博士論文審査結果報告


政策研究大学院大学

教授 道下 徳成

審査委員会を代表し、以下のとおり審査結果を報告します。

On behalf of the Doctoral Thesis Review Committee, I would like to report the result of the Ph. D. / Doctoral Dissertation Defense as follows.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>学位申請者氏名</th>
<th>Manuel Jeffrey Ordaniel Sistoso</th>
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<tr>
<td>ID Number</td>
<td>DOC13114</td>
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<td>プログラム名</td>
<td>安全保障・国際問題プログラム</td>
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<td>Program</td>
<td>Security and International Studies Program</td>
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Main referee

道下 徳成

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中央大学総合政策学部教授

Professor of Faculty of Policy Studies, Chuo University

証言タイトル

Dissertation Title


（タイトル和訳）※

Title in Japanese

「中国脅威」に対抗する—南シナ海におけるフィリピン、ベトナム、マレーシア、1988～2015年

学位名

Degree Title

博士（国際関係論）Ph.D. in International Relations

論文提出日

Submission Date of the Draft Dissertation

平成 29（2017）年 10 月 6 日

論文審査会開催日

Date of the Degree Committee Meeting

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論文発表会開催日

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論文最終版提出日

Submission Date of the Final Dissertation

平成 29（2017）年 11 月 22 日

審査結果

Result

合格 Pass

不合格 Failure

※タイトルが英文の場合、文部科学省に報告するため、和訳を付してください

If the title is in English, please translate in Japanese in order to report MEXT.
1. 論文要旨 Thesis overview and summary of the presentation.

The South China Sea disputes involve a rising great power, China, whose claim overlaps with those of its smaller littoral neighbors – the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia. Beijing's claim to over 80% of the South China Sea and its behavior relevant to enforcing that claim have shaped the strategic discourses on threat and national security policymaking in Manila, Hanoi and Kuala Lumpur for decades.


What this research has found is that balancing and hedging were the two dominant strategies employed by the three major Southeast Asian claimants against threats to their interests emanating from China. The first determinant that accounts for the choice of these strategies was the degree of the threat at a given period. When threat from China was either low or medium, claimants were more likely to hedge by adopting some forms of bandwagoning and some forms of balancing. When threat reached high-level, claimants were more likely to out rightly resist and balance against it, thereby dropping the bandwagoning side of the strategy and instead employing full balancing to protect a threatened national interest. The four other variables that also significantly influence the range of strategic instruments employed in responding to China threat include external balancing opportunities, availability of regional dialogue institutions and supportive international legal mechanisms, economic growth, and the prevailing leadership attitude towards China at the time of the threat. This research has significant contributions in international security studies, especially in enriching the understanding of secondary states’ responses to great power threats.

2. 審査報告 Notes from the Degree Committee (including changes required to the thesis by the referees)

Referees regarded the manuscript highly, emphasizing that this was the first comprehensive and detailed study on the subject, comprehensive both in terms of countries and time frame covered in the discussion.

That said, they suggested that the author do the following to further improve his argument.
· Explain how he selected the five independent variables.

- Define bandwagoning more clearly

- Say “balance-dominated hedging” and “bandwagoning-dominated hedging” instead of selective balancing/bandwagoning.

· Discuss how he assigned different values to different factors. Explain clearly and fully how he tested different ways of assigning values to different factors and came up with the values that you have now.

· Explain how non-China factor mattered and/or did not matter by comparing the cases in which the China factor failed to predict the choice of strategies. Especially, compare the Philippines in the 1988-94 and 2003-08 periods and determine what distinguished the two periods. Also, explain why Malaysia adopted a different strategy in the 1995-2002 period.

3. **最終提出論文確認結果** Confirmation by the Main Referee that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the referees

The author has submitted the manuscript which satisfactorily addressed all of the suggestions spelt out above.

4. **最終審査結果** Final recommendation

This is an in-depth historical and comparative study of secondary states' strategic choices in the South China Sea. It argues that five major factors - degree of the China threat, external balancing opportunities, availability of regional dialogue institutions and supportive international legal mechanisms, economic growth, and the prevailing leadership attitude towards China - determines secondary states' strategic choices of whether to adopt balancing, hedging, or bandwagoning. It has also been found out that secondary states tend to balance against even a strong threat despite their limited physical capability. Interestingly, economic interdependence did not matter too much as a factor, which is quite counter-intuitive.

The Doctoral Thesis Review Committee hereby strongly recommends that we accept this dissertation as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.