



DOCTORAL DISSERTATION (Booklet)

**The Role of Kazakhstan in the Eurasian
Economic Union Development Process:
Discussing Eurasianism through the
Kazakhstani External Policy Prism**

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By, Urazymbetov Bauyrzhan

Supervisor: Professor. Peti Marton

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1. Research background and justification of the topic.

The Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) has emerged as a significant economic and political entity, drawing comparisons to the European Union (EU) in terms of its potential to influence regional and global economic dynamics. Extensive research has focused on analyzing the EEU's structure, objectives, and its role as a competitor to the EU. However, there is a notable gap in the literature regarding the impact of the EEU on the economic relations within its member states and its broader influence on the Eurasian continent's economic landscape. Historically, economic unions like the EEU are formed to enhance regional cooperation, streamline economic policies, and integrate markets. The EEU was established with the aim of creating a single economic space among its member states, promoting the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor. Despite its ambitious goals, there remains a limited understanding of how effectively the EEU is remodeling economic relations among its member states and shaping the regional economic environment.

Justification of the Topic:

1. **Gap in Existing Research:** While there is substantial research on the EEU's formation and its comparison with the EU, there is a lack of comprehensive studies examining how the EEU affects internal economic relations within its member states. This research aims to fill this gap by exploring whether the EEU's integration efforts are reshaping economic interactions

among its members and influencing the broader economic context of the Eurasian region.

2. **Importance of Understanding Economic**

Integration: Understanding the impact of the EEU on economic relations is crucial for several reasons:

- **Policy Formation:** Insights into how the EEU influences member states' economic policies can guide future policy-making both within the EEU and in individual member states.
 - **Economic Development:** Analyzing the EEU's effects on economic growth and stability within member states can provide valuable information for assessing the union's success and areas for improvement.
 - **Regional Dynamics:** The EEU's role in shaping the economic landscape of Eurasia affects regional trade patterns, investment flows, and economic cooperation, which are important for understanding broader geopolitical and economic trends.
3. **Focus on Kazakhstan:** Kazakhstan's involvement in the EEU is of particular interest due to its strategic position, abundant natural resources, and geopolitical significance. This research will investigate how Kazakhstan's participation in the EEU impacts its geopolitical stance and economic development. Given Kazakhstan's role as a driving force behind the EEU, understanding its motivations and the outcomes of its involvement is essential for a comprehensive analysis of the EEU's impact.
4. **Geopolitical Context:** The current geopolitical climate, including the interplay between Western and Eastern policies,

the US-Russia relations, and the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflict, adds complexity to the EEU's influence. This context affects trade, investment, and regional stability, making it imperative to assess how the EEU navigates these challenges and how they impact its member states.

5. **Theoretical Framework:** The study will employ institutionalism theories to understand the EEU's formation and operation. Institutionalism provides a framework for analyzing how international organizations and agreements influence state behavior and policy outcomes. This theoretical perspective will help in understanding how the EEU's institutional structure and dynamics impact economic relations and policy-making within its member states.

Research Questions

This study focuses on the research design it would use in answering the following questions:

1. What are the implications and potential impact of introducing and establishing the Eurasian Economic Union?
2. How has Kazakhstan emerged as the driving force behind the formation of the EEU?
3. How does the integration into the EEU affect economic capabilities and foreign policy decision-making process in Kazakhstan?

2. METHODOLOGY

Methods. The key research questions of this research are: *What are the implications and potential impact of introducing and establishing the Eurasian Economic Union? How has Kazakhstan emerged as the driving force behind the formation of the EEU?*

Examining the role of relatively small powers in regional development such as Kazakhstan and other Central Asian states and providing an explanation for the integrational processes' quick evolution is the main goal of this research. For that purpose, a *discourse analysis* will be the primary qualitative research approach used. In social and political studies, this kind of scientific investigation is frequently employed. It permits any regularity in the things that are discussed and seeks to expose the ontological and epistemological presupposition ingrained in language (Pederson, 2009). This approach also consists of the prerequisites for a statement to be construed as logical and significant, and it cannot be used in isolation from context (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Information and Data Collection. Documents and people are the two most prevalent sources of information, data, and ideas in qualitative research (Bardach, 2009). Almost all other sources do not fit into this category. In this sense, the primary methods of data collecting, and analysis used in this research are document analysis and expert opinion that is available to the public. Separating the political interests of the parties involved in the EEU will also be done using stakeholder analysis.

Document Analysis. This method of scientific inquiry refers to an organized technique for examining existing documents concerning the research subject, including paper-based and electronic documents or materials. According to Corbin & Strauss (2008), in order to create awareness, make sense of, and form knowledge, the facts must be evaluated and understood. Therefore, this research inspects a range of regulatory, strategic, and functional documents, as well as action plans and policies of the EEU and its member states, to obtain solid information related to the topic. Finding the benefits and drawbacks of the EEU and its effects on regional growth is the aim of the analysis.

