

F → O

Date: 2020/August/15

Report on the Final Exam

Name of the Chair: Osamu Nakamura

On behalf of the Thesis Examining Committee, I would like to report the result of the Final Exam as follows.

1. Student ID	1B7D04
2. Name	Assylzat Karabayeva
3. Cluster	International Relations
4. Thesis Examining Committee	Chair: Osamu Nakamura
	Referee: Timur Dadabaev (External Examiner)
	Referee: Maung Aung Myoe
	Referee: Naoko Kumagai
5. Dissertation Title	The Dynamics of Central Asian Regionalism: Ideas Matter
6. Submission Date	Draft: August 7, 2020
	Final: August 17, 2020
7. Final Exam Date	August 11, 2020
8. Faculty Meeting Date	August 19, 2020
9. Degree Title	Ph.D. in International Relations
10. Result	Pass

I. Dissertation Overview and Summary of the Presentation

The dissertation tried to answer for two questions. Firstly, it was asked what are the ideas of Central Asian regionalism and whether these ideas were responsible for the failure or slow development of Central Asian regionalism between 1991 and 2005. Through utilizing the discourse analysis method, the dissertation revealed that the independent Central Asian states played significant roles in the construction of post-Soviet regional orders. National leaders' ideas, visions, and views which existed pre-independence period, were further constantly claimed after getting independence. However, due to incoherence in their ideas about regionalism, these five Central Asian countries took four different directions. Such contested ideas found to be both enabling and constraining the region-building processes in Central Asia.

Secondly, the dissertation has also asked what is the impact of ideas of Central Asian regionalism. The study found that the contested ideas of regionalism in Central Asia were responsible for the rejection, reconstruction, and diffusion of foreign norms, which are the European and Asian ideas of regionalism within the region and beyond. Central Asian states are late-comers to the regionalism and, therefore, the leaders endeavored to localize these foreign norms through matching them with their cognitive priors. The study further argues that two phenomena — sovereignty-constraining integration, and autonomy-seeking cooperation — drive norm contestation and norm formation within the region. The ideational norms of the Central Asian states are argued to play a critical role in the creation of new norms — *multispeed and multi-level Eurasian regionalism* — and their diffusion into global normative processes. Russia, Belarus, and China are found to be active followers of the ideas of Eurasian regionalism. The author conceptualized this new norm, 'multispeed and multi-level Eurasian regionalism', as a type of hybrid regionalism.

With regard to originality of the dissertation, the dissertation tried to contribute to the existing literature as it explores the historical-ideational aspect of Central Asian regionalism. The primary contribution of this dissertation is its attempts to make a theoretical and methodological contribution to the study of Central Asian regionalism by developing a hybrid approach. Central Asian regionalism was examined for the first time from the lens of a hybrid realist-constructivism approach. Systematically studying of the ideas of Central Asian regionalism has displayed that both 'matching' ideas and power matter for the norm to successfully diffuse. At the same time, it also exposed that the core ideas of regionalism have never disappeared; indeed they were reinforced by

agents when they initiated their ideas, visions and proposals. Accordingly, the continuity or an autonomous power of the core ideas of the regionalism of Central Asian states was observed in this study.

The dissertation has also contributed to the concept of hybrid regionalism. For the first time, the ideas of regionalism of the Central Asian states (multi-level and multi-speed Eurasian regionalism) is observed as the product of the contestation of the European and Asian ideas of regionalism.

II Notes from the Thesis Examining Committee (including the changes required to the dissertation by the committee)

Thesis Examining Committee recommended the student to make the following changes:

- 1) Need to clarify more the statement of the problem;
- 2) Need to consider revising the research questions from “what” to “how”;
- 3) Consider to remove “hypotheses” or change it to “arguments”;
- 4) Clarify the meaning of the term “use of legitimate power”.

III Confirmation by the Chair that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the committee.

Thesis Examining Committee confirms that changes that have been recommended to make were successfully conducted by the candidate.