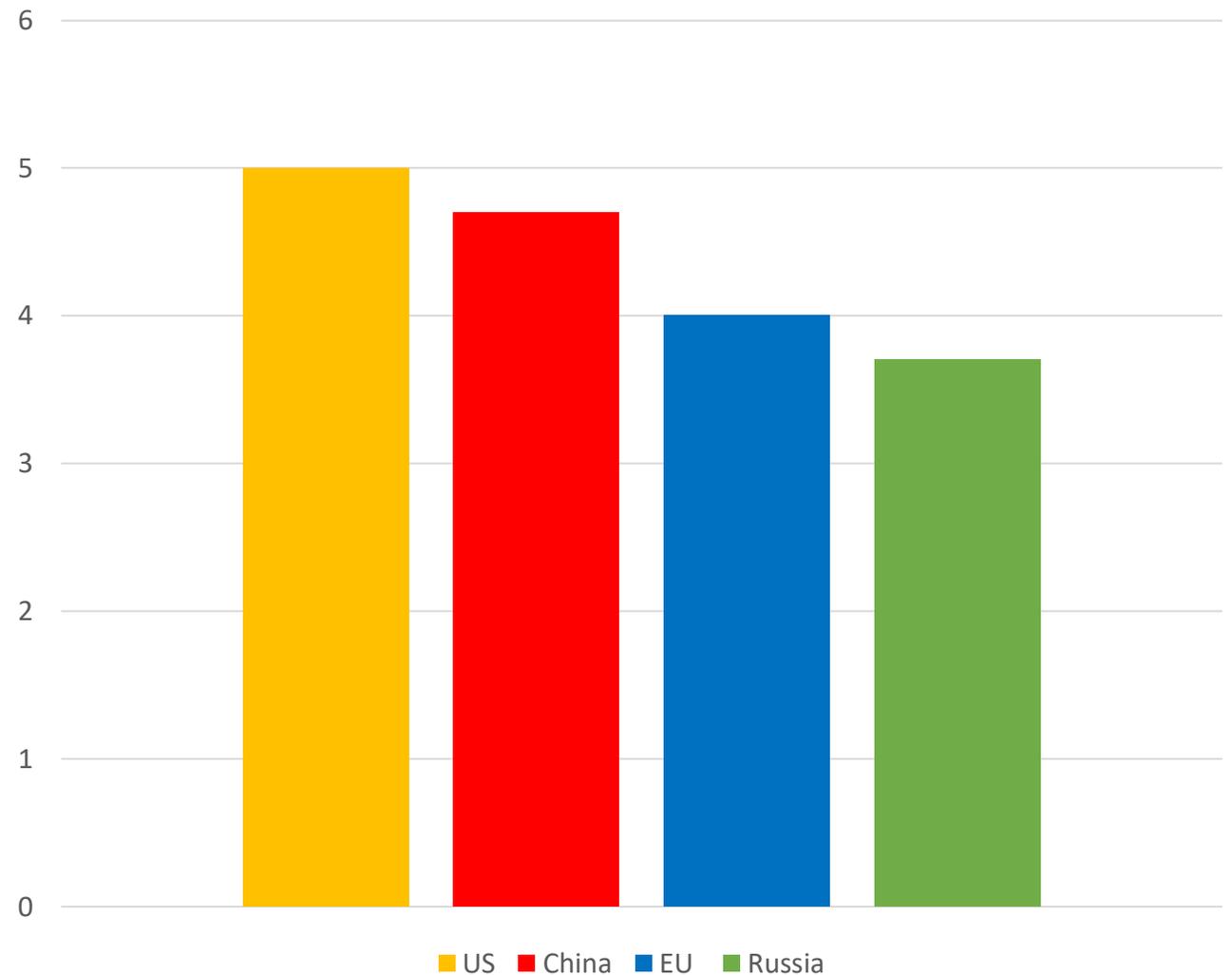


22. On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate the importance of the EU to your country currently?

What about the US, China and Russia?

US = 5.0  
China = 4.7  
EU = 4.0  
Russia = 3.7

Relative importance of countries



# EU's expected role from the Japanese perspective

## 2020

### 1. Coordinated leadership in the COVID-19 crisis

- EU should be a command tower. 司令塔になるべき欧州連合 (EU) [Asahi\\_2020\\_53](#)
- EU should play a coordinating role. EUが調整役を担うべきである。 [Yomiuri\\_2020\\_47](#)

### 2. Like-minded partner and pillars of liberal order

- Europe is Japan's partner with shared values such as free trade and democracy. 日本にとって欧州は自由貿易や民主主義などの価値観を共有するパートナー [Nikkei\\_2020\\_5](#)
- EU is a powerful promoter of multilateralism. EUは多国間主義の強力な推進者 [Asahi\\_2020\\_72](#)
- "Japan and the EU need to lead the world" 「日本とEUが世界をリードする必要がある」 [Yomiuri\\_2020\\_153](#)

