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学位の種類	博士 (学術)				
学位記番号	博 甲 第 8801 号				
学位授与年月日	平成 30年 9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	Securitized Migration: Russian Policies in Dealing with Labour Migrants from Central Asia (安全保障問題化した移民ーロシアの中央アジア出身労働移民に対する諸政策ー)				
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論文の要旨

This thesis has focused on the analysis of the phenomenon of securitization of migration from Central Asia to Russia. In terms of its coverage, this thesis starts by indicating the importance of this topic in light of recent increase of migration from Central Asia to Russia. In addition, it also frames this issue within the literature on the migration being increasingly treated as a security threat not only in post-Soviet space but also internationally.

After providing the methodological and chronological background in the introduction and chapter 1, this thesis explores the emergence and further development of critical security studies within different schools and the basic tenets of the securitization theory in Chapter two.

It also explores current literature on securitization theory with analyzing the critique of the theory. The chapter also provides an overview of academic literature on migration and securitization in Russia.

This is then followed by the Chapter three which discusses the methodology and methods of applied in this research. In particular, Chapter three attempts to justify the use of discourse analysis in explaining the phenomenon of securitization in Russia. The chapter also explains how the data were collected and how they were analyzed and utilized throughout the research.

In attempt to contextualize migration in Russia, Chapter four outlines brief history of migration regime in the Soviet Union and proceeds with the emergence of new migration policies in 1990s and 2000s. In addition, this chapter explores evolution of the contemporary migration regime in Russia and labor migration from Central Asia.

Chapter five analyzes economic reasons (cheap labour and demographics) Russia's foreign policy goals as the main factors responsible for Russia's softer policy towards migrants. Chapter six, on the other hand, draws on the discussion of factors that push for strong securitization in the society such as restrictive legislative system and media framing of migration as a threat to Russian societal security.

Chapter seven has then explored Philippe Bourbeau's framework of 'securitized migration'. By highlighting the weaknesses of this framework, this study adopted this framework to the countries outside the Western context, namely to Russia and Central Asia. By doing so, this chapter provided the analysis of how Russian authorities are attempting to keep a difficult balance between the need to sustain the benefits of incoming migration from Central Asia while at the same time, securitizing discussions about its negative impacts on Russian society.

The concluding chapter then summarizes the outcomes of this study and draws on the limitations and possible avenues for future research.

In terms of its outcomes, this thesis attempts to contribute to the field of migration studies by adopting the securitization framework to the Russian context. Developing Philip Bourbeau's framework of 'securitized migration', this thesis argued that securitization of migration occurs differently in many contexts.

This study emphasizes that with a few exceptions, literature on securitization and migration routinely ignore many countries outside the West. In this sense, its inquiry aims to fill in this gap and provide the case study of Russia and Central Asia.

The coverage of this thesis begins with the collapse of the Soviet Union and extends into description of exodus of ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking population to Russia escaping ethnic conflicts and the establishment of national governments on the territories of the former empire.

Thesis also claims that Russia needs migration for demographic, economic and political reasons. It aimed to demonstrate that Russia's ageing population, its population decline in its eastern regions as well as the need for cheap labor make migration an important factor for Russia's economic and security reasons. This paper concludes that the Russian government on the one hand accepts the need for the inflow of migration as the only way to address the country's demographic challenges. But, on the other hand, this thesis suggests that general population does not display positive sentiments towards migrants from Central Asia which is currently is the main donor of migration, instead preferring highly-skilled or European migrants. However, according to this thesis, Russia's economy does require a large number of lowly-skilled migrant workers in construction, services, retails, and others along with highly-skilled ones.

In addition, this thesis also concludes that Russian government utilizes migration as a tool of geopolitics in its relations with foreign powers as demonstrated by Kyrgyzstan and other CA states.

審査の要旨

1 批評

This thesis concludes that such return migration exhausted itself by the end of 1990s. After the Russian economy bounced back from the impoverished state in late 1990s, the character and the scale of migration to Russia changed, with more migrants coming from the South Caucasus and Central Asia in search for jobs as the deteriorating living conditions, poorly-performing national economies and the lack of jobs acted

as push factors of migration.

This thesis also showed that Russian government faces a difficult dilemma: on the one hand, Russia needs migration for demographic, economic and political reasons. On the other hand, there is a resentment of general population towards the idea of accepting more migrants, especially from Central Asia. This thesis demonstrates that instead, many Russians believe that Russia would need only highly-skilled or European migrants.

This thesis claims that such expectations of ordinary Russians are illusionary and that Russia's economy requires a large number of lowly-skilled migrant workers in construction, services, retails, and others in addition to high-skilled labor. In addition, this thesis also makes a claim that Russia utilizes migration as a tool of geopolitical influence. In particular, this thesis claims that Russia offered preferential treatment of migrants from the countries which composed of the Eurasian Economic Cooperation thus making Russia-led Eurasian integration scheme more attractive to aspiring states.

By providing such empirical analysis of Russia and Central Asian states, this thesis used it to further adopt Bourbeau's concept of 'securitized migration' to the non-Western context. In addition to previous concept championed by Bourbeau, this thesis emphasized the role of governmental appeasement of the general public by using the tools of restricting migration through the means of imposition of restrictions and toughening punishment for any infringement of migration laws.

Although the conclusions of this study would benefit from more empirical evidence to fully explore the newly adopted concept of "securitized migration", it nevertheless offers a new insight into the migration practices in post-Soviet space potentially contributing to the studies of migration in non-Western societies.

2 最終試験

The final examination committee conducted a final examination on July 9, 2018. 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.