

氏名	Sabina INSEBAYEVA				
学位の種類	博士 (学術)				
学位記番号	博 甲 第 8800 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	Ideas, Interests and Identities: Japanese and South Korean Foreign Policies toward Central Asia (着想, 利益, アイデンティティー日韓の対中央アジア外交政策一)				
主査	筑波大学	准教授	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)	レスリー タック川崎	
副査	筑波大学	助教	博士 (文学)	塩谷 哲史	

論文の要旨

The main focus of this thesis is comparison of the Japanese and Korean (ROK) foreign policies towards Central Asia. While there is certain number of works focusing on the Japanese and Korean foreign policies considered separately, there are few studies which attempt to place the foreign policies of these countries into comparative perspective.

At the same time, there is even less literature focusing on the foreign policies of these countries towards the newly emerging region in Asia – namely Central Asia. In this sense, the case of Japan and Korea as comparable countries is explained by the fact that none of these countries had any relations with CA states at the time of their independence thus providing both Japan and Korea in the same standing in respect to this region.

In addition, both of these countries, while being economic powers of Asia, are similarly distanced from CA thus facing similar problems and challenges in accessing it.

This thesis is organized in six chapters. The first two chapters (Chapter one and two) present the theoretical and methodological framework of the analysis. The coverage of these chapters begins with the coverage of how major international relations theories explain ongoing developments in the region and treat the issue of identity in such relations.

Chapter three discusses the Japanese and South Korean national identities through the analysis of foreign policy speeches of presidents, prime ministers and foreign ministers of both countries. Chapters four and five present the findings from the case studies about actual foreign policy behavior of Japan and

South Korea vis-à-vis Central Asia with each country covered in a separate chapter. These chapters also engage into discussion of particular strategies and policy choices that both Japan and Korea faced.

This thesis stressed that these can be understood through their respective national identities and the changes related to them. This thesis completes its analysis with the concluding chapter where the key findings about both countries' foreign policy courses are outlined.

This thesis has engaged into the comparative study of the formation and implementation of Japanese and South Korean foreign policies through case study of their relations with Central Asia. The main question which has been raised in this thesis deals with how Japanese and South Korean foreign policies toward Central Asia have been shaped and characterized, and how they compare to each other.

To answer these questions, the study adopts the post-positivist stance to research and examines the representations of Japan's and South Korea's national identities that are being produced and reproduced through their respective foreign policy discourses at the state level, and analyzes how these particular representations of Japan and South Korea make their modes of interactions with Central Asian countries possible. The timeframe of the study concentrates on the contemporary period, roughly between 1992 and early 2017.

This thesis argues that Japan and South Korea's foreign policies vis-à-vis Central Asia are closely related to the sense of national identities of these countries and stem from their imagination of the role and purpose of their states internationally. The study shows how identities of these actors provide them with worldviews through which the various changes in the international environment are interpreted and their preferences formed.

This thesis concludes by emphasizing the point of "othering" as important element through which both Japan and South Korea construct their own identities. Accordingly, Japan and South Korea perceive Central Asia as its own "other", which leads them to establish the key features of its self-constructed identity.

This thesis then engages into analysis of Japan's and South Korean "Self" within the Central Asian context. According to the findings of this thesis, if a larger set of relationships and a number of other discourses are to become the subjects of analysis, the probability of identifying several "others" who hold different degrees of "otherness" and perform divergent roles in identity formation is very plausible.

The analysis performed in this work has shown the deeply reflexive nature of the process of identity-construction and identity-transformation, during which the agent in mind identifies and defines the important features for its identity, and also produces a reaction.

審 査 の 要 旨

1 批評

The findings from the analysis challenge widely shared rationalists' assumptions, revealing that Japanese and South Korean foreign policies vis-à-vis Central Asia are not dictated by exogenously given interests, but it contingent on the representation of Japan and South Korea's national identities. The study demonstrates that the dominant discourses of Japan and South Korea's respective national identities are the representations of their "Self" with regard to Central Asian "Other". Because Japanese and South Korean policy makers do not function outside the respective discursive spaces, the analysis allows

elucidating how various Japanese and South Korean foreign policy practices with regard to Central Asia became possible.

The methodology adopted in this study is exclusively qualitative. Discourse analysis of official statements reflected in official texts related to South Korea and Japan's foreign policies vis-a-vis Central Asia is utilized as the main approach to research to explore the main messages conveyed by the policy makers. For analytical purposes, the discourse analysis is confined to several main initiatives of three South Korean leaders (Roh Moo-hyun, Lee Myung-bak, and Park Geun-hye), which are considered to be of primary importance for comprehending the nature of South Korea's foreign policy. Hashimoto Ryutaro's "Eurasian Diplomacy," "Central Asia Plus Japan Dialogue" (CAJ) initiated under Junichiro Koizumi's administration and "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity: Japan's Expanding Diplomatic Horizons" initiative adopted under Shinzo Abe's administration were analyzed for understanding the nature of Japanese foreign policy toward Central Asia.

While findings of this thesis are somewhat limited to the limited empirical evidence and statistical data on both Japanese and Korean foreign policies, the main findings of this thesis demonstrate that this thesis makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the policies of this states towards CA by providing constructivist analysis of what otherwise was only approached by rationalist schools of international relations. In addition, this study provides new empirical data which can serve as a basis for further research.

2 最終試験

The final examination committee conducted a final examination on July 10, 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.