Stakeholders' Analysis. This methodology is commonly employed in policy research to analyze diverse actors and interests present in the policy environment, specifically within the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU). Stakeholders can impact policy dynamics at all levels, including national, regional, and global ones. The requirements and interests of the major stakeholders both inside and outside the EEU can be identified with the use of stakeholders' analysis. Assessing stakeholders' relationships and disparities could also help map shared concerns, competing interests, and possible influence over the EEU.

This analysis serves as the foundation for this research's attempt to construct a stakeholder matrix, which includes a range of significant stakeholders and their primary interests, possible influence over the EEU, and the relative importance of each policy player to other actors. More powerful stakeholders are often assumed to have

the ability to influence and affect policymaking inside the union. Thus, identifying the interests of the main EEU stakeholders and comprehending their possible influence on the functioning of this economic union should be beneficial outcomes of the current research.

Data Analysis Technique. In order to examine the data this method will involve several coding processes, including manual coding, which entails reading the received documents and data, making comments, and emphasizing links (Sandelowski, 2000). Following that, general evaluations for word usage and stated nodes were conducted in conjunction with manual and paper-based coding. Despite the time-consuming nature of paper and pencil coding, the current research depended more on it.

This study is targeted at the utilization of a variety of data sources by using the deductive coding technique (publicly available interviews of key actors and regulatory and policy papers). Coding is unquestionably a cyclical process that requires the application of various coding strategies to different sequences. In the current study, there has been an attempt to create a coding procedure with a list of codes that divides the available data into more in-depth themes.

The resulting codes have been categorized into more prevalent subjects and combined into clusters that make sense when all the data has been coded. It is imperative that code clusters be categorized using more interpretative and simple categories to search for underlying patterns and structures. The simple or fundamental patterns, or themes, ought to be grouped into more comprehensive and structured themes.

3. The findings of the dissertation

According to the results of the study, it is likely that the EEU leaders have invested a lot in its success to reach regional stability and economic prosperity. Moreover, according to experts the EEU has enormous potential to succeed as a trading bloc and integration endeavor (Niemi, 2016).

There are presently several promising developments within the EEU. The establishment of the Eurasian Economic Commission involved certain neoliberal institutionalist advancements, and it appears that the commission has a sector-specific infrastructure that can handle problems. For instance, the Eurasian Economic Commission has a standard structure for resolving trade-related issues within specialized departments. The EEU Court ensures the uniform application by of the Union of the Treaty, international treaties within the EEU, and international treaties with third parties. Thus, The EEU Court clarifies the norms and provisions of the EEU law and its other provisions. In addition, member-states cannot "opt-out" of the measures that the EEU creates because the EEU treaty prohibits states from having reservations about EEU agreements. It is likely a potential step in establishing an international regime with norms.

However, the analysis suggests that the EEU must abandon issues of geopolitics, the Russian hegemony foremost, and concentrate mainly on governance issues. To realize its full potential, the EEU leaders should continue following their commitment to neoliberalism and fortify the institutions they have already invested in. It is essentially critical to minimize trade

barriers for smaller states like Kyrgyzstan and Armenia and expand their exporting opportunities. The statistics show that around 90% of trade turnovers belong to Russia. Yet, while looking at the institutions that the Eurasian Union developed, one can still observe the similar influence of realism and neoliberalism due to ongoing geopolitical challenges and trade sanctions from more powerful states and organizations. Conversely, the transnational influence that underpinned Eurasianism and brought the region together is still absent. Eurasianism may or may not show up in the usage and design of the common currency, depending on how the monetary union idea develops.

In addition, according to the results of the study, Eurasian integration should likely proceed at a prudent pace until structural reforms are implemented. Results from the functioning of the single market should be measured before the creation of the monetary union, which would occur after a shared currency by 2025. Moreover, the effective operation of the common market is necessary for deepening integrational processes, particularly within free trade zones with third parties. Nonetheless, the EEU must actively continue to look for potential and competitive candidates due to its normative rivalry with the EU. The EEU likely needs to leverage its unique project characteristics.

Thus, the developments in the following areas are necessary for the EEU to continue to move beyond its current

stage and obtain maximal prosperity for the member-states:

- *Openness to the outside world.* The EEU will be effective only if it interacts with other regional bodies and international trade regimes. To do this, Russia must agree to a more independent position of current and potential members of the union.
- *Moving away from geopolitics.* Instead of using the EEU for geopolitical confrontation, Russian policy should focus on regional economic growth and modernization. Excessive politicization and the desire to realize personal interests can negatively affect the effectiveness of the organization and its collapse.
- *Emphasis on public administration.* For economic progress, EEU states need to carry out reforms to improve the quality of public administration. Particularly, in terms of providing relevant provisions for free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor.
- *Focus on social welfare and migration.* Improving the working and living conditions of migrant workers can get public support and positively impact economic growth in Central Asia. The free movement of labor migrants within the EEU zone

and exempting them from administrative procedures such as registration and confirmation of qualifications were the most critical rationales for member-states to join the EEU.

