

氏 名（本 籍）	Roksolana LAVRINENKO				
学 位 の 種 類	博士（社会科学）				
学 位 記 番 号	博 甲 第 9754 号				
学位授与年月日	令和 3 年 3 月 25 日				
学位授与の要件	学位規則第4条第1項該当				
審 査 研 究 科	人文社会科学研究科				
学 位 論 文 題 目	Civil Society in Conflict-Ridden Countries: The Case of Ukraine's Military Volunteers (紛争当事国の市民社会—ウクライナの軍事支援ボランティアの事例から—)				
主	査	筑波大学	教授	博士（国際関係学）	ダダバエフ ティムール
副	査	筑波大学	准教授	博士（国際政治経済学）	タック川崎 レスリー
副	査	筑波大学	准教授	博士（文学）	塩谷 哲史

論 文 の 要 旨

This thesis focuses on the analysis of the volunteer movement during the ongoing armed conflict in the Eastern Ukraine, that started in 2014. In particular, this thesis explores the role played by civil society organizations in general, exemplified by the case study of volunteer groups, and their functions in the conditions of the military conflict in eastern Ukraine. This study employs the case of Ukrainian military volunteer groups, formal and informal civil society organizations, that provide supplies to the Ukrainian armed forces. The stated goal of this thesis is to expand the existing theoretical and empirical knowledge on the capacity of civil society in the context of a protracted armed conflict by providing insights on how Ukrainian military volunteers organize their activities.

This thesis is organized in the following way. Chapter 1 develops the conceptual framework of the study along the lines of the notions of civil society and volunteering. Throughout this chapter, the thesis narrates the meanings of the traditional and modern understanding of civil society as well as its relations with the state. It then also illustrates the approaches to studies of civil society in the context of armed conflict. It summarizes that the majority of the empirical and theoretical studies have been conducted on civil society institutions during the peacebuilding or conflict management stages, while there is little written on such institutions in the conditions of conflicts.

Chapter 2 then presents the design of the data collection and analysis by elaborating on the in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observations with volunteer groups. In terms of analysis of empirical data, this study uses thematic analysis of the interviews as described above.

Chapter 3 then unpacks the causes of the Donbas war (Eastern Ukraine) through presenting Ukrainian, Russian positions and the views of those who claim their independence from Ukraine. This part of the thesis makes the claim that the confrontation between Ukraine and Russia dates back to the origins of both countries. As a result, the Crimean annexation and Donbas war is not merely a territorial dispute but cultural and ideological ones.

Chapter 4 then goes on to explain the context within which military volunteers operate – in the conflict zones in

Eastern Ukraine. This part introduces the background of the conflict, the current state of military confrontation as well as the role of volunteer battalions in the Donbas war.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the development of civil society in Ukraine and existing coverage on military volunteers by analyzing the development of the Post-Euromaidan civil society and specifically military volunteers.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the analysis of the collected data of in-depth interviews with several military volunteer groups in Eastern Ukraine and Kiev. It explains how interactions between military volunteers and the Ukrainian authorities have changed since the beginning of the conflict, as well as how military volunteers position themselves with regard to the state institutions.

This thesis then concludes with the discussion of the analyzed findings and summarizes the study's contribution to the previous literature.

As one of the main arguments of this work, this study claims that military volunteers can be considered in two main dimensions. On the one hand, they are part of the civil society that might play certain positive roles in the context of an armed conflict. At the same time, military volunteers are a domestic phenomenon, that continues to develop and therefore, the research aimed to show the transformation of the institution of the Ukrainian military volunteering and the new roles the movement undertakes in the conflict dynamics as well as in Ukrainian society overall.

審 査 の 要 旨

1 批評

The topic of coverage of this study is complex and new in the study of Ukrainian domestic politics and civil war. In this sense, this study provides invaluable data into a little-studied topic of the role of non-state actors in military conflict in East Ukraine. It is also one of the first studies to make its explicit focus on the roles of the military volunteers.

This study observes that due to the complexity of the roles of military volunteers, they are in a very uncertain position in terms of the existing conceptual frameworks for civil society in the context of armed conflict. As is explained in this thesis, the military volunteers do not use violence per se, nor do they supply weapons to the conflict zone. However, they do provide supplies to the military and paramilitary groups that engage in violence and therefore contribute to the violence in the conflict zone.

When analyzing the specific activities, the military volunteers undertake in a protracted conflict, this thesis established that the main role for such organizations is not a provision of basic supplies. The functions of the volunteers shifted into three main activities: professionalized, medical and emotional support.

Those in the first group, labeled as "core organizations" in this thesis, evolved to become professionalized military volunteers. They focus on providing one or two services or products. As is discovered by this thesis, professionalized organizations of military support no longer substitute the state as suggested by the studies done at the onset of the conflict, but rather cooperate with the state in terms of providing the supplies more efficiently in times of war. Medical volunteers are the smallest volunteer groups in terms of size, due to the apparent dangers of providing medical help at the frontline.

In addition, this thesis makes a credible claim that these organizations have closer proximity to the local

population at the frontline and direct contact with the population, which can be rather significant in terms of establishing communication between the civilians in the area close to the conflict zone and the Ukrainian society at large.

And finally, this thesis also uncovers the third type of support which is rarely focused upon which is the emotional support they provide to the military personnel. According to the findings of this thesis, such support is mostly provided by small-scale organizations, military church chaplain, or wild volunteers who take trips to the front line.

In line with this, the committee reviewing the findings of this thesis have concluded that this thesis produced and presented previously uncovered material and connected those to the theoretical assumptions which help understand the dynamics of the civil war in eastern Ukraine. While the committee noticed certain discrepancies in citation styles as well as certain ambiguities in phrasings, such deficiencies to no extent question importance of the findings of this thesis. As such, the committee concluded, that this thesis fulfills requirements for the doctoral dissertation and thus recommends awarding the corresponding degree.

2 最終試験

The final examination committee conducted a final examination on January 8, 2021. The applicant provided an overview of the dissertation, and addressed questions and comments raised during the Question-and-Answer session. All committee members reached a final decision that the applicant passed the final examination.

3 結論

Therefore, the final examination committee approved that the applicant is qualified to be awarded a Doctor of Philosophy in Social Sciences.