## 2021

### 1. A geopolitical player in the **Indo-Pacific** region, a strategic partner with shared values, a security partner with Japan to tackle the challenge of “China Threat”

(The EU) wants to increase its presence as a security player in the Indo-Pacific region

EUもインド太平洋で「安全保障の担い手としての存在感を高めたい」 ([Asahi, 2021-5-58](#))

### 2. A supplier of COVID-19 vaccines to Japan

Kono Taro (former Japanese FM): If (vaccine) exports stop, it will affect Japan-EU relations

「輸出が止まれば日EU関係に影響する」 ([Yomiuri, 2021-5-25](#))

### 3. A normative power and rule maker: climate change, AI regulations, etc.

Go beyond the Paris Agreement, which is a voluntary effort. The EU must act as a rule maker

EUはルールメーカーとして動かねばならない ([Asashi, 2021-4-4](#))

# Consensus between the EU and Japan

- **Interdependence:** The security of Europe and the Indo-Pacific is **indivisible**
- **Mutual perception:** **Like-minded partners**, friends, and allies
- **Threat perception:** Both **China** and **Russia** are existential threats to the EU and Japan, they are revisionist states who aim to change the status quo (liberal international order) by force and coercion; rapprochement with the US after Trump
- **Convergence:** Shared values, identities, and strategic visions—policy coordination and cooperation—“**Indo-Pacific**” strategies
- **Expectations:** Deeper and wider security cooperation in the **Indo-Pacific** region (maritime security, cybersecurity, economic security, etc.)

# EU-Japan relations in the future

- From “expectations deficit” to “capability-expectations gap” (CEG)?
- A natural result (EPA, SPA, 2018), accelerated by “black swan” events (Brexit, Trump, COVID-19, Russia-Ukraine War, etc.)
- Focusing on capacity-building, seeking a equilibrium between expectations and capabilities
- “Indo-Pacific” will be a crucial venue of bilateral security cooperation

# Areas to strengthen

Interviewees were also asked in which policy areas they thought that Japan and the EU should strengthen their cooperation. Respondents were asked to identify three policy areas, and came up with following answers, ranked in terms of frequency:

- Digital (9)
- Trade (8)
- China (8)
- Russia / Ukraine (8)
- Maritime Security (6)
- Environmental issues (6)
- Academic cooperation (4)
- Indo-Pacific Strategy, Connectivity, economic security, supply chains (2 apiece)
- HADR, strategic dialogue, critical infrastructure (3 apiece)

Although digital and trade were the policy areas most frequently identified, another valid way to aggregate the data is to note that 25 of 60 answers identified the need to intensify security cooperation. Answers referred to the ‘threat’ of China and North Korea, and to the Ukraine, and to a recognition that maritime security should be given greater priority. There were also references to strategic dialogue and to HADR.

# Overall findings 1

To summarize the eight sets of findings analysed in this section:

1. There was very high coverage of the EU in the Japanese print media compared to the other three countries being researched.
2. More than one half of news items featured the EU as a major or secondary actor.
3. Although there were comparatively fewer news items on the bilateral relationship in isolation, the increased significance of the EU-Japan relationship is seen more in the context of new security developments within the region as a whole.
4. There were a substantial number of news items connecting the EU to the Indo-Pacific, and the EU enjoyed similar levels of centrality in these items as it did in the general news items on the EU.
5. An important point to emphasize is that the evaluation of the EU in news items connecting it to the Indo-Pacific is very significantly more positive than the overall evaluation for general news items on the EU.

# Overall findings 2

6. Frequency and co-occurrence analysis shows that the geopolitical concept of the Indo-Pacific provides a valuable opportunity for the two parties to deepen their security cooperation.
7. The Japanese media frame the EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy as a means to counter the 'China threat', rather than valuing the relationship as having intrinsic value in its own right.
8. There are significant co-occurrence clusters linking the concept of the Indo-Pacific to opportunities for enhanced security cooperation, identifying the significance of maritime security cooperation, and the significance of normative like-mindedness.
9. The Twitter / X account of the Mission of Japan to the EU makes a concerted attempt to communicate and re-enforce these themes.
10. These themes are mirrored back in the newspaper interviews given by senior EU figures in the Japanese print media.
11. Finally, these themes also recur persistently in the opinions of elite Japanese security influencers: the EU-Japan relationship is growing in significance, and is a partnership of like-minded states. The EU's new Indo-Pacific Strategy is seen as very important, and should provide the catalyst for greater cooperation across a range of hard security issues.

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**THE END**

**Thank You!**