- *Improving the efficiency of EEU institutions.* The success of the EEU requires strengthening EEC so that it has the capacity and political influence to resolve issues of non-tariff barriers and protectionism, as well as a court capable of enforcing the rules.

Such regional development contributes to stabilization and prosperity. However, the EEU is unlikely to play a critical role in overcoming political, economic, and social difficulties in the region.

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5. List of own and co-authored publications

Titles of the Research Papers	Type	language	Title, year, Volume and Issue number of the journals + DOI
Milestones of Eurasian Integration	Research Paper	English	<i>Corvinus University of Budapest, International Relations Multidisciplinary Doctoral School 2020.</i> https://unipub.lib.uni-corvinus.hu/6066/1/NKPDIGlobal_challenges20201.733.pdf
Transformation of migration processes within Eurasian economic union: challenges and new opportunities	Research Paper	English	<i>International Scientific and Analytical Journal. Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. No3 (74) 2020</i> https://doi.org/10.52123/1994-2370-2020-74-3-76-86
Analysis of the youth labor market in the EEU	Research Paper	English	<i>Book series of Department of Geography, Geoeconomy and Sustainable Development. Corvinus University of Budapest 2021.</i> https://doi.org/10.14267/978-963-503-886-2
Issues of labor migration in the decade of the EAEU.	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	<i>Journal Article. Almaty Humanitarian-Economic University 2021.</i> https://www.aesa.kz/upload/iblock/a07/a078681da64503ee7c48f8ac15597b13.pdf
Assessment of collective food security in the EAEU countries	Research Paper	English	<i>Journal Article. Almaty Humanitarian-Economic University 2022.</i> https://aesa.kz/upload/конференция%202022.pdf

Kazakhstan's reciprocal trade within the EAEU.	Research Paper	English	KazUEFIT Herald 2021 №3(44) https://doi.org/10.52260/2304-7216.2021.3(44).10
THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ECONOMIC SECURITY OF MEMBER STATES OF THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	Scientific journal 'Bulletin of the Kazakh University of Economics, Finance, and International Trade'. 2022 https://www.aesa.kz/upload/конференция%202022.pdf
Theoretical basis of Eurasian economic integration	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	Journal Article Almaty Academy of Economics and Statistics 2021. https://www.aesa.kz/upload/iblock/24b/24bfbe4ed3b47204d819863b877f4ebe.pdf
ABSOLUTE TRADE AND ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP OF GERMANY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	Journal Article The Kazakh University of Economics, Finance and International Trade 2022. https://old.esil.edu.kz/upload/iblock/7fc/konferentsiya-07.04.22-s-foto.pdf
INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	Journal Article Almaty Humanitarian-Economic University. 2022. https://www.aesa.kz/nauka/sborniki-konferentsiy/index.php?sphrase_id=1997
LABOR RELATIONS AND THE EAEU SINGLE LABOR MARKET	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	Journal Article Almaty Humanitarian-Economic University. 2022. https://www.aesa.kz/nauka/sborniki-konferentsiy/index.php?sphrase_id=1997

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO STUDYING ECONOMIC SECURITY OF MEMBER STATES OF THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	Journal Article, Almaty Humanitarian-Economic University 2022. https://aesa.kz/upload/конференция%202022.pdf
THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION	Conference in journal or conference paper	Russian	Journal Article, Esil University 2023. https://old.esil.edu.kz/upload/iblock/031/pfycyffng3c6xo2r5ooky13pjpg6q2v12/sbornik-molodezhnyi_-2023-goda.pdf
DYNAMICS OF STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY OF THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION	Research Paper	Russian	Journal of the Kazakh University of Economics, Finance and International Trade 2024 – No1 (54) https://doi.org/10.52260/2304-7216.2024.1(54).45
Public Administration in Special Economic Zones in The Context of The Eurasian Economic Union: A Comparative Study of Kazakhstan, The Russian Federation, and Kyrgyzstan	Research Paper	English	International journal “Problems and Perspectives in Management”- Q2 Accepted – to be published Volume 22, Issue 4, 2024
Kazakhstan's integration into the Eurasian Economic Union: examining Kazakh experts and citizen assumption of the union prospects	Research Paper	English	Will be published in an international journal - Q3